

## Naval War College Review

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Volume 39  
Number 2 *March/April*

Article 13

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1986

# National Security Interests in the Pacific Basin

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### Recommended Citation

Cloward, Richard S. and Buss, Claude A. (1986) "National Security Interests in the Pacific Basin," *Naval War College Review*: Vol. 39 : No. 2 , Article 13.  
Available at: <https://digital-commons.usnwc.edu/nwc-review/vol39/iss2/13>

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Rearden shows that the problems facing James Forrestal and Louis Johnson during those early years were immense, more so than is typical for a large and new organization. It was a time of political upheaval all over the world and of revolutionary technological change. It fell to those two men to try to build an effective new national security structure in the face of those uncertainties. The author concludes that they did about as well as could be expected. They took the first steps towards centralized control of the larger armed forces that emerged from World War II, and laid the foundations that led to further rationalization and centralization in the subsequent years. But neither Forrestal's gradualist consensus-building leadership, nor the forceful and direct methods of Johnson ever really overcame the insecurities within the armed forces to the point where unification became any more than a hope for the future.

Steven Rearden has done a capital job on *Formative Years*. His documentation is impressive and heavily weighted with primary sources. He seems to understand that his function was to describe and interpret, not to glorify and he gives us something on the warts. His organization is sound and his prose is a pleasure to read.

The first volume of *History of the Office of the Secretary of Defense* establishes a standard for those to follow. It shows that official history *can* be good history and it should be read by the serving armed forces officer. The book is an essential acquisition for all

scholarly libraries and one worthy of the personal collections of the students of military history or national security studies.

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Buss, Claude A., ed. *National Security Interests in the Pacific Basin*. Stanford, Calif.: Hoover Institution Press, 1985. 350pp. \$27.95

A collection of papers given at a 1983 Hoover Institution conference on Security in the Pacific Basin, this book is a first-rate *tour de horizon*. The participants include many well-known names in Asian matters—Roger Swearingen, Paul Wolfowitz, James Gregor, Douglas Pike, to name a few—as well as some that, at first glance, seem a bit out of place in a book on Pacific Basin security matters: retired Admiral Inman and Dr. Edward Teller. To Dr. Buss' credit he has fashioned a most interesting compendium from this diverse group.

Part I of the book deals with "Great Power Confrontation" and sets an overall theme: "The reality of global confrontation is a dominant factor in the decision making processes of the United States, its allies and friends as they seek solutions for their bilateral and regional problems." Part II examines U.S.-Soviet relations and their effect on the Pacific Basin nations. Some of the more interesting observations:

- "Hostilities are not likely to occur in the vast Pacific except as a

consequence of wars started outside the region." (Buss)

- "The United States can no longer go it alone in Asia, or in other portions of the globe—nor should it." (Admiral Long)

- "... the most important single element for stability and growth in . . . this decade . . . will be how the United States manages the economic competition." (Inman)

- "The favorable security picture in the Pacific is . . . not a product of the region's inherent peacefulness, or an absence of force, but rather what seems to be an effective balance of forces." (Wolfowitz)

Part III discusses Northeast Asia, characterized by Dr. Buss as the Pacific Basin area where national security issues are most sensitive. Roger Swearingen leads off with "Security Implications of Siberia and the Soviet Far East" which focuses on Siberia as (1) an economic/strategic "treasure house," (2) a commercial center and (3) a strategic-military complex.

This is followed by a discussion of Japan's defense posture, in which Yoichi Masuzoe presents reasons for the reluctance of the Japanese Government to take a larger responsibility for defending Japan and then examines whether more will be done in the future. Masuzoe's conclusions will disappoint those hoping for significant changes in Japan's defense posture. Lastly are two excellent contributions by Korean authors covering Korean national interests (Koo Youngnok) and the Republic of Korea and the

major powers (Han Sung-Joo). The discussant section features a comment from Edward Olsen.

In parts III and IV, discussion of Southwest Pacific and Southeast Asian security remind the reader of the vast ranges of problems not only between regions, but also between countries within a region. Although written before the recent differences between New Zealand and the United States papers, by Henry Albinski, T.B. Millar, Richard Kennaway and Desmond Ball provide thorough and reasoned analyses of our ANZUS partners. Ball's paper—"U.S. Installations in Australian Agenda for the Future"—provides a detailed description of the principal U.S. installations in Australia and discusses major domestic issues raised by them as well as offering controversial proposals for future Australian policy decisions.

In Southeast Asia, Dr. Buss feels that our most skillful diplomatic management will be required to formulate effective security policy because, unlike other regions of the Pacific community, "[i]n Southeast Asia, because of the diversity and complexity of the area, it is difficult to generate anything approaching consensus on priorities of national interest or common measures for their protection."

Against this backdrop, Douglas Pike discusses Indo-Chinese security in terms of ASEAN while Lie Tek Tjeng writes on Jakarta's view of the regional power balance. Malaysian issues are discussed by University of Malaysia Professor Chandran Jeshu-

run. Short papers present the views of Singapore and Thailand. These are followed by "The Politics of Philippine Security" by Salvador Lopez. Reflecting Dr. Buss' opening remarks, these papers and the discussants' comments reflect unhappiness with U.S. policy and concern with the future, particularly ASEAN's course.

Discussions on Salvador Lopez' paper by James Gregor and Stephen Jurika elicited the following rebuttal by the former Philippine Ambassador to the United States: "You know the trouble with colonialism? It is so much better to talk about it with the colonist than with the colonized. It is nicer, so much more pleasant. You can stand at the top of the stairs and talk to us below. But the fellow down below is something else. And we Filipinos have been there for 400 years! I hope that gives you an idea of why I feel as I do. And why many Filipinos feel as I do. We want you to get the hell out of there!" While not all of part IV is this heated, there is certainly a wider range of opinions here than elsewhere.

Part V deals with China, particularly within the context of the Taiwan issue. In Dr. Buss' words: "If the total security of friendly nations in the Pacific Basin is to be strengthened, due consideration must be given to the interests and policies of U.S. allies and, above all, to the security and welfare of Taiwan." Jonathan Pollack analyzes China's role in Pacific Basin security, giving an excellent assessment of China's strategic role and discussion of China vis-à-vis the superpowers,

other Asian communist states and the Pacific community. Next are three papers on Taiwan, discussing that country's policies, economic development and perspective on the Pacific Basin. Ralph Clough closes out with a discussion of recent trends on Chinese foreign policy, reinforcing the conventional wisdom that "[d]ifferences over Taiwan will be the most untractable problems in U.S.-PRC relations" while observing that "Chinese leaders find it difficult to admit, even to themselves, that the main obstacle to reunification is not U.S. policy . . . but the conviction of [the Taiwanese] that the status quo is preferable to submitting to Beijing's control."

*National Security Interest in the Pacific Basin* is a wide-ranging book. The variety of topics and styles is well balanced by Dr. Buss' comments and introductions. This, and the attention to detail always evident in Hoover Institution Press books, makes this volume a welcome addition to the literature on the Pacific Basin. Dr. Buss' book is recommended equally to the general reader and the serious scholar; there is sufficient material for both.

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Hoyt, Edwin P. *The Militarists: The Rise of Japanese Militarism Since WW II*. New York: Donald I. Fine, 1985. 256pp. \$18.95

As history has shown it is difficult to predict what may rise from the