

dissects the notion that Vietnam is striving to create an Indochinese federation (pp. 117–35).

Chanda portrays the Vietnamese–Soviet relationship as one based more on strategic considerations than shared ideology. The turning point, in his view, came in the summer of 1977. Prior to this, Vietnam had rebuffed Soviet attempts to establish a consulate in Ho Chi Minh City and gain access to Cam Ranh Bay. In one particularly vivid account, Chanda describes in detail a snub delivered to the Soviet Ambassador by Pham Van Dong on the occasion of the anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution (pp. 170–71). Perhaps there is a hint here that if Sino–Soviet normalization proceeds, a Soviet military presence in Vietnam will be phased out (p. 403).

*Brother Enemy* concludes with a plea for the United States to take a more active and concerned role in Indochinese affairs. Although published nearly three years ago, this special pleading is all the more pertinent as the new Bush Administration comes to grips with its Indochina policy. In Chanda's words:

A heavy responsibility — and opportunity — however, lies with the United States. An ironic turn of the wheel has again placed Washington in the position of an arbiter in Asia. It is best placed to guarantee a new balance of power in Southeast Asia, guarantee Thai security against Vietnam, reassure Hanoi against Chinese hegemony, while alleviating Chinese concerns about Moscow, and provide Hanoi with an alternative to total dependence on the Soviets.

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**ASEAN and China, An Evolving Relationship.** Edited by Joyce K. Kallgren, Noordin Sopiee, and Soedjati Djiwandono. Berkeley: Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California, 1988. 368 pp.

Written by both American and Southeast Asian scholars, this book represents a collective effort to assess what are the likely effects of recent political and economic changes in the People's Republic of China (PRC) on ASEAN and their bilateral relations. It is a collection of papers which originated from a conference in January 1987 organized by the Institute of

Strategic and International Studies, Malaysia, with the Centre of Strategic and International Studies, Jakarta, and the Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California, Berkeley. The editors need no introduction for readers familiar with Asian studies. The contributors include China scholars and Asianists such as Kenneth Lieberthal, Robert Scalapino, and Douglas Pike from the American side; on the Southeast Asian side, it is no less impressive with scholars from major research or academic institutes of the region such as Sukhumbhand Paribatra, Chia Siow-Yue, and Jusuf Wanandi.

Most of the American scholars concentrate on developments in China, while the Southeast Asian scholars pay more attention to the bilateral relations between the two. The ASEAN states' attitude towards recent developments in the PRC has been rather ambivalent. Economic reforms in China may bring economic benefits to the ASEAN countries by providing a vast market for their exports, but China itself may also become a competitor in the world market. Moreover, China's past association with communist parties in the region is still very much on the minds of some ASEAN leaders. Thus, the prospect of the PRC becoming strong and powerful has also generated a sense of uneasiness among some ASEAN states.

The two fundamental questions that the book seeks to answer are, as stated in the introduction by Joyce Kallgren: "First, is China making progress in its modernisation efforts, and will it continue to do so? And second, what are the likely consequences of such progress for the region, especially ASEAN, and with respect to specific bilateral relations?" These two questions are no doubt important, but the result of such an approach is that the significance of the rapid and dynamic developments in ASEAN itself is not being given equal treatment.

The book is divided into seven parts: (1) Political leadership in China, with one chapter on the implications of China's political situation on ASEAN, and another one on political leadership and development in China; (2) China's economic reforms, with one chapter on that subject itself and one on Chinese economic modernization and ASEAN; (3) China's military policies, with three chapters, one on China's security strategy in Southeast Asia, one on U.S.-China military relations, and one on China's military policies; (4) China's policy towards ethnic Chinese in Southeast Asia, with one chapter on the PRC's overall policy towards the overseas Chinese, and one specifically on the political liability and the economic benefit involved; (5) China's regional role in Southeast Asia, with one general chapter on China's role, and one on China's economic relations with ASEAN; (6) China and Southeast Asian states, with separate chapters on China's bilateral relations with individual ASEAN countries plus a

chapter on Vietnam; and (7) a concluding section on U.S.–USSR–PRC relationships and their implications for Southeast Asia.

The papers, covering the political, economic and strategic aspects of the implications of China's modernization for ASEAN, are well edited. The book has a more coherent framework and sharper focus than many other collections of conference papers which have come out in book form. The editors should be congratulated for getting the book published reasonably quickly after the conference. Of course, one cannot expect this book to bring readers up to date with recent developments such as the announcement by the Indonesian and Chinese governments that the two countries are to normalize their diplomatic relations. Kallgren has written a brief and succinct summary of all the chapters. However, the quality of the individual chapters is not always consistent. Some chapters provide detailed discussions on specific topics. The chapters on bilateral relations are solid surveys providing useful accounts of individual ASEAN states' bilateral relations with China. But, a few chapters are rather thin and superficial.

On the whole, apart from the surveys on bilateral relations and those on China's regional involvement in ASEAN, many contributors discuss developments in China in much greater detail than the implications of these developments for ASEAN. For example, Kenneth Liberthal's chapter discusses the future of China's reform policies at some length and charts the likely course of China's development convincingly, but its comments on the implications for ASEAN are much more limited. Another example is the concluding chapter by Robert Scalapino. While it is an informative and well analysed piece on U.S.–USSR relations, its treatment of the implications of the trilateral relationship of these powers for ASEAN is less substantial.

As suggested earlier in this review, it is also rather disappointing to read a book about ASEAN's evolving relations with China and discover that the problem of how regional developments in ASEAN will affect its relations with China has not been directly dealt with. Any attempt to assess the relationship between China and the ASEAN states has to take into account the diversity among the ASEAN states, and the domestic developments which are taking place in the individual states at present. While a whole section of the book is devoted to the bilateral relations between China and the ASEAN states, issues such as regional developments, problems facing the ASEAN countries, and the significance of intra-ASEAN relations require more attention.

Another question which this collection of papers has not addressed directly is the ASEAN states' relations with other active powers in the region. ASEAN's attitudes towards the United States, the USSR, and Japan,

are clearly relevant factors which may affect their policies towards China. Although these questions are not totally ignored by the book, a harder look at the implications of these questions on ASEAN's policy towards China will produce a more balanced assessment of the future development of ASEAN's relations with the PRC.

There are obvious limitations in looking at the evolving relationship between China and ASEAN chiefly as a factor of China's modernization. One good example is the book's treatment of Taiwan and Hong Kong. China's policy towards these two places is examined chiefly as one of the problems that the Chinese leadership has to face. Although there are a few references to them in other chapters, for example, the role of Hong Kong in Sino-Indonesian trade in Hadi Soesastro's chapter on Indonesia-China relations, on the whole no attempt has been made to assess the significance of Hong Kong's and Taiwan's links with ASEAN. At present, both places are major trade partners of the ASEAN states and they are important investors in Southeast Asia. Under the current international economic environment, their economic ties with the ASEAN states are likely to be further strengthened. Given China's desire to unify with Taiwan, and that in eight years' time Hong Kong will become a self-administrative region under Chinese sovereignty, the implications of the ASEAN states' existing links with these places clearly deserve more attention.

Despite the limitations, the book provides useful material about China and ASEAN, and points out some of the major problems affecting the bilateral relations of the two. Under the present international, political and economic climate it seems inevitable that the ASEAN states will develop closer relations with China. Singapore has made it clear that it will follow Indonesia in establishing formal diplomatic relations with the PRC. This book is a useful and timely contribution to the existing literature on the subject.

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