

conflicts according to similar indicators. The author then matches the two series of indexes so that the reader will know how economic interdependence has influenced attitudes and behaviour. There are two major problems with this book. The first is arbitrary methodology, and what passes as scientific methodology is basically guesswork as complex bilateral relations are reduced to numerical indexes.

Secondly, other factors which impact upon bilateral relations are ignored. During the Cold War, the strategic or security factor was critical for U.S.-China relations despite relatively low levels of economic interdependence. The author says, however, that it was "increasing interdependence" which "kept up the traditional security collaboration ..." (p. 140). This is putting the cart before the horse. A similar chicken and egg situation can be noted in the author's treatment of Japan-Russia relations. The territorial dispute has constrained the development of economic interdependence between Japan and Russia and has prompted leaders on both sides to search for alternatives.

The author notes a correlation between the rising levels of economic interaction of China and the Soviet Union during 1983-88 and claims that as interdependence rose, attitudes began to change (p. 141). There were many significant non-economic factors which motivated the improvement of Sino-Soviet relations during this period which were not taken into account by the author. Until 1989, the security factor and the need to prevent conflict in the relationship was the first priority in Sino-Soviet relations and determined to a large extent the economic relationship. The author's intention to correlate economic interdependence with foreign policy attitudes and behaviour was laudable but there are too many unquantifiable factors for a successful result.

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The Transformation of Security in the Asia-Pacific Region. Edited by Desmond Ball. London: Frank Cass, 1996. 244 pp.

The end of the Cold War and continued rapid economic development have brought major changes to East and Southeast Asia. These changes

have been particularly significant for the security of the Asia-Pacific region. With the collapse of the Soviet Union, the decline of Russian influence, the changing roles of the United States, Japan and China, and the increasingly pivotal part played by ASEAN, there is a clear need for more analysis of the complex state of Asia-Pacific security. This collection of eleven studies, which first appeared in a special September 1995 issue of the *Journal of Strategic Studies*, makes a significant contribution to our understanding of the major trends in the security of the Asia-Pacific region. The consistently informative set of chapters brought together by the editor, Desmond Ball, explores many of the key issues that are at the heart of the transformation of Asia-Pacific security relations.

There are several themes which run through the collection. First, as Ball notes in the introduction to the volume, there is "the general pervasiveness of *uncertainty*" (p. 4). This comes through particularly strongly in the chapters on the major players (the United States, Japan, China and ASEAN) in which there are continual references to "scenarios", "options" and "contingencies". The sense of uncertainty arises from both internal and international changes. As Robert Scalapino argues in his chapter on the United States role in the region, both the Japanese and American societies "are undergoing significant structural changes" (p. 77) but it is not altogether clear what the consequences of these structural changes will be for their security policies. David Arase points out that an additional crucial factor in determining Japan's security policy is the attitude of the United States. Moreover, Japanese concerns about the phased drawdown of U.S. forces and America's commitment to the region are magnified by the perception that China is acting to fill the void left by the declining U.S. presence (p. 93). Obviously, then, Japan has to consider all its options very carefully.

In a similar vein, Harry Harding discusses the complexity and uncertainty of China's domestic situation and possible regional developments that might prove to be provocative or threatening to Chinese interests. Uncertainty and contingency planning are also emphasized by J.N. Mak and B.A. Hamzah in their review of the maritime dimension of ASEAN security, and by Amitav Acharya who looks at the extent to which ASEAN may be considered a regional security community. Mak and Hamzah, as well as Acharya, note some of the continuing tensions between ASEAN members as well as concerns over the future policies of the major powers which could shape ASEAN attitudes towards various security policy options.

A second theme which is discernable in this collection is the need to take into consideration the unique set of circumstances and cultural

values to be found in the Asia-Pacific region. This comes through particularly forcefully in a chapter by Nicola Baker and Leonard C. Sebastian. The two authors persuasively argue that the Western, realist theory of international relations and related concepts, such as “the balance of power” and “the security dilemma”, which grew out of a specific period in European relations, should not be employed in analyses of the very different circumstances to be found in the late twentieth century Asia-Pacific region. The specific circumstances of the Asia-Pacific region also enter into Steve Chan’s interesting general discussion of the pacifying influence of democratization on inter-state behaviour. While noting that democratization can also “constrain policy space as well as the political authority of leaders in conducting foreign policy” (p. 53), Chan implies that the “varying degrees of ‘elite-dominated democracy’ (p. 58) to be found in the Asia-Pacific region may mitigate some of the uncertainty surrounding security policy-making in Western democracies. Hence, Chan notes, greater political liberalization might in fact prove to be a “double-edged sword”.

The chapter by Paul M. Evans on the prospects for multilateral co-operation in the Asia-Pacific region likewise emphasizes the importance of taking into consideration the distinct nature and circumstances of Asia-Pacific multilateralism (pp. 212–14). He echoes the arguments of Baker and Sebastian in castigating Western analysts who rely too heavily on European and North American models in assessing the progress of, and the prospects, for multilateral negotiations on security issues in the Asia-Pacific region. Evans also makes the interesting point that the regional non-governmental organizations which have been heavily involved in the multilateral process have helped to “indigenize”, and give specific Asia-Pacific meanings to, much of the international security vocabulary which had previously been developed in the light of North American and European experiences (p. 215).

A third theme which runs through these studies is the importance of the extraordinary economic growth that has permeated the Asia-Pacific region. Stuart Harris provides an excellent discussion of the interconnections which link economic development and security. Starting with a review of the economic dimensions of the liberal and realist perspectives, Harris then expands his analysis to include many of the complex linkages that tie security policies and economic development together. The importance of economic development in explaining particular security policies comes out clearly in the chapter by Panitan Wattanayagorn and Desmond Ball on the question of whether there is an arms race in the Asia-Pacific region. The authors conclude that no arms race is currently under way and, echoing the findings of Mak and

Hamzah (p. 143), stress that the key to the recent spurt of arms acquisitions in the region is the availability of funds from rapid economic growth rather than fears of specific threats.

In the concluding chapter by Satoshi Morimoto, which looks at the Asia-Pacific region's security framework, these themes come together. The general concern with uncertainty has led to the emergence of a number of co-operative forums in which security can be discussed. The emphasis on process rather than structure, or as Mak and Hamzah suggest it should be labelled "the ASEAN way", (p. 139) may be frustrating to Westerners but it does show promise of dampening tensions and creating a sense of greater trust and understanding. And, although Morimoto does not go into this point in much detail, it is crucial to acknowledge that economic prosperity has paved the way for the development of a "consultation and consensus" approach.

Economic growth has helped to foster security co-operation on a number of levels. First, the obvious economic success of the region has earned it the attention and respect of the major powers which see the Asia-Pacific as a theatre of economic opportunity not, as in the past, as an arena for the playing out of power politics. The major powers now woo members of the region as economic partners rather than using them as proxies in a global fight for supremacy. Secondly, as a number of authors in this volume note, regional economic integration does force states to recognize the extent to which their economic well-being is linked to that of others in the region. The regionalization of foreign direct investment, technology transfer and markets forces governments to talk more to each other. Thirdly, and a point that is not generally brought out in this collection, prosperity has provided the resources that underpin the very intensive negotiations that characterize the security framework in the region. The development of the informal "Track II" discussions out of which has emerged a number of key inter-governmental forums could not have taken place without the injection of large amounts of money to build the highly reputable think-tanks and quasi-government institutions that drive the process. Moreover, inter-governmental multilateralism is a bureaucratically intensive form of international relations. The increased government revenues produced by rapid economic development allowed for an expanded and increasingly well trained foreign service in most of the countries of the Asia-Pacific region. The Asia-Pacific predilection for consultations which move participants towards a consensus requires a bureaucratic infrastructure which has only recently been put in place and which is still being fully developed.

Overall then, this volume provides a rich vein of information and

analysis which anyone interested in the security of the Asia-Pacific region can mine to good effect. The publishers were quite right to convert the journal issue into a book so that it can reach as large an audience as possible. It is a collection that deserves to be widely read.

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Asia in the 21st Century: Evolving Strategic Priorities. By Michael Bellows. Washington DC: National Defense University Press, 1994. 263pp.

This work is, in essence, a documentation of the 1994 Pacific Symposium, sponsored by the National Defense University, Washington D.C. The papers presented are organized into four sections. Part One deals with "Grand Strategy", Part Two with "Economic Dimensions", Part Three with "Regional Military Strategy", and the final part with "Regional Strategic Structures in the 21st Century".

Three central themes emanate from this collection of papers. The first two are interrelated: *the role of the great powers, and the military strategy of the major players in East Asia*. A key issue in the Asia-Pacific is the strategic role of the United States, which has been the "guarantor" of peace in the region since the end of World War II through a series of bilateral treaties. In the wake of the U.S. military withdrawal from the Philippines, and in the light of the recurrent trade frictions between the United States and Japan, commentators and regional leaders have noted the "uncertainty" over the future of the United States' security role in the region. While listing ten priority issues and areas of U.S. foreign policy in the region — Japan, Korea, China, ASEAN, Vietnam, Cambodia, APEC, Multilateral Fora, Global Challenges and Democracy, and Human Rights — Ambassador Winston Lord's discussion of "US Goals in the Asia-Pacific Region" concludes that "it would be a tragic error for America to withdraw from the region or to rest on its oars". Its location and economic ties with the region render its continued commitment to stability in the region a priority. For leaders in the region, however, the intensity of its commitment is