

them. The reader should be able to concentrate on argument and substance, and not be required to focus on what the author might mean. It would also have been useful to include several articles on how China–ASEAN developments relate to other regions, for instance Northeast Asia (Japan) or the United States. One wonders, for instance, how China’s efforts in Southeast Asia are affected by, or compare with, the present US policies, especially given their focus on anti-terrorist activity. How are China’s recent troubles with Japan helping or hindering its progress with ASEAN? Attention could also have been given to the question of regional and free trade activity elsewhere in the world, and how it affects or fits with creating FTAs in Southeast Asia. A closer connection to global developments would have added to the value of the regionally focused articles.

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Power Shift: China and Asia’s New Dynamics, edited by David Shambaugh. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005. xx + 383 pp. US\$60.00/£38.95 (hardcover), US\$24.95/£15.95 (paperback), downloadable eBook version US\$15.95.

Power Shift: China and Asia’s New Dynamics is a collaborative effort which had its genesis at a 2003 conference, “China and Asia: Towards a New Regional Order”, hosted by The George Washington University. From the outset, editor David Shambaugh sets out to offer an “in-depth and careful assessment of China’s new behavior and linkages with the region” (p. 1) and he largely achieves this goal. While it would be impossible for any single text to offer a complete analysis of the intricacies of Chinese foreign policy in the 21st century, what is offered in this book provides a useful guide not only to the “what” and “how” of China’s rise but also to the “why”.

Shambaugh opens with a short chapter foreshadowing the remainder of the volume. The core of his chapter is the introduction and explication of seven scenarios for China and the region. Following up on Shambaugh’s introduction, PRC academics Zhang Yunling and Tang Shiping combine to produce a readable overview of modern Chinese regional strategy. They note that “China’s regional strategy largely corresponds with its grand strategy” (p. 48), primarily as a result of the limited global interests that China maintains.

The two chapters on the economic dimension of China’s rise are by Hideo Ohashi, who presents a comprehensive overview of China’s regional trade based on statistics, and Robert Ash, who follows with an interesting analysis of Chinese trade between internal provinces and the wider Asian region. Ash’s chapter is particularly good at highlighting the often under-represented economic disparity within greater China.

The six-essay section, sub-titled “Politics and Diplomacy”, however, is the highlight of this volume, offering critical and historical reviews of China’s

relations with Japan, Korea, Taiwan, Southeast, South and Central Asia. Yu Bin's "China and Russia: Normalizing Their Strategic Partnership" (pp. 228-44) stands out here. Yu traces the development of the Sino-Russian strategic relationship from the days of Lenin to today's complex, post-September 11th environment and highlights both the importance to the Russo-Chinese relationship of Boris Yeltsin's rise to power in Russia and the emergence of the "Shanghai Five" security regime in normalizing the relationship between the two powers. Yu's clear, chronological treatment of the Putin years is also very useful, explaining the importance of the 2001 Treaty of Good Neighborliness and Friendly Cooperation in the normalization of relations between the two great powers. Perhaps the only part of this essay which might require further expansion is the Russian role in China's military procurement program. Bin allows this half a page but, when considered in the context of strict US policies on arms sales to the PRC, there seems to be scope for more detailed analysis of this facet of Sino-Russian relations.

The two essays included in the "Security" section are complementary: Bates Gill focuses more on the theory, principles and practical evolution of Beijing's grand security strategy, while Michael Swaine limits his discussion to military matters. By separating the military from the wider Chinese security agenda, this volume forces the reader to also imagine issues such as the continued access to important ocean trade routes and to strategic materials and energy resources as security issues. Readers who prefer to imagine security issues as solely military will enjoy Swaine's chapter more but, in compilation, Gill and Swaine offer a broader perspective that is ultimately closer to contemporary understandings of the grand strategy of great powers.

The book closes with two short sections, each composed of two essays. These are discussion chapters, offering *pros* and *cons* on the rise of China. The first, sub-titled "Implications for the United States", is a nod to the book's roots in the globe's sole superpower, but is important nonetheless. With China viewed in some circles as the heir-apparent to the US position in world politics, such a section is not out of place, even in a work that concentrates primarily on China's relations with the region. Robert Sutter warns the reader on the potential for China to take over America's role as the regional power. In response, David Lampton is slightly more optimistic, noting that there is no reason for the rise of China to be a negative zero-sum result for the US: "the story of China's rise", he writes, "is still to be written in the present and the future. The story is not foreordained to end badly" (p. 323).

The final section, "Implications for the Asian Region", begins with Jonathan Pollack's clear essay that asks the important questions about Chinese strategy in Asia, not the least of which is whether China and the current regional power, the US, will come into conflict. Pollack does not discount the possibility and points, predictably, to Taiwan as the likely flash point. He offers a concise but intelligent treatment of the potential impacts on maritime Asia, certainly enough for the reader to pause on the "what if?" of modern China-US relations. Michael Yahuda's region-by-region analysis of China's rise in Asia is more positive, arguing that the diverse Asian interests of the PRC and the continued

predominance of the United States will allow the current Asian order to continue without change.

Power Shift offers a detailed, balanced and contemporary view of China's place in the world in the 21st century. It will enlighten and inform the debate surrounding China's rise, particularly for those with research interests in security and strategic studies.

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Unifying China, Integrating with the World: Securing Chinese Sovereignty in the Reform Era, by Allen Carlson. Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 2005. xvi + 301 pp. US\$55.00 (hardcover).

In recent years, analysts of Chinese foreign policy have begun to ask if China's stance on sovereignty is static or dynamic, to debate the origins of perceived changes in this stance, and to argue about the consequences. This development reflects trends in the broader discipline of international relations where researchers have been devoting increasing attention to the norm of sovereignty.

Unifying China speaks to these debates. In so doing, it represents a welcome addition to the burgeoning literature that uses insights from international relations to analyze Chinese foreign policy and insights from the study of Chinese foreign policy to enrich international relations scholarship. Carlson's most intriguing finding is that "the Chinese position on sovereignty is not what it used to be" (p. 2). This finding flows from his unpacking of the notion of sovereignty into four component parts—that is, territorial sovereignty, jurisdictional sovereignty, sovereign authority and economic sovereignty—and subsequent investigation of China's stance towards each of these components. Carlson argues both that Chinese rhetoric and policies have fluctuated across these four components and also that there has been variation in PRC policies within particular components of sovereignty—for example, economic sovereignty. According to Carlson, Chinese behavior has changed because of shifting cost-benefit calculations, "the changing relationship between relatively persistent and historically conditioned sovereignty-centric values" and "external pressures (both material and normative)" (p. 3).

Unifying China consists of 8 chapters, including the introduction and conclusion. Chapters 1 and 2 lay out the author's conceptual framework. In these two chapters, the author reviews contemporary discussions in international relations about sovereignty, offers his own conceptualization of the term, presents his framework for examining whether a given state's stance has changed, reviews some possible explanations of changes in a state's stance, and argues why it is important to study the China case. Chapter 3 consists of the author's investigation of China's rhetoric and policies with respect to territorial sovereignty. Here, Carlson looks at China's boundary disputes with the Soviet Union/Russia, India and Vietnam over two phases, the late 1970s through 1988 and the spring of 1989