in integrating historical facts, however small, into the larger account. Indeed, when reading the volume, there is a sense of marvelously rich detail, a total mastery by all of the authors of the historical material, and just so much packed into the relatively short chapters.

The Diplomatic History of Postwar Japan, as the title, of course, suggests, is just that—a very straight diplomatic history. So if there is a criticism that might be made of the volume from other cognate disciplines it might be that a wider set of arguments or concepts is not always apparent from the volume. The impression by reaching the end of the volume is that just exactly what are the key drivers and instruments of Japanese diplomacy is not entirely explicit. Indeed, it might have been hoped that because of the shared intellectual pedigree of the authors, they may have looked to project through this volume a more distinct perspective beyond providing just such a coherent historical account. But this type of distinct Kyodai approach is somewhat elusive, apart from the clear reverence displayed for the pragmatic effectiveness of the Yoshida Doctrine.

Nevertheless, this is a truly excellent volume. There certainly does not exist any other volume in English or Japanese which provides in a relatively short format such depth of historical analysis. It should be the starting point for any new student of Japanese diplomatic history, and many more advanced specialists in the field will want to read this work to remind themselves of key events and to enjoy the mastery the contributors.

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doi:10.1093/irap/lcs005

China, The United States, and Global Order

Rosemary Foot and Andrew Walter
New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011
ISBN 978-0-521-72519-4, 340 pages

At a time when American power is seen by many pundits to be in decline, one of the most important and pressing security issues that continue to

capture the attention of the policy and scholarly communities is the rise of China and the threat it may pose to the global order. The People's Republic of China (PRC) is the last remaining communist great power, and its different system of governance makes it the 'odd one out' in the post-Cold War international community, with seemingly different values which are often antithetical to the West. This, coupled with its rapidly growing economic, political, and military power, is what makes China a source of anxiety. As China is not a democracy, is it more prone to belligerent behavior? Furthermore, how long is it going to be satisfied with the status quo, where Western liberal democracies have long been in a position to set the 'rules of the game'? Is Beijing going to use its newly found power to challenge Western dominance?

These questions have produced a number of works that have attempted to gauge the degree to which China has accepted the normative structures of the international community and become a 'status quo' power, and Rosemary Foot and Andrew Walter's new book *China, the United States, and Global Order* is the latest contribution to this field. Unlike many works that focus solely on China, this work adopts a comparative approach and examines the United States' and the PRC's patterns of compliance to a range of global norms, such as the use of force, macroeconomic surveillance, nuclear proliferation, climate change, and financial regulation. The authors justify this approach by arguing that the case studies of the United States and the PRC offer a fruitful way of investigating the strength and contestation of the normative fabric of the international community. This is so not only because of the significant power that both states enjoy, but also because 'they have an important and evolving bilateral relationship … [h]ow much the global order affects the evolution of this relationship, and how much the relationship in turn reinforces or challenges this global order, are central questions for our time' (p. 15).

There is much to like in this book, which is both rigorously researched and meticulously put together. Despite its relative emphasis on making an empirical contribution to the literature on global order and its contestation, the authors also make an important addition to the literature on socialization by arguing that compliance with norms not only depends on the 'legitimacy' of the norm in question, but is also closely related to its 'distributive fairness' (p. 297). Even though certain norms may be seen as desirable in themselves, states are less likely to adhere to them if they perceive that compliance imposes substantial and disproportionate costs on them: while the 'legitimacy' of a norm may matter,

adhering to this norm often has concrete material costs, and the highly political question of *who* bears these costs, *when*, and *how* plays a crucial role in the diffusion of global norms. By forwarding this point, the authors successfully bridge the normative/instrumental divide that has tended to characterize conventional works on the spread of norms.

The authors find that there is 'a tendency for levels of behavioural consistency to be lower in areas that are of higher domestic social and political significance' (p. 279), but conclude that it is not easy to establish a consistent pattern of US or Chinese 'compliance' with international norms across all issue areas. Nevertheless, the PRC, for its part, has broadly demonstrated a tendency toward increasing (if not the highest levels of) convergence with international norms, even though its starting point was fairly low. Perhaps surprisingly, the United States is less of a 'status quo' power, despite the fact that it has often played a key role in drawing up many of the rules of the international community in the first place. The general tendency for the United States is 'important behavioural inconsistencies at particular times, accompanied by a willingness to defend these as justified whilst insisting that other countries abide more strictly by global behavioural norms' (p. 280). Such behavior has often been supported by exceptionalist beliefs in the American political system, which breeds a reluctance to harmonize US domestic political institutions and their policies with international rules.

While there is little doubt that this is a superb book that makes an important contribution to its field, a number of questions do remain. One of the most important is the alleged 'assertive' turn that Beijing has taken, particularly since 2009. If the PRC has, as this book argues, generally behaved increasingly like a 'status quo' power, how are we to explain this seemingly abrupt change? Although this book was published in 2011, a significant proportion of the authors' field research in China took place prior to, or just after this shift. Consequently, many of the interviewees or works consulted by the authors may have adhered more to the 'moderate' general policy line at the time, and consequently offer precious few clues as to why Beijing appears to have moved away from its general policy of 'peaceful rise' and adopted a more hard-line posture.

Yet, this potential weakness is also this volume's strength. China's seemingly sudden change in its foreign policy is an indication that the Chinese are still very much uncertain of how to use their newly found power. Both International Relations experts and policy elites have all too easily jumped

on the 'China threat' bandwagon in the past, only to find out that the PRC turned out to be far less of a threat than it was purported to be. At a time when an increasing number of policy-makers and scholars are warning of a re-emerging 'China threat', we need to avoid making the same mistakes again. Instead, we should remind ourselves that Beijing was increasingly on its way to becoming a 'status quo' power, sometimes even more so than the United States. China is rapidly changing, but just how it will evolve is far from certain. We need to avoid blindly following the latest academic or policy trends, and coming to hasty conclusions about China and its allegedly pernicious effects on the global order – Foot and Walter's book serves as a timely reminder of this.

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doi:10.1093/irap/lcs006