ANDRÉ LALIBERTÉ

This anthology introduced by Michel Bonnin and prefaced by Marie-Claire Bergère exemplifies the career of an iconoclastic thinker whose ideas met with indifference from the public at large and much scepticism on the part of the Maoist regime’s admirers in the 1960s but who has since been proved right. The historian’s ten essays in this collection have lost none of their relevance, even the oldest of them, “La page blanche” (The blank page). Written during the Cultural Revolution, when few sources were available, it challenged the benign image of the Maoist regime that many Western fellow-travellers peddled. Bianco did not shrink from denouncing the “disaster” that was the “Great Leap Forward,” even though data on this catastrophic policy were as yet largely lacking. He arrived at this judgement on the basis of deep study and rigorous analysis of available sources, and moreover correctly identified the causal chain from the Great Leap famine to the Cultural Revolution.

Although primarily known as a historian of pre-1949 Chinese peasantry – his Les origines de la révolution chinoise won him notice – Lucien Bianco was among the first to render judgment on Mao and Maoism by making comparisons between the Soviet regime and the famous “Chinese road to socialism.” In his view, Maoism differed from the Soviet model only in its details, and Stalinism had much greater influence on pre-reform China than was admitted in the 1970s. In La révolution fourvoyée (The derailed revolution), published after Mao’s death, and which is also this anthology’s title, he concluded that in his last 20 years, Mao divested the revolution of its raison d’être, i.e., development. In Essai de définition du maoïsme (Defining Maoism), written in 1979, Bianco displayed sagacity by lamenting the extent to which Mao Zedong Thought in the post-Mao era had not ended the exploitation of the majority of the population, but rather had served the ends of a new power in the world stage.

Demographic issues are among the other topics Bianco deals with. In La population chinoise face à la règle de l’enfant unique (The Chinese population and the one-child policy), he becomes a historian of contemporary China and narrates the horrors inflicted by that policy in the 1980s, but also shows himself a pioneer in pointing out the consequences of this policy in terms of population aging and gender imbalance, two problems now attracting increasing attention. Although China’s future is increasingly in urbanites’ hands, the difficulties farmers face remain the major worry. Bianco’s most recent output on the peasantry is likely to continue inspiring scholarship on rural issues today: Conflicts villageois dans la Chine du xxe siècle (Village conflicts in twentieth century China) examines the problem of xiedou, conflicts between clans and villages that the regime has failed to quell. In Vingt-cinq ans de réformes rurales, après le beau temps, la pluie (Twenty-five years of rural reforms: After fair weather the storm), he paints an unflattering picture of agriculture reforms, which stumbled after the initial advances of the 1980s. The strength of Bianco’s historical analyses lies in his highlighting of basic differences between peasant unrest in Republican China and after 1949. In a short essay, L’agitation paysanne menace-t-elle le régime? (Does peasant unrest threaten the regime?), written in the wake of riots in a Sichuan village in 1993, he argued that such incidents should not be seen as harbingers of the regime’s collapse: whereas the Communist Party could channel peasant grievances against the regime before 1949, no such route exists now. On the whole, these essays testify to the integrity of Bianco’s approach and his critical posture irrespective of changes in the regime’s leadership. At a time when China’s successful economic development is being bandied about, as Bianco has noted in his most recent essay in this collection, Mao et son modèle (Mao and his model), it is refreshing that he has not been taken in by the widespread enthusiasm for the “authoritarian advantage” thesis. This owes to a constant theme in his works, a never-yielding stand in support of the Chinese peasantry.

Finally, two revealing texts describe a period some people wish to forget, when the regime clumsily sought to convince “foreign friends” of the correctness of the policies of the day. In “Comment Yugong déplaça les montagnes” (How Yugong moved mountains), published at the end of the Cultural Revolution, Bianco bitingly ridicules a series of documentary films by fellow-travellers deluded by the Chinese regime. Voyage en Chine, also written in 1970, describes with a dash of humour the subterfuges and manipulations Chinese authorities employed in persuading “foreign friends” to “correctly” describe New China’s realities. Obviously, and this shines through in every page of this remarkable collection of essays, Bianco writes as a sincere friend of China without ever bowing to Party dictat. This excellent collection not only throws useful light on important themes in China’s recent history, but also stands out as an example of the rigour to be observed in social sciences. Political scientists, sociologists, and anthropologists will appreciate Bianco’s interpretative work, which makes judicious use of historic materials.

Translated by N. Jayaram.

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ÉMILIE FRENKIEL

This substantive work representing Wang Hui’s intellectual engagement is the second that Harvard University Press has published by this professor of Chinese language and literature at Tsinghua University, following *China’s New Order: Society, Politics and Economy in Transition* (2003). In 2009, Verso published his *The End of the Revolution: China and the Limits of Modernity*. Like the other two, *The Politics of Imagining Asia* is a collection of translated essays published between 1998 and 2008. The first three in the book under review were published in English language journals before publication in China. Wang’s focus in this book is less on contemporary social and economic problems than on historic questions, although some recent events such as the Tibetan riots of Spring 2008 are analysed.

The book’s aim is to study and place in context “Western” discourses from which descriptions and analyses of China were elaborated during the twentieth century. It thus follows the systematic approach of this best known member of China’s New Left, who seeks to offer an alternative vision of history and Chinese “modernity” freed of the baggage of Western thought, which has long dominated representations of China and its history. For Wang, “modem” is a temporal concept used discriminatingly to cast other periods out of the modern; in this sense, “modern” is a discriminatory concept, rejecting all other elements present in the same space-time, and having established a “hegemonic hierarchical structure.” (1) It should be noted that while Wang’s studies of modern literature, especially of Lu Xun, have been standard-setting, (2) it is due to his published work on intellectual history and criticisms of liberalism, consumerism, globalisation, and imperialism that he has gained fame in China and abroad.

The influence of Edward Said (invoked in a long polemical essay on Western representations of Tibet), Jacques Derrida, and Dipesh Chakrabarty are readily apparent in the first essay in the collection, “The politics of imagining Asia,” as well as in others devoted to Chinese modernity (“How to explain ‘China’ and its ‘modernity’: Rethinking *The rise of modern Chinese thought* and “Weber and the question of Chinese modernity”), to discussion of dialects and the national language (“Local forms, vernacular dialects, and the War of Resistance against Japan: The ‘national forms’ debate”), to the Tibet issue (“The ‘Tibetan question’ East and West: Orientalism, regional ethnic autonomy, and the politics of dignity”), and to the tribute system, especially between Okinawa and China (“Okinawa and the two dramatic changes to the regional order”). Wang Hui sets out to deconstruct the way in which foreign thinkers and scholars have conceptualised Asia (p. 16), in an attempt at revising world history, provincialising Europe, and challenging the universality and relevance of the nation-state concept (p. 60), but also encouraging China’s empowerment and agency over its own history. These essays are difficult to crack, rich in detail and often unexpected references. They describe a determined struggle for discursive equality and for the right to criticise Western theories on an equal footing with Western theoreticians, taking into account another “political culture,” especially that of China (and notably its imperial history, tributary system, defence of “unity in diversity” opposed to ethnic nationalism, etc.). The book also denounces Eurocentrism, defined as the imposition of supposedly universal rules but established to respond to European needs and interests (p. 260), and mounts a struggle for liberating the concept of China as well as for complex ways of seeing:

I examine the entity of ‘China’ and its implications from various angles in order to liberate the concept from a simplistic notion of European nationalism. “China” is a richer, more flexible and more diverse category than the concept of the national would imply (…) (p. 78)

Wang’s approach is not only part of the New Left but also part of more general and recent attempts at a patriotic revision of history and of Chinese “tradition” and indigenisation (bentuhua) of Western resources. It is thus clear from the various essays that Wang Hui considers Asian and Chinese historic experience as a resource for a radical change in theory and practice — based on a new self-awareness (“this new self-knowledge of Chinese society,” p. 227) as opposed to the “clash of ignorance” (p. 255) — and as a means to open up to alternative models inspired by the past as well as to redefine the modernisation process so as to achieve a democratisation that precludes social polarisation and disintegration.

The essay on Tibet is a good illustration of this. With a patriotic flourish, Wang describes the demand for Tibet’s independence as a product of orientalism and Western *realpolitik*, mixed with idealisation of Tibetan spirituality. He relies on recently opened CIA archives on Tibet from the 1950s and on his 2001 visit to an exhibition entitled “Dreamworld Tibet — Western and Chinese Phantoms” mounted at the Zurich anthropological museum by noted ethnologist and Tibetologist Martin Brauer, who has undertaken to elucidate the reasons for his fascination for this region of the world in particular. Wang’s aim is to demonstrate the legitimacy of Chinese claims to Tibet, his argument based on the idea that China’s modern sovereignty over Tibet is founded on various pre-modern forms of political relations, including the tributary system that had been in place for centuries. More convincingly, the final part of the chapter devoted to the multi-cultural and multinational state stresses the linkages between many of the problems Tibet confronts and those that affect other parts of China, mainly rising inequalities, social and cultural commercialisation and depoliticisation, cultural impoverishment, and transformation of lifestyles thanks to globalisation. Wang says the ethnic factor does indeed complicate the situation but that it is not the only explanation for Tibet’s crisis (p. 196). He holds that instead of demanding merely formal individual equality, the emphasis should be on ensuring that modern society attaches the same importance to protecting collective rights, especially those of ethnic minorities, women, and immigrants. He


2. In 2010, he was accused of plagiarism, especially as regards his literary works. However, these allegations made by liberal personalities and journals had no effect on his career.
Over the past two decades, Chinese cities have undergone extremely rapid change, first due to major internal migratory waves towards urban areas following a loosening of the hukou system, and second due to the burgeoning renovation projects and urban development on a mammoth scale. Zhao Yeqin’s book deals with the joint effect of these two phenomena on an old neighbourhood in urban Shanghai “earmarked for renovation” and where many migrants live. The ethnographic survey carried out over two periods of ten months between 2004 and 2007 provides a window for observing social changes underway. The main subject of the study, relations between urban residents and migrants, goes beyond China for the reflection, but it is regrettable that not all are rendered operational through direct linkages with empirical findings. The quality of the findings, however, testifies to the author’s immersion in the field. In-depth interviews with both migrants and urban residents are well-detailed and enable the author to tell their life stories and clarify the thesis.

The second part, containing two-thirds of the book, begins by introducing the neighbourhood studied, Yuanhenong (chapters 3 to 5). The people there are described in minute detail, and photographs supplement physical descriptions of the places. To start with, recent changes in the neighbourhood are presented in the context of its longer history. Its origins as a slum in the early twentieth century, its development following the establishment of a textile factory nearby, and its closure in the early 1990s resulting in major unemployment among residents, are all narrated. In this context, the arrival of migrants from many provinces — mainly Anhui, Jiangsu, and Henan — is superimposed on ongoing transformations, setting off a movement of residents renting out their dwellings, and in some cases moving out of the neighbourhood.

Using life stories, the author details migrants’ residential trajectories after arriving in Shanghai and notes typical tendencies: 1) installation in the neighbourhood at the “end of a process punctuated by intermediary halts”; 2) “sojourn awaiting a move to a posher neighbourhood”; and finally, 3) the “result of a direct migratory trajectory.” The details of these trajectories are of major interest as they help delineate the inflection points — change of job, conflict with a lodger, etc. — that led to the change of accommodation. The above typology, however, less convincing by itself, as it seems to neglect the dynamic nature of these trajectories, presenting the first and third type of installation in Yuanhenong as the end of the residential trajectory.

Apart from the change induced by migrants moving in, the redevelopment of the surroundings of Yuanhenong into new residential complexes contributes to “enclaving” the neighbourhood. The difference between Yuanhenong and these new residential complexes is as much architectural — individual houses on one side and 20-storey buildings on the other — as it is social. Yuanhenong’s urban residents are older by a generation, and the active population consists mostly of workers as against an active population of mostly office-goers in the newly-built residences. It is actually a double difference, as the migrants in Yuanhenong differ socially from the two previous groups. A great majority of migrants had been farmers before moving to Shanghai and are also a generation younger than the urban residents. The predominance of migrants gives the impression of an “immigration area” (p. 240), with the media and nearby residents dubbing Yuanhenong a dirty place given to criminality. These representations affect urban residents’ perception of themselves, and they come to see their place of habitation as a “stigma” in the Goffmanian perspective, compelling them to

1. The author uses the word “native” to refer to those who have the Shanghai hukou.
2. The author changed the district’s name to guard anonymity.
3. The author prefers the term penghuqǔ (棚戶區), which local people also use to refer to the neighbourhood studied.

EMMANUEL CARON

Zhao Yeqin, Construction des espaces urbains et rénovation d’un quartier de Shanghai: la problématique de la migration et du changement social (Construction of urban spaces and renovation of a community of Shanghai: The problematic of migration and social change), Shanghai, Shanghai Sanlian Shudian, 430 pp.

Translated by N. Jayaram.

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to move out. For migrants, on the other hand, living in the neighbourhood is seen as an improvement, by the simple fact of having been able to move to Shanghai.

The next two chapters (6 and 7) deal with the emergence of two residents’ groups in the neighbourhood and their relationship. The author notes that while the "migrants" category is based on hukou, it is socially constructed. Thus, despite migrants’ different origins, their common experience of migration lends the group a collective identity. At the same time, the recurrent distinction made by urbanites has created a sense of division of the population locally. In the interviews cited, urban residents systematically set themselves apart from those they deem "country bumpkins" (xiangxiaren), although they are themselves former migrants – or descendents of migrants – who moved in some decades earlier. This distinction is far from neutral, the author holds, urban residents having a “superiority complex” with regard to migrants (p. 295).

Given that for urban residents, “the very presence of the migrant population amounts to a symptom of degradation of community life in the neighbourhood” (p. 283), the question arises of cohabitation between the two groups. The links between urban residents’ perception of migrants and the reality of their interpersonal relations with the latter are complex. Thus good relations with a migrant neighbour do not necessarily challenge an overall negative perception. The migrant is thus an “ideological actor,”4 as “subsequent observations and events will not be retained, will not even really be perceived, if they do not reinforce a negative image of this actor” (p. 292). Of the many tension points, those most prominent are issues of sanitation and appropriation of common areas in the neighbourhood. The author shows that urban residents tend to give up use of public space they had frequented prior to the migrants’ moving in. These include public toilets, playgrounds, and passageways where urban residents traditionally gathered to interact with neighbours. In the case of public toilets, such spurning is a way of refusing to be part of a degradation of the area, while in other cases, the very presence of migrants puts paid to the social function of these areas, i.e., creating a close-knit community. Commercial establishments – shops and restaurants – run by migrants are also given wide berth, whereas cultural activities by residents’ committees (juweihui) are reserved for urban residents only, weakening their role in setting norms applicable to all. Thus the committee’s rules are poorly applied and effective norms are produced through – sometimes tense – interactions between migrants and urban residents. Other than its mediation role, which sometimes helps resolve sharp conflicts, the committee’s ability to act is limited. An initiative for organising regular cleaning of common areas has consequently been a non-starter, given the difficulty in collecting a fee from homeowners, many of whom no longer live in the neighbourhood.

The last chapter (Chapter 8) deals with the neighbourhood’s “renovation” and its effects on housing strategies of urban residents. Since a redevelopment project including the neighbourhood’s demolition was suspended in 2003, residents have been divided between those who view the planned redevelopment positively and those who are attached to the neighbourhood. The former stress the poor condition of housing and the neighbourhood’s degradation due to migrants, whereas the latter are attached to their homes because of the social ties they have with neighbours and proximity to the city centre. Migrants, as tenants, are left out of the redevelopment process, although over the years they have grown into large communities and the existing cheap accommodation is necessary for their stay in the city. As compensation offered to urban residents is insufficient for buying an apartment in the city centre and replacement accommodation is offered in the suburbs, housing strategies depend largely on each family’s financial means. The neighbourhood’s degradation and forced cohabitation with migrants is a factor that adds to such constraints and impels some families to move out faster than others.

The neighbourhood’s being “earmarked for renovation” clearly weighs on urban residents’ decisions to move out, but the interlinking of this factor with that of tense relations between the two groups of people in the areas is less clear. The author’s residential categories mix these two parameters with other considerations, such as residents’ financial means. This helps in understanding the complexity of parameters influencing residential choices but does not help clarify the respective effects of the two phenomena. On the whole, the book opens up several highly interesting lines of thought: migratory trajectories and residential trajectories, challenging the link between physical and social proximity, influence of redevelopment projects on relations among residents, etc. Alas, not all these lines of thought are followed through to the end, and the conclusion does not manage to gather them together. The quality of ethnography, for its part, contributes to a better understanding of the characteristics of such a neighbourhood, facilitating comparisons with other areas to which many migrants have moved, in particular villages in the city (chengzhongcun).

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4. The expression is from G. Althabe’s “Éléments pour une analyse des relations interpersonnelles dans l’espace commun d’immeubles HLM (Bellevue-Nantes)” (Elements for an analysis of interpersonal relations in common areas of rent-controlled buildings in Bellevue-Nantes), Vie quotidienne en milieu urbain (Daily life in urban milieu), Colloque de Montpellier, 1978.
HIAV-YEN DAM

This work by Kjeld Erik Brødsgaard, professor and director of the Asia Research Center, Copenhagen Business School, rests on a detailed study of Hainan Province in the reform era to paint a vast picture touching on relations between central authorities and provincial and local ones, the island’s economic development strategies, and administrative reforms in China, as well as relations between the state and society. Given the rarity of studies on Hainan Island, especially in the fields of politics and economics, as well as on its recent development, this book represents a major contribution.

The 144-page book (besides notes, bibliography, and index) is divided into 11 chapters. After tracing, in Chapter 1, the contours of the issues treated in the book, the author briefly sets out the geographic, demographic, and historic context of Hainan Island in Chapter 2. In Chapter 3 the author narrates the process that led to Hainan’s elevation to provincial status and its designation as a Special Economic Zone (SEZ). Chapters 4 and 5 deal with issues related to the island’s economic structure: foreign investment and trade. Chapter 6 throws the spotlight on the Yangpu economic development zone. Chapters 7 and 8 recount the island’s administrative reform experiment with the slogan “small government, big society” (xiao zhengfu da shehui). (1) Chapter 7 examines the “small government” aspect while Chapter 8 focuses on “big society.” Chapter 9 deals with Hainan’s inclusion in the Pan-Pearl River Delta regional development plan. Chapter 10 delves into Hainan’s place in international relations in the South China Sea area. Finally, Chapter 11 consists of a short, two-page conclusion. There is a major imbalance in chapter lengths, some running to more than 20 pages (chapters 4 and 7), while others are less than five pages long (chapters 2 and 11). Moreover, Chapter 7 consists in part of a chapter from a book on Chinese Communist Party reform edited by Brødsgaard and Zheng Yongnian and published in 2006. (2) Chapters 2 to 4 likewise contain parts of the author’s contribution at the “Perspectives on Contemporary China in Transition” conference held at the University of London in 1995. (3)

The author spent several spells in China, including in 1998-1999 as Visiting Professor at Peking University’s Research Centre for Contemporary China. He was also Visiting Senior Research Fellow with the East Asian Institute at the National University of Singapore in 2000-2001. He has visited Hainan several times, during which he tapped the expertise of local scholars, especially Liao Xun, then head of the Hainan provincial government’s Research Center for Social and Economic Development and editor of a report on political reform. The author also drew on national and provincial data and statistical yearbooks.

The long-neglected island had been under Guangdong administration after the Communist takeover. In 1988, after protracted discussions, it finally gained elevation to the status of a province and was simultaneously declared an SEZ. As these are recent phenomena, the author was able to study the decision-making process and the numerous and complex interactions among different levels of Chinese administration: the central level in Beijing, the provincial level in Guangzhou, and the local level in Haikou. He brings out the centrality of support from the Party leadership, especially Deng Xiaoping, in the success of this process, which may be divided into several successive phases that mirrored the changes occurring in China during the reform era. Discussions at the national and provincial levels in the early 1980s on the issue of Hainan’s status led to the conclusion that it was necessary to develop the island by extending economic measures similar to those enjoyed by the SEZs, without, however according it that status – a move that would have entailed financial investment on the part of the central administration, something it was not ready to concede. However, taking advantage of favourable measures, local authorities mounted fraudulent operations between January 1984 and March 1985, importing tax-free goods and reselling them at double or triple the price on the mainland. This was uncovered and exposed in 1985. The island’s officials were criticised and punished when the scandal was sorted out. But interestingly, the scandal revealed three different positions taken: outright condemnation by Guangdong authorities, who wanted no part in the affair; a more conciliatory tone from central officials, who wished to avoid discrediting the general reform movement; and finally the position of local authorities in Hainan.

The provincial officials were on the defensive, protesting their innocence, claiming that the poor and “backward” province had always been exploited by the mainland. Hainan officials wanted their piece of the cake. Despite the seriousness of the scandal, which had drawn international attention, the island’s rapid economic development had backers in Beijing, including top-ranking leaders such as then Premier Zhao Ziyang, Party General Secretary Hu Yaobang, and State Councillor Gu Mu. They and other Party leaders visited the island by turns. Subsequently, one of the leaders, Liang Xiang (vice-chairman of the advisory commission of Guangdong Province and former mayor and Party secretary of Shenzhen), proposed elevating Hainan to full provincial status and turning it into a zone for free exchange and circulation of goods and people. This secured support from Deng, who approved the idea during a meeting with Yugoslav leaders in June 1987. It was formalised by Zhao at a meeting of the 6th National People’s Congress Standing Committee, which decided to discuss the proposal during the full NPC session the following year. A preparatory group set up for the purpose proposed Hainan’s elevation not only to provincial status but also to that of an SEZ, as well as an experimental zone for administrative and economic reforms. This received approval on 13 April 1988 with two decisions adopted: declaring the island a province and according it SEZ status. But the 1989 Tiananmen unrest led to a break in the reform movement and had major repercussions on the island’s development. Consequently, even after reforms were back on the rails, the island never regained Beijing’s favour, attention having turned towards other places such as Shanghai.

Starting in 1988, the process of constituting the new province’s administrative machinery also served as a test framework for experimenting with unprecedented reforms in China. This “small government, big society” reform rested on the principle of the need to rationalise administration, reduce personnel, and delegate non-essential functions to society. In this context the aspiration to see the emergence of civil society in China aroused great interest. If successful, it would have been extended to the whole country, as was the case with agrarian and industrial reforms pursued in Anhui and Sichuan respectively after 1978. All this made Hainan an especially interesting reform laboratory worth studying.

In Chapter 7, devoted to this experiment in administrative reform, the author stresses that despite the central authorities’ desire to reorganise the administration and reduce personnel, in fact both state and Party are still reticent in regard to such initiatives, and in Hainan’s case, ultimately did not offer the support and resources necessary to properly carry forward the xiao zhengfu da shehui reform project, despite the great publicity that had been showered on it initially. Moreover, in practice, reducing the number of administrative bodies at the provincial level has also faced the problem of dialogue between central administrative bodies and local bodies, the pared-down Hainan administration no longer having organs corresponding to those at the centre. Finally, the author rightly notes that the main problem with China’s administration lies not so much in the size of its personnel but in their effectiveness. This study also points out the inadequate presence of local officials in key posts, which overwhelmingly were occupied by mainland cadres sent by Beijing. Minority nationalities – in the island’s case the aboriginal Li – were also almost absent in the provincial leadership line-up.

Abundant details pepper the book as regards the island’s political and economic organisation, testifying to the author’s expertise in the subject. These details will certainly interest Hainan specialists. However, it is regrettable that in general the chapters in the book are very descriptive and lack coherent analysis. Moreover, as has been repeatedly noted, interest in the island owes to the relatively recent change in its status and implementation of administrative reforms. It might have been preferable to reorganise the chapters, which as previously mentioned are of uneven length, around these two themes. That said, this addition to the understanding of Hainan’s economic development and political organisation remains a significant one.

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**JEAN-FRANÇOIS HUCHET**

Barring a few exceptions, reports by scientists working on climate issues have turned more and more alarmist over the past quarter century. Scenarios of impact on the planet that seemed quite pessimistic just a decade ago sadly appear most probable for the twenty-first century. Not only have emissions of greenhouse gases spiralled out of control in recent years, no international agreement on the climate among major industrial countries is in sight. There was a whiff of optimism in late 2008 with the election of Barack Obama as US president, the willingness of the European Union, and the recognition of the rise of major developing economies such as China and to a lesser extent India and Brazil. The 2008 financial crisis relegated climate change to the back burner as far as governments were concerned. But above all it is the inability of the two biggest emitters of greenhouse gases – the United States and China – to agree on emissions regulations that has heightened the pessimism of recent years. The future of the planet’s climate is in some ways held hostage by the two biggest economic powers.

This precisely is the subject of Jean-Paul Maréchal’s timely book. He has proceeded in a concise and didactic manner to dissect and analyse the impact of the crucial US-China relations on the climate issue.

In the first chapter, Jean-Paul Maréchal presents a quick but detailed history of greenhouse gas emissions by China and the United States. While he has emphasised, with the help of extremely relevant statistics (including, for instance, the size of manufactured goods imports), the predominant historic responsibility of the United States for greenhouse gas emissions, he also shows the speed with which the Middle Kingdom has been catching up with Uncle Sam since Deng Xiaoping unleashed economic reforms in 1978. After surveying the evolution of the situation in the two countries, the author sets out the terms of the debate and the dilemma in which global climate negotiations are stuck: historic US responsibility versus the future responsibility of China, which refuses to do anything until the United States budges.

In the second and third chapters, the author analyses clearly and precisely the ethical elements of the dilemma — the need to reconcile limits on emissions, in order to “conserve this common global asset,” the climate, with China’s right to development. The US position is less and less ethically tenable given its historic responsibility in terms of emissions volume as well as the vast difference from other industrial countries, which emit far less CO₂ per capita or per unit of GNP.

This, of course, is widely known and referred to in works on climate, and Jean-Paul Maréchal does not stop there but pushes the debate further by questioning China’s current responsibility as well. In the third chapter, he
The author then explains why and how the climate negotiations between the two countries have gone into an impasse despite several international summits, stakes and blockages of which he sets out in detail. Despite marginal progress, voluntary limits to greenhouse gas emissions in the framework of an international agreement remain excluded thanks to these two countries. A new emissions framework regime post-Kyoto (which ends in 2012) has to be hammered out, and the key rests with the United States and China, the author contends.

Jean-Paul Maréchal ends his book on a rather optimistic note, however. He says that while the two countries may fail to cooperate and engage in a voluntary framework agreement on emissions, they will compete in “green technologies,” which will have a salutary impact on the environment and on climate. Aware of the impossibility of continuing with its energy-hungry model of development and heavy dependence on coal, the Chinese government has in recent years launched an ambitious programme to develop “clean” energy. Jean-Paul Maréchal says the United States would want to preserve its supremacy and take the lead over China in green technologies, “which acts as antidote to political demands, or even the priority given to the automobile among modes of transport. In listing these, the author’s aim is to draw attention to the ethical issue of international distribution of the emissions reduction burden, demonstrating to what extent China cannot easily shake off its responsibility as the authorities in Beijing seem to want to do. Both Beijing and Washington must immediately assume part of the responsibility for limiting greenhouse gas emissions. But Chinese leaders are too far from accepting responsibility, hiding behind the inaction and timidity of the US administrations (Republican or Democratic) that have alternated in power over a quarter century.

In sum, Jean-Paul Maréchal’s book has explored a crucial issue of this century in a clear, concise, and intelligent manner, offering an extremely relevant opening to ethical questions for resolving the problem of global warming. This book is highly recommended not only for those interested in the problems of international negotiations on climate change but also for China experts working on environmental issues and the evolution of the Chinese growth model.

Translated by N. Jayaram.

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to rank countries on scales of political and civil rights ranging from not free, to partly free, to free. In 2000, Taiwan was even regarded as a model of democracy in Asia, but opinions are divided on how democracy has worked since.

Chapter 4 introduces Taiwan's government structure in its democratic era. The ROC Constitution from 1947 has remained in force, but a few revisions have been made. Whereas the KMT wished to maintain indirect presidential elections, the DPP wanted to implement direct elections that eventually became one of the constitutional revisions in the 1990s. Later, in 2005, single member districts were introduced, and the National Assembly was abolished and replaced by the Legislative Yuan. The number of legislators was halved from 225 to 113 and their terms extended from three to four years so that it would correspond with the President's term.

Chapter 5 looks at Taiwan's electoral politics. Elections have been held at some level during 19 of the 25 years that have passed since the DPP was set up in 1986. In 2000, DPP candidate Chen Shui-bian was elected president after a rebel left the KMT to run as an independent. However, the National Assembly was dominated by the KMT, undermining Chen's rule. The KMT won the 2008 elections, benefiting from the 2005 electoral reform. Fell points out that election campaigns are important in democracies and describes how election campaigns were pursued by actively using the media. Political issues became more important than ideology.

Chapter 6 introduces the main political parties that have dominated Taiwan politics since the 1980s; notably, analysing political parties from a left-right framework is not very fruitful. The review includes organisational structure, ideologies, party image, leadership, candidate selection methods and inner party balances of power. There was a struggle for power within the KMT after the death of Chiang Ching-kuo between supporters and opponents of successor Lee Teng-hui. In 2008, Tsai Ing-wen became new DPP leader after the party lost the presidential election. Since 2005, a two-party system has been in force. The success and failure of the smaller challenger parties as well as the changing party system is also included.

Chapter 7 considers how political patterns have changed at local levels. Whereas national level elections were fully introduced only in the 1990s, local elections have been held since the late 1940s. The chapter focuses on the KMT local factional relationships after the lifting of martial law. Struggle for power within the party was intense in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Yet, in elections the KMT remained, thanks to its organisational strength, the main political force on the local level in contrast to the national level.

Chapter 8 focuses on the competing nation-building projects, i.e., reunification versus independence, promoted by political elites before and after democratisation and based on the legacy of Japanese imperialism, Chinese nationalism, and Taiwanese nationalism. National identity is the dominant issue in the study of Taiwanese politics since the 1990s. During the 1990s, the DPP struggled for membership in the UN, from which Taiwan had been expelled in 1971. In contrast, the KMT aimed to diversify external relations. An opinion survey from 2010 shows that since 2001 there has been a majority in favour of maintaining the status quo, whereas the number of proponents for unification has fallen significantly since 1993. In 2010, most interviewees regarded themselves as Taiwanese or both Chinese and Taiwanese, whereas only a tiny majority saw themselves as only Chinese. At that time, the one to two million people who lived and worked in mainland China were largely absent from the surveys on identity. The large number of Taiwanese living there raised such questions as whether they would be influenced by growing Chinese nationalism or would promote their sense of distinct Taiwanese identities as a consequence of their direct daily contacts with Chinese citizens.

Chapter 9 reviews Taiwan's external relations under martial law and the Cold War international system and how they have developed after political liberalisation. Taiwan fulfils the requirements for establishing a state by having a permanent population, a defined territory, and working government with agencies capable of entering into contact with other countries. In 1971, Taiwan was recognised by 68 countries against 53 countries recognising China. Today the island is recognised by only 23 countries but maintains non-official relations with most UN member states. There were minimal contacts between Taiwan and China from 1949–1987, whereas subsequent developments were characterised by economic convergence but political divergence. The 1995–96 missile crisis aimed to turn Taiwanese public opinion against Lee Teng-hui, whom China called “a traitor and sinner who sought to split the mainland.” Since the KMT and the DPP took a firm stand against China, the Chinese threats helped Lee Teng-hui to get re-elected.

Chapter 10 considers the impact and strategies of the main social movements. Whereas the KMT suppressed associational life under martial law, civil society blossomed after 1987: the number of civil organisations grew from about 6,000 in 1987 to 34,171 in 2009. By challenging the KMT, they strengthened democracy. Politics in Taiwan has always been dominated by men, but women's organisations were established from 1987 onwards. The Equal Employment Law was enacted in 2001, and Annette Lu served as vice-president from 2000 to 2008. The labour movement, the environmental protection movement, and the student movement are also included in the analysis. Although not a mass movement, environmental activists contributed to the delay of the construction of the island's fourth nuclear reactor.

Chapter 11 investigates whether democracy in Taiwan is working or not by looking at social welfare systems and political corruption. The KMT pursued welfare programs to benefit its supporters. Social welfare became more important during the political transition beginning in 1987. The introduction of Universal National Health Insurance in 1995 was a great success. Although Taiwan is usually regarded as a country that has successfully combined high economic growth and income equality, the Gini coefficient grew in the 1990s and 2000s. Democratisation and liberalisation of the media have made political corruption an important issue since 1987. During the years 1949–1987, corruption was pervasive, but also from 1992 to 1997 the KMT was regarded as more corrupt than the DPP. Although the DPP pursued an anti-corruption campaign in 2000–2004 to prevent vote buying, corruption remained a contested political issue that contributed to the party's defeat in the 2008 presidential election. Indeed, President Chen Shui-bian himself was arrested on charges of corruption immediately after he resigned, and in 2010 was sentenced to 17-and-a-half-years in jail for having taken bribes. Since welfare has expanded and political corruption is not accepted, Fell concludes that democracy is working in Taiwan.

Chapter 12 focuses on political developments since 2000. The election of Chen Shui-bian as president in 2000 meant not only the end of KMT rule in Taiwan but also the first shift of power in a Chinese nation. Although his power was undermined by the party's lack of parliamentary majority, social welfare expanded and labour rights improved. The country's international status weakened, but de facto independence was institutionalised. Lee Teng-hui had to resign as party leader after the KMT's defeat. President Chen Shui-bian was barely re-elected in 2004. The KMT was strengthened by the election of Ma Ying-jeou as new party leader in 2005. In contrast, the DPP
was weakened during its second term in office by a more extreme position on the national identity issue, few political accomplishments, worsening of the economy, and tense cross-Strait relations. The most important changes since 2008 took place in foreign relations with the acceptance of tourists from China, direct flights to the mainland, Chinese investments, and in 2010 the signing of the comprehensive Economic Cooperation Framework Agreement. That Taiwan has not lost any of its allies is a success. On the other hand, international NGOs have criticised the KMT for intervening against the media.

Chapter 13 considers “the remarkable political miracles Taiwan has achieved over the last few decades” and the challenges democracy is facing. Democracy has been achieved by reform of existing institutions: the KMT has shown adaptability. There have been two shifts of power, active election campaigns, and institutionalisation of political parties. Thanks to the active civil society, transparency in politics has improved since 1987. Democracy has created a positive image of Taiwan in the global community. Since Fell convincingly argues for his positive evaluation of the state of democracy in Taiwan, it is hard to argue against him. However, considering that the working of democracy in any society is affected by indigenous culture, Fell should at least briefly have elaborated somewhat on the relationship between democracy and Confucianism here. Only time will tell whether there will be resolution to the challenges enumerated in terms of constitutional reforms to the political and electoral system, a strengthened and diversified political society, removal of authoritarian era legacies, and revival of political consensus.

Altogether, Fell successfully fulfils the objective stated on p. 2 and should inspire any reader to follow more closely how democracy in Taiwan and the national identity issue will develop. A few references to South Korea are made, and it is my impression from the book that politics in Taiwan have worked more smoothly. The most striking differences are that Taiwan allows re-election of the president and that virtually the same parties have taken part in politics since 1986, while in South Korea many new parties were formed with adverse impact on politics. Politics also seem to be less centred on personality and more on issues. Finally, the regionalism that is a divisive factor in Korean politics is no longer as significant in Taiwan as it was during the martial law era, since the old generations of mainlanders have died out and have been replaced by native Taiwanese, reducing tensions.

In brief, the book is indispensable reading for anyone who aims to understand Taiwanese politics, but readability would have been enhanced if a chronology of major events had been recorded in an appendix. All names in the text should have been consistently introduced briefly in the text and recorded in an appendix. A map of Taiwan should also have been added.

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