

gies of communication such as the telegraph, Reuter's position as a distributor of news in Asia, the standardization of news reporting practices and contending interpretations of "objectivity" in news reporting. O'Connor's book is, therefore, an invaluable resource not only for specialists of Japan, but also for everyone who wishes to understand the complex interconnections of news and views in English-language reporting of Asia during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

#### Notes

- 1 The following works are especially relevant for O'Connor's discussion: Bryna Goodman, *Semi-Colonialism, Transnational Networks and News Flows in Early Republican Shanghai*, in: *The China Review* 4 (2004), pp. 55-88; Chandrika Kaul, *Reporting the Raj. The British Press and India, 1880-1922*, Manchester 2003; Chandrika Kaul (ed.), *Media and the British Empire*, London 2006; Simon J. Potter, *News and the British World. The Emergence of an Imperial Press System*, Oxford 2003.
- 2 Bryna Goodman, *News Flows in Early Republican Shanghai*, p. 59.

**Shogo Suzuki: Civilization and Empire. China and Japan's Encounter with European International Society, London: Routledge, 2009, 256 S.**

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Although there exist various publications on international relations in East Asia in the second half of the nineteenth century, Shogo Suzuki's study presents a refreshing view on the subject through its detailed

analysis of elite writings in China and Japan between the 1860s and 1895.

Suzuki uses the theoretical concept of European International Society as set out by the English School. However, he replaces its eurocentric approach with an asia-centric one that focuses on the agency of China and Japan in their dealings with European International Society. Suzuki also focuses on the Society's Asian pendant, the East Asian International Society. Thus, he claims that the hierarchical structure of the East Asian International Society was sino-centric only in theory, and that in reality China and Japan developed competing Tribute Systems with their neighbours Korea and the Ryūkyū Kingdom.

According to Suzuki, China began to be incorporated into European International Society with the Treaty of Nanjing in 1842, while Japan fully encountered European International Society with the arrival of the first American consul after the Treaty of Peace and Amity in 1854. They came face-to-face with what Suzuki describes as the "Janus-faced" European International Society, referring to the fact that European International Society had two faces, a cooperative one shown to 'civilized' states and a coercive one shown to 'uncivilized' states.

"Civilization" was required for membership in European International Society, but Suzuki demonstrates that the Chinese and Japanese elites reacted very differently when faced with this condition. Since the Chinese perceived China as the most civilized state, they did not care much that China was defined as 'semi-civilized' by the European International Society and did not consider it crucial to improve China's position within the Society's hierarchy. In-

stead, China's experience with the Society led mainly to a desire to improve China's military strength. Suzuki also uses the Chinese elites' hostility towards European political models, China's traditional system of local governance, Confucian ideology and Cixi's court politics to explain China's rejection of reform.

Suzuki explains that the different nature of Japan's reactions were due to the Japanese elite's dualistic understanding of European International Society. They felt "that a 'civilized' state was also given the prerogative to 'civilize' the 'barbarous' polities, and as the most 'civilized' entity in East Asia, Japan had the prerogative to enlighten its barbarous Asian neighbours, just like the European powers." (p. 81) Since Japan tried to challenge the sino-centrism of the East Asian International Society and wanted to protect itself from European powers, it appreciated the prospect of achieving this via membership in European International Society. Suzuki also points out that a 'semi-civilized' status was hurtful to the pride of the Japanese elite, and that many were impressed by the scientific and technological achievements of European states. Moreover, Japan's size meant that it was easier for Japan to implement reforms. As a result, the majority of Japanese elite seconded proposals for reforms that allowed Japan to achieve the civilized standard required to be accepted into European International Society. Nevertheless, Suzuki points out that there were critical voices in Japan arguing against the introduction of reforms aimed at Europeanising Japan, and he also gives examples of problems that ensued during the implementation of the various reforms in Japan. However, as Suzuki shows, Japan's

membership in the Society and the self-perception of the Japanese elite as more civilized than China caused Japan to challenge China's pre-eminent position at the top of the East Asian international order. Thus, the Tribute System was abolished and Japan took on the Society's civilizing mission (e.g. Taiwan Expedition, turning the Ryuku Kingdom into the Japanese prefecture Okinawa), which ended in the Sino-Japanese War. While this is plausible, Suzuki's interpretation of the Sino-Japanese War as an "unfortunate by-product of the expansion of the Janus-faced European International Society" (p. 175) seems to play down the agency of China and Japan and take on a eurocentric perspective. It is, therefore, also no surprise that Suzuki describes Japan's victory in the Sino-Japanese War as "the ultimate triumph of European International Society in East Asia" (p. 10). Although Suzuki's focus on Chinese and Japanese agency is highly commendable, from a historian's perspective there are a few points open to criticism. First of all, the books' findings are not really new (Japan modernised according to Western standards and in turn became an imperial power just like the Western nations in Asia, while China refused to treat Western powers on an equal basis and rejected Western science and politics). Also, Suzuki fails to explain the method he used to select his sources, referring to them simply as writings from the elite, or – even vaguer – "primary Chinese and Japanese sources of the late nineteenth century" (p. 7), leaving the reader wondering what selection criteria he used both for the writings and the writers. Furthermore, it begs the question whether or not the findings would have been different, had Suzuki used different sources

by different members of the elite. A minor point but nevertheless a problematic one is the use of the four cartoons in the book. None of them are referred to the text itself and they tend to be so off-topic that it remains unclear why they were chosen in the first place. Most of them deal with powers that are not even mentioned in the text (Why is there a French cartoon about Tintin in Africa from 1931? Why is there a cartoon about Bismarck?). Moreover, the quality of some cartoons is very poor, hinting at a lack of effort on the part of the editor/publisher because at least some of them could have been obtained in much better quality from the copyright owners. Finally, the short interpretations that are printed under the cartoons tend to miss the point of the cartoons. For example, there is a cartoon that depicts Japan in Western uniform shooting a traditionally-clad Chinese dropping an opium pipe. Suzuki's comment draws attention to the fact that the smoking of opium was a symbol of backwardness, yet since the entire book deals with imperialism and the use of force, the comment should have focused instead on the fact that the opium pipe was a symbol for Western domination of China (opium wars, forced legalization of opium). Moreover, the traditional clothes of China contrast much more with Japan's westernised uniform than the opium pipe. China is also portrayed with typical anti-Chinese stereotypes that were very common in Western cartoons during this period, highlighting that Japanese cartoonists also adopted Western imagery to depict China, thus further portraying Japan as a member of European International Society and excluding China from this by stressing its non-Western features. Never-

theless, these are minor issues. Suzuki's account of Chinese and Japanese reactions to Western literature is very informative. Indeed, what makes Suzuki's book stand out is that he studies international relations in East Asia through the eurocentric concept of European International Society but uses an asiacentric perspective. For this, he deserves a great deal of credit because too many publications still present China and Japan as passive powers which only reacted to the Western powers.

**Max Weber, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft, Teilband 3: Recht, hrsg. von Werner Gephart und Siegfried Hermes (= Max-Weber-Gesamtausgabe, Bd. I/22-3), Tübingen: Verlag J. C. B. Mohr, 2010, 811 S.**

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Der vorliegende Band enthält zwei unterschiedlich umfangreiche Beiträge, die Max Weber seinem Beitrag zum Handbuch „Grundriss der Sozialökonomik“ zuordnete, das bei Mohr erscheinen sollte. Der erste, kürzere Beitrag (nach einem editorischen Bericht S. 191-247 des hier angezeigten Bandes) enthält einen Text, der den Titel „Die Wirtschaft und ihre Ordnungen“ trug und in seiner vorliegend zugrunde gelegten Bearbeitung eine theoretische Konzeption in sich aufgenommen hat, wie sie in dem von Weber veröffentlichten Aufsatz „Über einige Kategorien der verstehenden Soziologie“ (Logos 4 [1913],