

R E V I E W S

The Reviews in Internationales Asienforum try to give a brief evaluation of recent German publications.

Ulrich Albrecht, Dieter Ernst, Peter Lock, Herbert Wulf, Rüstung und Unterentwicklung. Iran, Indien, Griechenland/Türkei: Die verschärfte Militarisierung. Reinbek, Rowohlt-Taschenbuchverlag (rororo aktuell 4004), 1976, 245 S., DM 6,80

The basic thesis of this book is that armaments are a constituent element of underdevelopment. An historical introduction gives a survey of the role that armaments and the use of force and military power have played in developing and maintaining a system of neocolonial structures and a world-wide division of labour based on unequal exchange. After giving an outline of the main trends of arms transfers after World War II (the role of military aid in promoting arms exports "from grants to sales") the study concentrates on patterns emerging in the spread of arms production to peripheral countries and the impact on the developing economies.

Two alternative strategies of indigenous arms production are distinguished. 1. Vertical integration of local arms production into world-wide internationalized arms production: the peripheral countries produce components and/or assemble the final product in closest cooperation with the major arms producers; in an advanced form of integrated production the major arms producers reimport from the peripheral countries. The 2nd strategy of indigenous arms production tends to an autonomous arms production in Third World Countries in order to avoid the possible application of political sanctions by the main supplier countries. Building up production, research, and training facilities, however, needs the support of the big arms suppliers and attempts to build up autonomous local arms industries thus result in intensified dependence on the industrial powers, who provide technical know-how, skilled manpower and sophisticated components (e.g. jet engines).

The most serious aspect of the proliferation of arms production in both strategies is the impact on the developing economy as a whole. A pattern of "industrialization by arms production" emerges, the exigencies of local arms production shaping not only the development of manufacturing industries but also the industrial and social infrastructure.

A great deal of empirical evidence illustrates this line of argument. Three 'national' case studies are presented: the arms race between Greece and Turkey, and arms production in Iran and India, where the first provides an example of the build-up of integrated arms production and the second an attempt at autonomous local production. Acknowledging all the differences in the lines of development of local arms production, the authors still come to the general conclusion that the proliferation of arms production and the growing militarization of peripheral countries lead to the extended use of military power for internal repression, while - in spite of the alleged positive impact of arms industries on the developing economy - the basic needs of the masses ("the 80 % that are poor") cannot be met.

Birgit Sommer

Heinrich Bechtoldt, Chinas Revolutionsstrategie. Mit der Dritten Welt gegen Rußland und Amerika. München, Deutscher Taschenbuchverlag, 1969. 372 pages.

This is the paperback edition of the original 1967 publication. This revised edition was published in 1969 and therefore does not include the important events in China's foreign policy since the Cultural Revolution.

Bechtoldt writes about Sino-Soviet relations, the foreign relations of the People's Republic in general and devotes a great deal of space to what he calls "China's revolutionary strategy". He describes the attitude of the Chinese leadership towards the Third World, Afro-Asian solidarity, world revolution and nuclear strategy. However, he has failed to provide serious answers to two important questions:

- Does the Chinese leadership actively promote the export of revolutions?
- Is China's foreign policy aggressive?

Bechtoldt presents old-fashioned person-orientated historiography. Not much is said about political and social forces within society and their influence on the formation of foreign policy. We learn a great deal about foreign affairs but they seem to happen somewhere in a vacuum for interdependence is not discussed. Many details are given and many names are mentioned which unfortunately do not form a clear picture but contribute to the reader's confusion. The details given about the Cultural Revolution for example, are irrelevant and are not used to help explain Chinese foreign policy.