

# China Policy For The Next Decade

Report Of The Atlantic Council's  
Committee On China Policy

**U. Alexis Johnson**  
*Chairman*

**George R. Packard**  
*Rapporteur*

**Alfred D. Wilhelm, Jr.**  
*Project Director*

with *Foreword* by Kenneth Rush



Oelgeschlager, Gunn & Hain, Publishers, Inc.  
Boston, MA

---

# Contents

<b>Foreword</b>	<i>Kenneth Rush</i>	<i>ix</i>
<b>Preface</b>	<i>U. Alexis Johnson</i>	<i>xiii</i>
<b>Editor's Notes</b>	<i>George R. Packard and Alfred D. Wilhelm, Jr.</i>	<i>xvii</i>
<b>Members of the Committee on China Policy</b>		<i>xix</i>
<b>Part I The Policy Paper</b>		
Chapter 1	The Policy Paper: China Policy for the Next Decade <i>George R. Packard</i>	1
Chapter 2	U.S. China Policy from an Atlantic Perspective <i>Alfred D. Wilhelm, Jr. and George R. Packard</i>	47
<b>Part II Current U.S./PRC Bilateral Relations</b>		
Chapter 3	Reflections on the Making of American China Policy <i>Michel Oksenberg</i>	69
Chapter 4	Viewpoints of America's Friends and Allies <i>Harry Harding</i>	85

**Part III China's Policy Evolution, 1983–1993**

Chapter 5	Domestic Politics of the People's Republic of China	113
	<i>Thomas W. Robinson</i>	
Chapter 6	National Interests and Objectives of the People's Republic of China	127
	<i>Thomas W. Robinson</i>	
Chapter 7	The Domestic Economy and the Four Modernizations Program	139
	<i>Robert F. Dernberger</i>	
Chapter 8	National Security—The Chinese Perspective	181
	<i>Alfred D. Wilhelm, Jr.</i>	
Chapter 9	Taiwan: The Emerging Relationship	221
	<i>Allen S. Whiting</i>	

**Part IV U.S. Policy Evolution, 1983–1993**

Chapter 10	Domestic Considerations	245
	<i>Robert G. Sutter</i>	
Chapter 11	U.S. National Interests and Objectives	259
	<i>Helmut Sonnenfeld</i>	
Chapter 12	U.S. Military Strategy and Force Development	267
	<i>David E. McGiffert and Franklin D. Kramer</i>	
Chapter 13	Trade and Technology Transfers	279
	<i>Leonard Sullivan, Jr. with Ellen L. Frost and David S. Holland</i>	
Chapter 14	Taiwan: The Emerging Relationship	317
	<i>Robert G. Sutter</i>	
Chapter 15	The Atlantic and Pacific Alliances	329
	<i>Terry L. Deibel and Gen. Russell E. Dougherty</i>	

**Part V Perspectives of Key Actors**

Chapter 16	Africa, Middle East, and Latin America	347
	<i>Jeffrey Gayner</i>	
Chapter 17	Japan	355
	<i>Gaston J. Sigur</i>	
Chapter 18	Southeast Asia	359
	<i>Leonard Unger</i>	
Chapter 19	NATO Europe	365
	<i>Rainer W. Rupp</i>	
Chapter 20	Hong Kong	371
	<i>Richard Nations</i>	
Chapter 21	South Asia	379
	<i>Richard Nations</i>	
Chapter 22	Korea	389
	<i>William H. Gleysteen, Jr.</i>	
Chapter 23	The Soviet Union	395
	<i>William G. Hyland</i>	

**Part VI Interactions of U.S. and Allied Views**

Chapter 24	Arms Control	<i>Joseph J. Wolf</i>	403
Chapter 25	Arms Sales	<i>Douglas T. Stuart</i> and <i>William T. Tow</i>	413
Chapter 26	Trade, Economic, and Financial Relations with China	<i>Christopher H. Phillips</i>	427
<b>Glossary</b>			433
<b>Index</b>			435