often than not, had to take a back seat to general industrial and agricultural development. The border clashes with Soviet forces in 1969 provided some impetus for the growth of defense industries, but in 1977 and 1978 a debate in the press and at conferences was resolved in favor of those who argued that the modernization of defense is linked to the development of the overall economy. This decision stands today, although it is clear that China’s defenses must be modernized. Dr. Shambaugh’s detailed analysis of Chinese military purchases and production priorities (including computer technology) as well as his delineation of the various Ministries of Machine Building and their respective responsibilities is extremely informative.

The following three chapters by Richard Latham, William Heaton, and Harvey Nelson, covering respectively rectification of work style, professional military education, and internal management practices in the armed forces, are unfortunately repetitive—dealing with the mistakes of the Cultural Revolution and the steps needed to provide the manpower and training necessary for a modernized defense force. These chapters deal with such problems as the distribution of social wealth and abuse of privilege within the military establishment, differences of opinion within the military with regard to the proper approach (Maoist vs. Dengist positions), recruitment, morale and the role of the PLA as a work force as well as a fighting force. It would have been better had the authors of these chapters sharpened their focus in revising their papers for publication in order to avoid overlapping the material of others. Certainly there is enough material to merit three distinct chapters, but as they stand these chapters devote too much space and time to covering much the same subject matter.

In the final chapter June Teufel Dreyer gives a very well documented analysis of the organization and role of the Chinese People’s Militia, which she describes as a “revolutionary heirloom” whose value to the society is marginal. It is clear from her discussion that the future of the People’s Militia within a modernized military establishment is very much in doubt.

Although the book has very obvious shortcomings and is in parts extremely slow going, The Chinese Defense Establishment is nonetheless a valuable contribution in a field only sparsely covered. Let us hope that Jonathan Pollack is right in his assessment that the issues associated with national security are now more openly and candidly addressed within China, and that this will give rise to higher quality publications on the subject of military modernization in the People’s Republic of China.

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Despite its title, Japan and the New Ocean Regime is in fact about policymaking in Japan, specifically policymaking related to the ocean. The introductory [“Japan and the Ocean”] and concluding essays [“Japan’s Ocean Policy: An Assessment”] by Friedheim and T. Akaha, and by Friedheim, respectively, frame eight detailed case studies of the policymaking process in Japan concerning diverse aspects and issues related to the sea.

The importance of ocean policy to Japan is underscored by Friedheim and Akaha’s introductory chapter in which they point out that in the postwar period most
of Japan's resources have been imported via the oceans, in the 1970s Japanese-registered ships carried 44 percent of Japan's world trade, Japan produced about half of the total tonnage of new ships, and half the animal protein in the Japanese diet came from fish or fish products, and in the future Japan has high hopes for satisfying a greater share of its mineral and energy needs from under the oceans [pp. 7-12]. These past, present and future dependencies on the ocean, however, came to be threatened in the 1970s by the collapse of world consensus on "freedom of the seas," the basic principle upon which Japan had based its ocean policies, and the emergence of a new "ocean regime" that involved a more mixed system of national enclosure and exploitation of the oceans, collective international regulation of the oceans, and much more limited freedom of the seas.

Several of the articles directly concern the problem of Japan's reaction to the change in "ocean regimes," from initial resistance and opposition, to gradual acceptance and participation in the new system, and the whys and hows of the decision-making process involved in that policy turnabout. For example, Haruhiro Fukui's "How Japan Handled UNCLOS Issues: Does Japan Have an Ocean Policy?," and Tsueneo Akaha's "A Cybernetic Analysis of Japan's Fishery Policy Process" both are detailed case studies of the development of Japan's policy in response to the United Nations' Conferences on the Law of the Sea [UNCLOS] and the national enclosure movements [extending the limit on territorial waters and on fishing and resource zones] of the 1970s. Hiroyuki Nakahara's "Consensus Building in the Council for Ocean Development," is a more narrowly focused study of one Japanese government advisory council's decisionmaking process concerning ocean development in the wake of these same developments.

A second type of article in the volume concerns the political economy of ocean policy. Thus George O. Totten III.'s analysis of "The Reconstruction of the Japanese Shipbuilding Industry" details the interaction and relationship among government, private business, and labor in a key ocean industry in the period of Japan's industrialization and now as a declining industry during the hard times of more recent years. "Japanese Ocean Science and Technology Policy and the National Budget," by Mamoru Koga and Hiroyuki Nakahara, despite its title is actually a descriptive list of the bewildering array of research and development projects, the institutions that house them, and the financial resources they command.

The book's third type of case study is the analysis of decisionmaking in policies concerning natural resources and energy. Mamoru Koga affords the reader an overview of the problems in "Developing a Manangese Nodule Policy for Japan," Masayuki Takekyama's article disects the process by which the Japan-Korea Continental Shelf offshore petroleum development program evolved, and Robert L. Friedheim analyzes how the decision to site a nuclear plant in a coastal zone was made in Onagawa, Miyagi Prefecture.

The methodologies used in these policymaking studies are as varied as the issues themselves. They range from a traditional but richly detailed descriptive study of issues, actors, process and consequences [e.g., Fukui] to the application of formal models such as a cybernetic approach [Akaha] and of specific techniques such as "Multiattribute Utility Measurement [MAU]" used by Friedheim. Although this writer generally applauds any attempt to apply general social science theory or methodology to Japan, he felt that the application of a cybernetic model, for example, produced no insights or conclusions more significant than the traditional but systematic case study and did produce some that were rather more trite.