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BOOK REVIEWS

DEPENDENCE AND UNDERDEVELOPMENT: THE DEVELOPMENT AND FOREIGN POLICIES OF ZAMBIA. By Timothy M. Shaw. Athens, Ohio: Africa Program of the Ohio University Center for International Studies, 1976. Pp. vii, 60. \$3.75.

Dependence and Underdevelopment: The Development and Foreign Policies of Zambia, by Timothy M. Shaw, examines the economic and political development of Zambia, and its "conflict and compromise" with the capitalist world economy. Mr. Shaw is very familiar with this subject matter having both attended and taught at Makerere University and the University of Zambia. In addition, Mr. Shaw holds a B.A. from Sussex University of England, an M.A. from the University of East Africa and both an M.A. and Ph.D. from Princeton University. Mr. Shaw is currently an Assistant Professor of Political Science at Dalhousie University, where he is associated with the Centers for African Studies and Foreign Policy Studies.

Mr. Shaw undertook this project in response to a series of surprising developments in 1975. In April of that year, Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda made a well publicized trip to the United States where he expressed his hopes for an end to apartheid in South Africa and for the realization of majority rule in Namibia and Rhodesia. However, Zambia also supported the UNITA-FNLA coalition in Angola in 1975, thus demonstrating Zambia's cooperation with the Republic of South Africa. This paper views these inconsistencies as arising from Zambia's dependence upon foreign capital and management for the success of Zambia's economy, which dependence impedes Zambia's development as a politically autonomous nation. The condition is partially an inherited one, but it is perpetuated by the presence of a strong ruling class which benefits from this dependence. The ruling elite, which is responsible for this state of interdependence, is an essentially parasitic group which is less responsive to its internal constituency than to the pressures of foreign entrepreneurs.

According to the author the ruling class of Zambia is composed of a small elite which forms a type of African bourgeoisie, possessing both political and economic power. Their political power typically originates with appointments to government positions by the President or his Ministers and is maintained through their contact with influential foreign investors whose support enables Zambia to sustain wealthy

multinational corporations and a thriving copper industry. This system of interrelation benefits both the elite ruling class and wealthy foreign entrepreneurs, but does not reflect the interests of Zambia. This results in profound internal conflict among different regional and ethnic classes. Because of the benefit to the influential ruling class, Zambia willingly accepts global interdependence and economic reliance on external entrepreneurs and foreign interests at the expense of Zambian autonomy and independence. Mr. Shaw believes, however, that change might eventually be brought about through internal opposition.

Dependence and Underdevelopment is a concise analysis of Zambia's role in the global hierarchy, which illuminates a range of factors which contribute to Zambia's present inconsistent development. Numerous charts and diagrams have been included in this paper to clarify as well as to support Mr. Shaw's thesis. For the reader who wishes to pursue the theories introduced in this work, Mr. Shaw has included an extensive bibliography.

Joan Stearns*

POLITICAL IMPRISONMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA. An Amnesty International Report. London: Amnesty International Publications, 1978. Pp. 105.

Recent world wide attention to the human rights issue as expounded by the United States government under the Carter Administration has made the public aware of the sensitivity attached to that topic by the international community. Quite naturally, the unfavorable reaction which accompanies publicized accounts of mistreatment of political prisoners insures that reliable information regarding abusive conduct against political detainees rarely escapes from the host country. Consequently, if one seeks accurate information regarding such conduct outside sources must be sought in the hopes that the veracity of the independent reports will be greater.

Within the past six years Amnesty International has published several reports examining alleged treatment (more accurately, mistreatment) of political prisoners in a number of countries.¹ In view

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¹ Including Brazil, Chile, Spain, U.S.S.R., Argentina, Philippines, Greece, Pakistan, Korea, Nicaragua, and Indonesia.

of the controversial nature of the death of oppositionist leader, Steve Biko in September, 1977, it is particularly appropriate that an expose regarding the treatment of political prisoners in South Africa be presented at this time. The report considers the plight of those individuals whose imprisonment has been due to their conscientious opposition to apartheid. Not surprisingly, the publication speaks very unfavorably of the South African government. The report, in fact, acknowledges the likelihood that Pretoria will ban the book as "undesirable" in an effort to hide its contents from the South African people. This expectation alone ought to initiate a sense of curiosity in the reader.

The report first offers a short outline of the political history of South Africa from its inception as a Dutch colony through the formation of the Union, to the consolidation of white rule and the resulting African political opposition. The work's emphasis then shifts to an examination of the three primary sources of legislation under which political prisoners are held; the Terrorism Act of 1967, the Sabotage Act of 1962, and the Internal Security Act of 1976. The report stresses the broad nature of the drafting of these statutes, and the resulting potential for widescale roundup, and subsequent long term detention without trial, of individuals who have demonstrated little or no cause for criminal incarceration. There is great emphasis placed on the fact that the South African judiciary lacks jurisdiction to review the discretionary acts of the Minister of Justice in regard to the detention of political prisoners. In addition, the report documents personal accounts of those detainees whose pleas for judicial intervention in order to stop alleged torture have been met with silence.

However, imprisonment and detention without trial are not the only means allegedly employed by the South African government to promulgate white rule in that country. The report describes the widespread use of banning orders, which severely limit the contact an individual may have with others (including one's own family), and banishment, a less frequently used decree by which an individual is deported to a region of the country far from his home. The report offers statistics, derived from a variety of sources, as to the number of persons effected with each class of punishment.

The arbitrary imprisonment of those whom the report terms "Prisoners of Conscience" provides the subject matter for the third section of the publication. In this section profiles and case-histories of several imprisoned apartheid oppositionists are presented.

The report concludes with a rather detailed consideration of the alleged torture, and murderous activity, which, it is contended, occurs as a matter of course within the maximum security prison on Robbens Island. As if the in depth narrative were not enough to secure an accurate description, the report includes personal accounts from torture victims as well as photographs of wounds allegedly inflicted during detention in prison. The report admits that an accusation of government sanctioned torture is a serious matter. However, the Amnesty International organization contends that its charges of government-sanctioned torture in South Africa are fully justified, and the report attempts to support its contention by virtue of Pretoria's refusal to allow an investigation by outside parties into the activities on Robbens Island. The report further supports its position by pointing to the failure of the South African government to successfully explain the recent deaths of nearly a dozen political detainees over the course of not quite a year's time. The reader, perhaps justifiably so, is left to believe that the South African government merely hemmed and hawed when questioned in that regard.

If there is anything positive to say about the ruling government in South Africa it will not be found in this report. The issue is clearly designed to encourage universal condemnation of the ruling body in South Africa and the apartheid policies by virtue of which it exists. No mention is made of any argument in support of the governmental policies, and perhaps no convincing argument can be found. Certainly, the South African government has released many statements supporting the enactment of its politically oriented legislation. The report, however, is devoid of any such countervailing explanations, and although the reader may tend to view any proposal of support for the system with skepticism, he ought to at least be exposed to the opposite viewpoint in order to form a more balanced opinion in regard to the facts. One must applaud the report for its apparent purpose in generating sympathy for the anti-apartheid movement, but the bias in this report is so evident that that one may be inclined to believe that there are two sides to every story.

*Jeffrey S. Hyman**

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CHINA AND AMERICA: THE SEARCH FOR A NEW RELATIONSHIP.

Edited by William J. Barnds. New York: New York University Press, 1977. Pp. xii, 248. \$15.00.

China and America, a Council on Foreign Relations book, is a collection of essays dealing with the past, present and future of Sino-American relations. Two of the essays discuss the general picture of Chinese and American relations, while the specific areas of trade and cultural exchanges are treated in detail in separate chapters. The problem of Taiwan and its impact on Sino-American relations is also examined in a separate essay. Throughout the book, recommendations are proposed for future policies to overcome the major problems which exist between China and America.

William J. Barnds, editor of the volume and contributor of one of the essays, is a Senior Research Fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations and the author of several books on Asian affairs. In his introduction, Barnds discusses the general trend of Sino-American relations since the dramatic improvement that followed the Kissinger and Nixon visits to Peking in 1971 and 1972, as well as the slow, and to many, the disappointing progress which has been made since then. He points out both the problems which face the two countries in their attempts to normalize their relationship and the dangers of failure to overcome these problems.

Akira Iriye, Professor of Diplomatic History at the University of Chicago, has contributed a chapter on Chinese perceptions of the United States in formulating their own foreign policy. In tracing the history of Sino-American relations, Professor Iriye makes clear that, while changes in leadership in Peking may affect the responses of China in the short run, the basic foreign policy problems of China have not greatly changed since the early part of the 20th century.

Professor Iriye examines the relationship between China and America since the 1930's. He notes in particular the tendency of the Peoples Republic of China (PRC) to view their bilateral relations with other countries as a component in a larger framework of East Asian affairs and the total international situation. He traces the shift in Chinese foreign policy from a single-minded hostility to imperialism to a position of opposition to hegemony by any major power. In this context, the change in Chinese policy from friendship to animosity toward the Soviet Union becomes clearer. This re-adjustment in perceptions provided the background for the change in Sino-American relations in the early 1970's.

In the future Professor Iriye sees Chinese suspicions of the U.S.S.R. as the basis for their continuing interest in normalizing relations with the United States. Thus, Chinese leaders will denounce any mention of detente between the Soviet Union and America and will encourage the maintenance of America's international strength and prestige. The victory of the moderate forces in China following the deaths of Mao and Chou, and the expressed interest by the new leadership in economic and technological development, seems to indicate a desire for a relatively stable world situation, at least for some years. As a result, China will probably remain receptive to improving relations with the United States and will be tolerant of continuing American involvement in Asian affairs.

The chapter on Sino-American economic relations was written by Alexander Eckstein, Professor of Economics at the University of Michigan, shortly before his death. Professor Eckstein recognizes the underlying difference in approach of the two countries to the issue of trade. While Americans tend to pursue trade as an end in itself and as a means to move toward full diplomatic normalization, the Chinese tend to look upon expanding trade as the end product of full recognition.

The peak year for Sino-American trade was 1973, when the Chinese leadership's policy of importing advanced technology for both industry and agriculture coincided with poor domestic harvests. Since then, trade between the two countries has decreased. Professor Eckstein attributes the decrease to economic factors rather than to a shift in Chinese policy. The world wide stagflation beginning in 1974 limited the market for Chinese exports and thereby limited their imports as well. In addition, Chinese harvests improved and enabled agricultural imports to be decreased.

Focusing on Sino-American trade, Professor Eckstein sees two factors limiting future growth. While China incurred a serious imbalance in foreign trade in 1972 and 1973, they cannot indefinitely sustain a large deficit. However, the American market for China's main exports is limited. In addition, the Chinese exports must bear the burden of the high United States tariff, since the PRC has not been granted most-favored-nation status.

While the granting of most-favored-nation status would certainly increase Chinese exports to the United States, Professor Eckstein believes greater trade must depend on additional means by which China could balance its export-import ratio with the United States. Two possibilities are through oil shipments from China to America or

through the granting of credits by the United States to the PRC. The question of credits seems insoluble without the removal of several institutional obstacles in America such as the Jackson-Vanik Amendment of 1974 which bars credits to countries which limit immigration. Moreover, the granting of credits does not seem feasible unless and until full diplomatic recognition has been extended to the PRC. On the question of oil, Professor Eckstein points out that American companies have shown little interest in importing Chinese oil without some co-producing agreement between themselves and the PRC, which Peking has adamantly rejected.

While increased Chinese oil exports may not reach America directly, they will provide China with the means of balancing their overall trade picture and will improve prospects for greater imports of American products. In Professor Eckstein's view, granting full diplomatic recognition would certainly aid in securing larger markets in China, especially for American agricultural produce and equipment.

The area of Sino-American cultural exchange is examined by Lucian Pye, Professor of Political Science at Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Cultural exchange has been the most publicized result of the new era in Chinese and American relations. Professor Pye analyzes both the official "facilitated exchanges" and the more informal, and unilateral, invitations to individual Americans extended by the Chinese.

While the PRC has rarely sent its citizens to America except on the facilitated exchanges, far more Americans have visited China by private invitation than as part of official delegations. The alternate methods for the Chinese to receive American visitors seems, at first, to be solely advantageous to China, since they can afford to be selective about the numbers and identity of those whom they will invite. On balance, however, Professor Pye feels the dual system does contain some advantages for the United States as well. Since American visits to China are not entirely dependent on government sanction, they are not hostage to every shift in Sino-American diplomatic relations. On the other hand, the availability of the facilitated tours insures that individuals of neutral, or even anti-Chinese sentiments, have at least a chance to visit China.

On a few occasions, the Chinese have used their visa granting power to reject individual members of official delegations. Professor Pye emphasizes that the future of the cultural exchange program could be jeopardized unless the principle is clearly understood that the

delegations travelling under the facilitated exchange program should be selected solely by the sending country to insure proper representation.

Professor Pye points out several problems of reciprocity which have arisen in the cultural exchange program. The Chinese interest in technology has prompted them to press for delegations of scientists at the expense of American humanists and social scientists, who have been frustrated in their attempts to arrange facilitated visits. Professor Pye points out that their disappointment may result in an eventual decrease in the number of Americans who wish to visit China and a slow down in the exchange program.

He also analyzes the Chinese tendency to give a standard tour to all visiting Americans, no matter what their personal interests. He feels that the program could be strengthened by a greater Chinese appreciation of the desire of most Americans to meet and talk with their counterparts in less formal groups and for more extended periods.

Finally, there is the problem of Chinese perceptions of cultural exchange. Professor Pye stresses that China has long had difficulty reconciling their own particular world-view with an interest and desire for greater contact with the outside world. In the PRC today, the radicals are suspicious of foreign contacts and fear for the preservation of Maoist values in the face of contamination from abroad, while the technocrats and other moderates see a need for China to develop a larger dialogue with the outside world. Therefore, the future of the cultural exchange program is dependent on the continuing domestic ascendancy of the moderates.

In his chapter on the Taiwan issue, Ralph Clough, Senior Fellow at the Brookings Institute, analyzes the problem posed by the existence of the Republic of China (ROC) in the context of relations between the PRC and the United States. America has so far stopped short of severing diplomatic relations with the ROC or ending the bilateral security treaty signed in 1954. Underlying these formal ties are important economic and political interests between the two countries. The problem facing the United States is to improve relations with the PRC without entirely abandoning Taiwan.

Peking's interest in Taiwan is more fundamental. The official position of both the PRC and the ROC is that Taiwan is a part of China. In Clough's view, Peking's major problem is to exert enough pressure to bring Taiwan back under its authority, but not to push so hard that Taipei abandons the One China view and declares independence.

Clough sees several obstacles to a more forceful PRC policy against Taiwan. In view of the strained nature of Sino-Soviet relations, Peking would probably not wish to commit the men and material necessary for a military conquest of the island. In addition, any effort to use force would seriously damage Peking's relations with America and Japan. Moreover, a harder line might be effectively countered by possible ROC responses. Taiwan could, in the face of an open threat, develop a nuclear capacity, appeal for help to the Soviet Union, or declare its own independence. The possibilities are enough, in Clough's view, to deter any military action by Peking.

Clough recommends several options for United States policy on the Taiwan issue. Each involves full diplomatic recognition of the PRC combined with some downgrading of our representation in Taipei. If diplomatic recognition of the ROC is withdrawn, economic ties could be maintained through a consulate, or possibly through an unofficial trade office based on the Japanese model. The question of the bilateral ROC-US defense treaty becomes more difficult if our representation in Taiwan descends to the consular level. In his analysis, Clough sees the possibility of compromise between the United States and the PRC on this and other issues such that, while neither would be entirely satisfied, full recognition of Peking could be worked out.

In order to insure Taiwan's security and ability to resist PRC pressures, Clough recommends as part of the extension of recognition to Peking some understanding between the PRC and the United States that force will not be used to compel Taiwan to submit to the mainland. In addition, he feels that the United States should make it clear, even if unofficially, that United States arms sales to Taiwan will continue. Clough sees no immediate solution to the problem of Taiwan's political future, but he feels that recognition of Peking should be undertaken soon, on the understanding that the United States will accept any peaceful solution to the issue of Taiwan.

In the final essay, William Barnds assesses the role of United States relations with China in the context of overall American foreign policy. He notes that the opening of the new American policy toward China benefited the United States by bolstering America's prestige which had been badly damaged by the Vietnam War. The new Sino-American relationship also created apprehension in Moscow and injected a new note into Soviet policies toward both Peking and Washington. Barnds attributes the slowdown in normalization since 1974 to various factors including the Watergate scandal, the change in leadership in Peking,

the continuing American recognition of the ROC, and Chinese concern with the policy of detente with the Soviet Union. He argues strongly for full diplomatic recognition of the PRC, both to facilitate trade and other discussions, and because the failure to do so carries such potentially great costs. Barnds points out that, if full normalization is long delayed, the Chinese might conclude that they might be wiser to pursue a policy of detente with the Soviets. He also notes that a normal relationship with Peking will give the United States a greater degree of leverage with the Soviet Union. In addition, he emphasizes that full recognition of Peking need not result in a total withdrawal of American support for Taiwan.

After full normalization is achieved, Barnds advocates a policy of evenhandedness in our relations with China and the Soviet Union. He recognizes that strict neutrality may, in many cases, actually benefit the Soviet Union and therefore he recommends some favoritism for China in such matters as the granting of most-favored-nation status.

Barnds also assesses the possibilities of a Sino-Soviet detente. He warns against American over-reaction to such a development, and points out that it might, if not solely motivated by anti-American impulses, actually be beneficial to United States interests. He recognizes that a strong American-Japanese friendship will help this country deal successfully with both the PRC and the U.S.S.R.

While the problems which exist between two such different societies remain great, Barnds sees two substantial benefits which have already accrued from the new relationship. In his view, the thaw between Peking and Washington has reduced the possibility of a Sino-American war, and has provided a stabilizing influence in Asian affairs which has helped to offset the destabilizing effects of the Communist victories in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia.

China and America presents an overview of the recent history of Sino-American relations as well as thoughtful recommendations and forecasts for the future. Relatively little attention is given to the impact of Chinese domestic affairs on foreign policy, partly, no doubt, due to a lack of data. While much of the background material will be unnecessary for specialists in the field, it is helpful to the general reader in understanding both the present situation and the authors' recommendations for future policy. Notes following each essay provide additional sources for further reading in particular areas.

While any long-term predictions as to the future of Sino-American relations are risky at best, this volume is valuable reading

for both the layman and the specialist to gain an appreciation of both the complexities and the possibilities of the changing relationship between China and America.

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