

föderation“ (191-204). Kardinal Paul Yüpin (77jährig in Rom 1978 verstorben) betrachtete die erste katholische chinesische Bibelausgabe von 1968 als „einen Meilenstein in der Geschichte der Kirche in China“ (195), wußte doch der äußerst sprachbegabte Kardinal, der trotz vieler Auslandsaufenthalte das Gespür für die Feinheiten seiner Muttersprache nicht verloren hatte, welche Schwierigkeiten bei solch einer Übersetzung zu überwinden sind. – „Perspektiven“ (419-508) und Solidaritätsbezeugungen (509-557) beschließen das Werk.

Alles in allem enthält der vorliegende Band eine Sammlung von Aufsätzen und Dokumenten, von denen die meisten bereits in englischer Sprache publiziert wurden. Zusammengefaßt in einem Band tragen sie bei zum Verständnis von Problemen der katholischen Kirche in Hong Kong und der augenblicklichen Situation nach dem 1. Juli 1997.

Hilfreich wäre ein Verzeichnis der im Text verwendeten Abkürzungen gewesen.

Josefine Huppertz

CHRISTOPHER HUGHES, *Taiwan and Chinese Nationalism: National Identity and Status in International Society*. (Politics in Asia Series). London, New York: Routledge, 1997. XVI, 186 pages, £ 45.00. ISBN 0-415-15768-4

Christopher Hughes' book reflects the recent Taiwanese dispute concerning the problematic nature of identity, which goes well beyond the legacy of the Chinese civil war. In his theoretically substantiated analysis, Hughes traces the reason behind the paradoxes of international order, within which the de facto statehood of Taiwan contradicts its unsolved status. He also assesses in detail the conflict between this political structure and the handed down nationalistic ideology: the modern state on the island, which finds its legitimation in the principle of sovereignty of the people, clashes with the Chinese nation's "historicised" foundations for legitimation, which the ruling Nationalist Party (KMT) has been imparting to its ideology ever since the party was established.

According to Hughes, Chinese nationalism is the key to understanding the problem of Taiwan's position in a field of tension between state and nation. The analytical track pursued by the author extends from Sun Yat-sen's nationalistic ideology for uniting China (Sanmin zhuyi, or the Three Principles of the People), which laid the foundation for the dictatorial ruling structure, up to the KMT's strategic approach in dealing with crises arising from this ideology. In ch. 2 Hughes portrays the intensification of such crises in the 70s, when the backing behind the authoritarian rulers of the KMT – the military support of the USA – started to fail with the reconciliation between Washington and Beijing. Although the political demands of the opposing elite were concentrated initially on extending the participation of the island's inhabitants, "difficult questions concerning the ideology upon which KMT dictatorship was premised would be raised". If the national identity in Chinese nationalism, which established itself genealogically and historically, is to be deconstructed, then "this idea of the nation as a community of shared destiny" as proclaimed by Peng Ming-min in the 60s shows the solution of the identity problem in the trend toward democratisation processes. This concept of identity based on the

“civic nation” (Anthony D. Smith) was even taken up later by President Lee Teng-hui in the “idea of *Gemeinschaft*”. Although the uncertain outcome of Peng Ming-min’s concept is not dealt with by Hughes, his portrayal is correct in so far as he attributes more importance to the Formosa wing of the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) in illustrating the connection between this problem of identity and democracy.

The unfinished task of unification in Chinese nationalism and the one-China principle incorporated within it may not stand in the foreground of KMT political action any more, but they still remain its point of departure, in spite of the continuation of the reform policies under a native Taiwanese president Lee Teng-hui. In ch. 3 Hughes unravels the dynamic complex of foreign policy, mainland policy and domestic policy. The balancing act of Lee Teng-hui regarding domestic policy was, according to Hughes, only possible by “keeping democratisation separate from the question of national identity”. Whilst the KMT has taken a turn in foreign policy towards “dual recognition”, its relations to the former opponent on the mainland remain on an unofficial level despite the intensive economic interdependence between Taiwan and China. As Hughes points out: “It was becoming ever more clear that the unification of China was no longer the ultimate aim of the ROC, only the unification of a kind of China that might take generations to achieve.”

In spite of or even because of the attempts of the KMT to prevent any revival of the national identity problem, the dynamic forces of democracy are galloping in just this direction. The climax of democratisation, namely the reform package for a president elected directly by the “people” and a parliament representing the “people”, leads in Hughes’ analysis in ch. 4 to the KMT’s concept of “China”. “‘China’ can be conceived of as an entity quite distinct from the two states that exist within it”. This democracy on Taiwan no longer felt itself bound to Chinese nationalism. The Taiwanese people also had to face the military manoeuvres of the communists. Nevertheless no clear signals were given for political independence during a series of national Taiwanese elections.

In the following chapter Hughes argues that the drifting of Taiwanese democracy away from the Chinese nation and the newly produced feeling of community is more akin to the prototype of the “Living Tree” than that of “Greater China”, which arose primarily from the economic interaction of various ethnical Chinese communities. According to the account in ch. 6, if Taiwan, under the official name “ROC”, does not cope with its identity problem, then its foreign policy – despite all the attempts at innovation – is soon bound to reach the limits of international politics. Today the ROC, as a founding member of the UN, finds itself dependent on such international structures.

Hughes’ book is a valuable addition to the literature on the subject. He presents a clearly comprehensible analysis without neglecting the dynamics of politics as well as the contemporary situation. His merit lies in his approach to nationalistic ideology. He manages to render a competent explanation of the entire network of democratisation – Taiwan’s economic interdependence with the mainland and its interaction with international society. The fact that the aspects portrayed had to be limited in their complexity to the thoughts and actions of its actors is inevitable. For this reason his elevated claim in the final chapter is in need of modification: “This work

has attempted to understand the development of the Taiwan problem in terms of people thinking and acting to resolve a variety of problems in a changing historical situation." The foundation of a new national identity of *renmin* (people) is, to follow the argumentation of A.D. Smith – a teacher of Hughes –, mainly attributed to the education of the people by the modern state ("civic education"). What the public discourse on identities has been expressing since democratisation, which was primarily intended for the election campaigns and thus made it all the more effective, is reflected in the KMT's cultural and educational policy which search for the Taiwanese past. These steps of the island population towards evolving a Taiwanese national identity are not taken into consideration by Hughes, a fact that can be regarded as positive in so far as the transformation from the genealogical and historicized version of the Chinese nation into the "civic and territorial" identity is made possible, as conceived by A.D. Smith in his "Types of Nationalism". This dynamic parameter, which is not taken up by Hughes in his analysis, will, in my opinion, determine the way things turn out in the long run.

Su-Juan Li

DAVID SHAMBAUGH (ed.), *Greater China: The Next Superpower?* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995. IX, 310 pages, £ 14.99. ISBN 0-19-828934-0

One of the important new developments at the end of the twentieth century is the emergence of "Greater China". The term "Greater China" refers to mainland China's links with Hong Kong, Taiwan, Macao, and with Chinese overseas. Can these "Chinese links" set forces in motion that will gradually create a new superpower? This question is the central topic of this book edited by David Shambaugh, Senior Lecturer in Chinese Politics at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. Indeed it is the first book to deal with this topic systematically and makes the world aware of the fact that China can reach a superpower status if the political obstacles can be overcome and China reunified under a single sovereign authority.

But not all the contributors to this book agree with the assumption that it is likely that a Chinese superpower status will become a reality. In fact, the fifteen authors may be divided into three groups: the optimists, the pessimists, and the neutralists.

Michael Yahuda, Luo Qi, Christopher Howe, Robert Ash, Chong-Pin Lin, Y.Y. Kueh, and Richard Louis Edmonds adopt a quite optimistic standpoint. For example, Yahuda observes a duality of state and non-state interactions among mainland China, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao. People, ideas, investments and goods are transcending political and territorial boundaries largely irrespective of the governments under which they live. From Yahuda's viewpoint it is these interactions that characterize Greater China and make the emergence of a Chinese superpower likely. As Chong-Pin Lin demonstrates, these interactions have largely narrowed the gap between the different Chinese societies in recent years. This is also an observation which Edmonds confirms by elucidating Macao's growing economic integration with Zhuhai and Guangdong.

Other authors such as Harry Harding, Brian Hook and Wang Gungwu are more pessimistic about a superpower future for China. Wang particularly posits considerable reservation about the concept and the term "Greater China". As an authority on