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Chinese Defense and Foreign Policy

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Little is known about his espionage activity, his flight to Moscow, his appearance on Moscow television, and his subsequent suicide in 1989. Therefore, Kessler developed his character study of Souther from many interviews with former classmates, friends, and associates. He believes he has found evidence of the character flaws displayed by other recent spies. Indeed, much of Souther's behavior resembles the Israeli agent Jonathan Pollard, especially his exaggerated desire for attention.

Kessler's earlier book, *Moscow Station: How the KGB Penetrated the American Embassy*, published in 1989, discusses the espionage case that involved the U.S. embassy marine security guards. There are similarities between the two cases. While conducting his research, Kessler determined that the NIS and FBI practised poor and inept investigative techniques. He is right in maintaining that if the initial contact with the NIS by Souther's wife had been reported, his security access may have been denied.

He points out that there are many lessons to be learned by our counter-intelligence organizations from the Souther case, primarily regarding the existing attitude within the U.S. Navy towards security that allows individuals like John Walker, Jonathan Pollard, and Glen Souther to operate. In this regard I agree with Ronald Kessler. While John Walker exaggerated when he stated that "K-Mart spends more money guarding their toothpaste than the navy does guarding their secrets," there are existing

problems of understaffing, underfunding, and underemployment in the navy despite the incredible damage wrought by the spies of the 1980s.

Although it would have been more interesting to read about Souther's access and modus operandi, I recommend *The Spy in the Russian Club*.

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Dreyer, June Teufel and Iipyoung J. Kim, eds. *Chinese Defense and Foreign Policy*. New York: Paragon, 1989. \$29.95

There is an old Chinese proverb that says it is a curse to live in interesting times. Clearly 1989 and 1990 qualify as interesting times, both in a global sense and specifically with respect to China. Writing any book on China in normal times is a risky proposition, but writing a book about Chinese defense and foreign policy in "interesting times" can be downright catastrophic. *Chinese Defense and Foreign Policy*, which was written in 1987 and published in 1989, does not escape the wrath of the Chinese curse.

The eleven chapters that make up this book were originally papers presented at the conference "China in a New Era: Continuity and Change," held in Manila in August 1987.

Robert Ross's "Succession Politics and the Post-Mao Foreign Policy" provides a good survey of the succession options. But he portrays the

reformers and the conservatives as cut from the same cloth, differing only in tactical approaches. This is a common view that in the aftermath of Tiananmen Square proved to be quite wrong. A similar situation surfaces with Steven Levine's "Chinese Foreign Policy and the Strategic Triangle." Levine remarks that ideology may again form a unifying bond between China and the Soviet Union, rather than serve as a cause of conflict. This conclusion is less excusable as trends in 1987 indicated a down-playing of ideology as a driving force in foreign relations.

The chapters on regional issues come off much better, especially Allen Whiting's "The Politics of Sino-Japanese Relations." Whiting's discussion of subjective and objective factors influencing the relationship reveals a thread of continuity that is likely to shape for a long time Sino-Japanese interactions. "Evolving Chinese and Soviet Policies toward the Korean Peninsula," by Norman Levin, provides a good overview of the complex interrelationships and the plausible future outcomes for the major actors.

Harvey Nelsen's "Continuity and Change in Chinese Strategic Deterrence" and William Tow's "Strategy, Technology and Military Development" both provide clear assessments of the military situation in their respective areas.

In his "Military and Politics in the PRC," Eberhard Sandschneider overrates the role of the military's participation in Chinese politics. His

argument rests on the low level of functional differentiation existing in the PLA. Sandschneider maintains that the Chinese military is not clearly separated by institutional and organizational lines from the civilian sector.

While this assumption was correct during the Maoist period, Deng Xiaoping's military reforms have changed the character of the PLA officer corps. Deng's reforms have reduced the army's size and rejuvenated the officer corps. Further, the PLA was given its own sphere of activity. Although still involved in nonmilitary tasks, the focus of the PLA has clearly shifted to combat activity. Educational improvements, the downgrading of political commissars, increase in field training, de-emphasis of the militia, withdrawal of military personnel from the People's Armed Forces departments, and the sharp reduction in number of military officers serving on the Politburo and Central Committee all point to the increasing functional specialization of the military.

The military is an important actor in Chinese politics, but this is true only in a negative sense and in crises. Few military leaders have the prestige and the local power bases to play more than a superficial role in politics. This may change as a result of Tiananmen Square and the consequent conservative policies pursued by the octogenarians currently pulling the strings of power in China. If so, the model portrayed by Sandschneider may again be

appropriate, but this outcome is far from clear now.

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Delgado, James P. *To California by Sea: A Maritime History of the California Gold Rush*. Columbia: Univ. of South Carolina Press, 1990. 304pp. \$24.95

In his 5 December 1848 State of the Union Address, the president of the United States announced the truth of the rumoured riches of the California gold rush, and within a year over one thousand ships crammed with eager fortune-seekers sailed for San Francisco Bay.

James Delgado's book is a fine history of this unique marine enterprise, for it is the first comprehensive history of the importance of ships and shipping in the gold rush since Jack Kemble's 1949 book. The gold rush not only gave rise to the state of California, but it had a great impact on national and world maritime trade. Voyages round Cape Horn, passages through the jungles of Panama and Nicaragua, and transcontinental expeditions are all part of the story. Delgado addresses such vital themes as the rise of the port of San Francisco, the rough and ready seafaring law and order of San Francisco Bay, and the role of the United States Navy and the U.S. Revenue Marine (now the U.S. Coast Guard).

Not only is this work based on an exhaustive reading of manuscript

sources, but it is grounded in the most recent secondary sources, which are virtually innumerable. An extensive bibliography and footnotes give added value to this book. This is a well-illustrated and beautifully written text that holds a special niche as the standard work on the subject. It confers upon James Delgado the honoured place as the premier historian of the California gold rush, especially its long-neglected maritime aspects. In a larger sense this book is a significant contribution to maritime history as well.

Delgado is the Maritime Historian of the National Park Service in Washington, D.C., and a native of the San Francisco Bay area; his subsequent historical contributions are eagerly anticipated. He brings a local knowledge and love of subject to his work that is enviable and necessary for writing the excellent maritime history of which this book is an example.

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Fromkin, David. *A Peace to End All Peace: Creating the Modern Middle East, 1914-1922*. New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1989. 567pp. \$39.95

David Fromkin states in his introduction that he set out to tell how the European powers, large and small, were responsible for profound change in the Middle East. One can hardly argue that point, yet, as with everything else in the Middle East, his task