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China and America: The Search for a New Relationship

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BOOK REVIEWS

Banks, Arthur S., ed. *Political Handbook of the World: 1978*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1978. 627pp.

This is an extremely useful reference work for anyone who desires a convenient encapsulated description of the governmental structures, the political elites, and the history and demography of the nations of the world, together with a short synopsis of the most pressing issues with which each must deal. Of particular interest is the listing of the major political parties of each nation along with each party's prominent leaders. This work also identifies each party's legislative strength and in those nations that adhere to the parliamentary system of government, the governing party is listed. In those parliamentary nations where no party commands a majority in the legislature, the *Handbook* names those parties that constitute the governing coalition.

The description of the nations is highly readable. The work suffers from drawbacks identical to those of other handbooks of this type. Because the world is changing so rapidly, both in the internal political composition of nations as well as the number of nations, the book becomes outdated almost as soon as it is published. Even publishing a new edition each year does not enable the publisher to remain absolutely current.

I found that a major factor distinguishing this work from the ordinary almanac or political handbook is the inclusion of an introduction of the major problems and issues that affect bilateral and multilateral relationships between and among nations on a regional basis. By following this regional formula, some problems or issues peculiar to a particular area of the world are investigated, whereas if one were to attempt to spotlight only global problems, many of these issues would be overlooked. The division of the world into regions for this purpose also lessens

the probability that the ethnocentrism of the editors governed the selection of issues deemed important enough to identify.

Another factor enhancing this work is the description of the composition and operation of a significant number of international organizations. The inclusion of this section enables one to have a ready reference to the multitude of these organizations that play such an important role in the various international relationships throughout the world.

I highly recommend the *Political Handbook of the World: 1978* as a comprehensive reference tool. It is well worth the cost.

EVAN M. JONES
St. Cloud University

Barnds, William J., ed. *China and America: The Search for a New Relationship*. New York: New York University Press, 1977. 254pp.

This book is a series of professional papers presented at the 1975-76 Council on Foreign Affairs session on the development of Sino-American relations. Dealing with past and present issues, the papers analyze Sino-American relations and propose future direction for American foreign policy.

The introductory chapter, written by the editor, gives a foundation for current political patterns in the normalization of Sino-American relations. The chapter skeptically appraises the possibility of an East-West alliance.

Akira Iriye wrote the second chapter on how the People's Republic of China (PRC) views the United States in Chinese foreign policy. Presenting an historical background by dividing the period between 1930 to the present into six identifiable segments, Iriye defines the contemporary issues. Drawing the conclusion that PRC-U.S. relations his-

torically have been characterized by misunderstandings and wars, Iriye foresees the PRC trying to insure a stable relationship so that it can concentrate on internal developments.

An interesting theory Iriye develops is that the PRC does not recognize the United States in a bilateral relationship but as a major determinant in Asian and worldwide affairs. By rejecting a bilateral relationship, the PRC hopes to promote its own international esteem through increased contacts with the United States, while seeking to prevent U.S. affiliations with powers that are potential enemies of the PRC. Examples cited as a threat to the PRC are potential U.S.-Soviet, or U.S.-Taiwan alliances.

The next two chapters evaluate the tangible agreements between the PRC and the United States for the improvement of economic and cultural exchanges. Alexander Eckstein's chapter on Sino-American economic relations explains the development of trade between these two nations, its potentials and barriers. The major emphasis in this chapter is to develop a policy in which trade could expand at a moderate rate. Currently, though, there are many obstacles hindering bilateral trade. For example, under the conditions of the Jackson-Vanick amendment of the 1974 Trade Act, credit and "most favored nation" treatment is not granted to the PRC. Another area of concern is the narrow U.S. market for goods from the PRC, resulting in a trade deficit for the PRC. The conclusion drawn is that if these and other issues are resolved, economic policy would be the determining factor in future Sino-American relations.

Lucien Pye's chapter on building a relation on cultural exchanges suggests that such exchanges are the most convenient way to build a natural bridge of communication between the PRC and the United States. To date, cultural exchanges have been limited and to

increase the exchanges both countries must first recognize their different expectations. Pye concludes that if the United States responds to the PRC's desire for exposure to U.S. technology and the PRC satisfies the U.S. need for intellectual exchanges in the field of the humanities and social science, future exchanges will be encouraged.

In the fifth chapter, Ralph N. Clough discusses the Taiwan issue in Sino-American relations. He argues that the United States will be unable to establish full diplomatic relations with the PRC unless it withdraws all support from Taiwan. On the other hand, Clough implies that if the United States breaks its present security treaty with Taiwan then the United States will lose its credibility among such Asian nations as South Korea and Japan. Clough successfully states the problem, but fails to suggest solutions other than to advocate a policy of making Taiwan independent of the United States while developing diplomatic relations with the PRC.

An interesting argument that Clough presents is the effect of Sino-Soviet relations on the issue of Taiwan. Clough is convinced that as long as tensions exist between the Soviet Union and the PRC, the United States can sustain informal relations with Taiwan, but if Sino-Soviet relations improve, the PRC could pressure U.S. involvement in Taiwan by jeopardizing U.S.-PRC relations. Presently the United States has time to develop a solution, but the question is how much time?

William J. Barnds concludes the book with a final chapter on China in American foreign policy. Taking into consideration that the PRC has both historical and current grievances with the United States, Barnds suggests that the United States should first establish strong credibility among its Asian allies and then gradually establish increased relations with the PRC. If this solution is accepted, I foresee a balance of power struggle in Asia resulting in Sino-

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American relations which are more competitive than cooperative.

Using professional papers written by the leading Chinese-American specialists, the editor offers a book that provides both a broad understanding and varied opinions on a widely controversial subject. Thoughtful readers will find *China and America: The Search for a New Relationship* valuable background for examining Sino-American relations and their importance in world affairs.

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Blechman, Barry M. and Berman, Robert P., eds. *Guide to Far Eastern Navies*. Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1978. 586pp.

Although perhaps better titled, "Guide to East Asian Navies," this regional look at the navies of China, Japan, the two Koreas, the Philippines and Taiwan is a refreshing attempt to provide more than just a compilation of photographs and technical data. To achieve this, the book is divided into two distinct parts. The first, comprising slightly more than half the pages, is a series of essays, each dealing with one of the six subject navies and written by individuals of different naval repute, including Norman Polmar writing on the two Koreas. One could question the inclusion of the Philippine Navy in this work in terms of locale, capability and interaction with the other navies; but the essay is informative. Part II of the book contains the usual photographs, silhouettes and technical data on ships and aircraft. While not quite as detailed as some of its larger counterparts, it is adequate.

The significance of this naval guide then lies in Part I. The editors hope to inform the reader "about the quality of each force, its strengths and weaknesses, the role it plays in peacetime in support of foreign policy and its potential wartime roles, and how it is likely to evolve in the future." That is no mean task,

considering the complexity of such countries as China, Japan and Korea, but it is carried off reasonably well. As might be expected, however, there are as many new questions raised as old ones answered. This is not really so much a fault of the authors and editors as it is a reflection of the realities of the region. Only the most intrepid of analysts or futurists would dare to predict which of the various options available to the nations of the area will, in fact, be pursued, how these will affect the selection of options by the others, and how this interaction will influence naval forces. None of the authors appears this intrepid; thus, what is presented is a menu of possibilities for the future that the reader may or may not find reasonable. Yet it may well be that these uncertainties are precisely what makes this work a timely and significant contribution, as suggested by Admiral Zumwalt in his Foreword.

Notwithstanding the uncertainties of the future, the historical perspective and commentary on the present status and roles of these navies is solid. It is here that the naval reader and layman alike will find most items of interest, although this may reflect this operator's penchant for fact over hypothesis. Despite the multiple author approach, two themes suggest themselves throughout the essays. The navies, as they exist today, reflect post-World War II political realities rather than traditional Western naval concepts. For example, if the size of one's navy has traditionally been held to be a reflection of one's maritime interests, then Japan, with worldwide trading interests and significant dependence on the sea as a source of food, should maintain a navy with global reach. Instead, reflecting the political reaction to the experience and results of WW II and her American-imposed Constitution, Japan maintains only a Maritime Self-Defense Force, credible in home waters, but lacking any real open ocean capability. China, with a merchant