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China's Search for Security by Andrew J. Nathan and Andrew Scobell (review)

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introduction, the editors raise insightful questions about the politics of reading. Anticipating that some may hasten to identify the affinities between her work and social construction theory, poststructuralism, postcolonial studies, or intersectionality theory, the editors call for thinking beyond superficial comparison and urge the reader to reconsider analytical categories and frameworks prevalent in Anglophone feminist scholarship. An example is He-Yin Zhen's choice of analytical category, *nannü*. Instead of attempting to fit *nannü* in Western feminist terminology, the editors retain the analytical valences of this term by translating it into "gender," "man and woman," or "male/female" in some contexts while leaving it untranslated in other situations (p. 11). This decision turns a "translation problem" into an opportunity for critically reflecting on feminist terminology and methodology. In a 2008 *American Historical Review* essay, Gail Hershatter and Wang Zheng mentioned *nan/nü* as "a historical Chinese framing of gender" and called for exploring the difference between the *nan/nü* formulation and Western sex/gender formulation. He-Yin Zhen's use of *nannü* as both a historical term and an analytical term complicates Hershatter and Wang's proposal. Her work—and Chinese historical experience—should inform new ways of investigating the relationship between history, language, and feminism.

Although it would have been helpful if the editors had identified some of the problems in He-Yin Zhen's analysis, they strike a nice balance between presenting the original texts and offering their insightful comments. This volume—and He-Yin Zhen—should be read by anyone who is interested in researching or teaching the global history of feminism, modern China, and feminist theorizing.

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NATHAN, ANDREW J. AND ANDREW SCOBELL. *China's Search for Security*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2012. xxiii, 406 pp. \$32.95 (cloth).

Along with China's rise, "China's position in the world has changed" (p. xi) and the importance of understanding Chinese foreign policy has increased. This new book by Andrew Nathan and Andrew Scobell, which comprehensively discusses almost all aspects of Chinese foreign policymaking by taking China's domestic politics into consideration, is one of the best guides to contemplate the implications of China's rise. It follows *The Great Wall and the Empty Fortress*, written by Andrew J. Nathan and Robert S. Ross (Norton, 1997), and reflects the change of China's position in world politics since then. As China is now one of the most powerful states in the world, Chinese foreign policy has become more complicated and analyzing it has become more challenging. However, Nathan and Scobell argue that two things have remained unchanged: first, we should look at Chinese policymakers' point of view to analyze Chinese foreign policy; and second, China will not be a threat for the West unless the West weakens itself.

Nathan and Scobell analyze Chinese foreign policy based on the idea of securing "four rings": i.e., the First Ring includes the entire Chinese territory (including Taiwan, from the

PRC's point of view); the Second Ring, China's adjacent countries (including the countries that do not share land borders with China, such as Japan, South Korea, and the Philippines); the Third Ring, six regional systems (overlapping the Second Ring: Northeast Asia, Oceania, continental Southeast Asia, maritime Southeast Asia, South Asia, and Central Asia); and the Fourth Ring, the world beyond the Third Ring (Europe, the Middle East, Africa, and North and South America). From China's perspective, the United States is involved in all four rings.

To analyze China's security concerns, Nathan and Scobell argue, realism is the most useful theoretical tool among international relations theories, as it "suggests foreign policy is driven by national self-interest—in turn meaning strategic and economic advantage, or what we call 'security'" (p. xv). They do not think that liberalism is a useful tool, because "most foreign policy issues in China are managed by a small elite with little interference from other political institutions and social forces" (p. xvi). However, changes in China's position in the world mainly come from its involvement in global markets. According to the authors, economic interdependence is a very important factor in explaining Chinese foreign policy for the last three decades and common interests, according to liberal theories, would decrease conflict among states and weaken the role of military power and the insecurity it breeds. It is for this reason that, in the rest of this review, I choose to explore the book's findings and arguments from the realist and liberal perspectives.

Realism, Nathan and Scobell argue, could explain Chinese foreign policy during the Cold War. The Sino-Soviet alliance in the 1950s and its split since the end of the 1950s could be explained by "China's responding efforts to preserve its autonomy" (p. 66), and in the 1970s, "China's new tie with the U.S. became an effective deterrent to Soviet attack on China" (p. 81). However, China's relationship with the United States has assumed a new dimension beyond simply seeking security since the 1980s when Deng Xiaoping started the post-Mao economic reform and China gradually became an important actor in the global market. Now economic interdependence between China and the U.S. has reached the level where "to be free of dependence on the other for its own security ... is a distant goal of either side, unless the other side withdraws from the race" (p. 113). China's relationship with Japan is similar to its relationship with the United States, in the sense that deepened economic interdependence has produced common interests, but it has been different because of the contentious history between the two states. As a result, although "the two countries have built trade and investment ties that rank among each country's largest overseas economic relationships ... [they] remain politically far apart" (p. 122-3), and interdependence has neither decreased conflict nor weakened insecurity.

In my opinion, another issue to which realism and liberalism bring complementary explanations is the Taiwan problem. China's relationship with Taiwan is an interstate one, because a state is a geographically defined entity governed by a central authority that has the ability to make and enforce laws, rules, and decisions within its boundaries, and Taiwan satisfies this definition. Thus, in this sense, Taiwan is different from Tibet, Xinjiang, or Hong Kong, and hence I argue that the authors should not juxtapose them with Taiwan in Chapter 8. While the United States kept providing security for Taiwan after the normalization of diplomatic relations with China in 1979, economic interdependence resulted in an ironic outcome, as "the more economic and cultural contacts occurred across the Taiwan Strait from the late 1980s on, the

more Taiwan residents, both native Taiwanese and those of mainlander origin, valued Taiwan's autonomy" (p. 215). Moreover, Taiwan's democratization since the 1990s means "a retreat from the U.S. commitment to protect Taiwan from the mainland use of force ... damage[s] American credibility as an ally in Asia so long as the PRC continues to deploy its forces for a possible attack on Taiwan" (p. 239). Therefore, based on the findings discussed in the book, I think it is better not to conflate the Taiwan problem those in Tibet, Xinjiang, or Hong Kong.

Is China a threat? Will China be a threat? Nathan and Scobell answer the first question negatively, arguing: "China would not easily replace the U.S. as a global superpower with enough reach and influence to preside over a stable world system" (p. 354). They base their argument on the idea that "China has not displaced Western influence" (p. 191) and its interests in the Fourth Ring remain segmental. They also answer the second question in the negative and argue that "China must not be allowed to deny or restrict other states' access to resources or to dictate the terms of global economic interaction" (p. 358). In sum, China will not be a threat unless the United States withdraws from the position to solve problems in the world—in other words, the position to provide international public goods. China does not seem ready to replace the U.S. on the world stage, and hence if the U.S. withdraws from its current position, no one will provide international public goods. That, in the end, represents the real threat that China may pose to the world.

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YOUNG, ERNEST P. *Ecclesiastical Colony: China's Catholic Church and the French Religious Protectorate*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013. 408 pp. \$74.00 (cloth).

Ecclesiastical Colony is a long-awaited book that reinterprets the history of Catholicism in modern China through a critical study of the French Religious Protectorate, a secular institution implemented by France to monopolize Catholic missionary affairs under the mid-nineteenth-century unequal treaties. By historicizing the religious protectorate in different temporal and spatial settings, Ernest P. Young elucidates how France used this diplomatic mechanism to reshape the Chinese Catholic landscape, how this top-down approach affected the local Catholic communities, and how rival European diplomats and missionaries devised innovative strategies to expand or constrain the French influence.

This book makes significant contributions to our understanding of Chinese Catholicism. First, Young has consulted an impressive range of new evidence from Chinese and European archives to illustrate the operation of the French Religious Protectorate. He builds on the latest studies of Catholic movements by Anthony E. Clark, Henrietta Harrison, and Eugenio Menegon to address the diplomatic context of the Catholic missionary expansion into China. The religious protectorate was, in fact, more central to the advancement of France's colonial ambitions than to the evangelistic concerns of Catholic missions. But elevating the protectorate over individual missionaries and non-French Catholic enterprises was fraught with contradictions. Under the Third Republic (1870–1940), Léon Gambetta (1838–1882) notoriously announced that