

policies". The pressures of both economic and environmental change are coming to a head, he observes, "at a time when the ruling ideology is an uncritical celebration of market forces and a denigration of the role of government in seeking to regulate them in the name of larger social goals". Challenging the prescription of "simple economic solutions" — notably the Garnaut Report's emphasis on the total removal of protection for Australian industry by 2000 — Richardson calls for a wide-ranging study of "the potential role of the Australian state, drawing on experience elsewhere — not only the NIEs, but also examples such as France and Germany".

He goes further, in calling for a "kind of cultural revolution" in Australia. The term, of course, has unfortunate connotations, but he plainly has nothing very Maoist in mind. "How", he asks, "can rapid social and cultural change, disturbing to many, be rendered acceptable in the context of certain traditions and attitudes which characterize Australian society — easy-going, inward-looking, egalitarian (even allowing for the mythical element), with a well-developed strain of cynicism?" He praises the Garnaut Report for its recommendation that Australia "seek intensive contact with the dynamic societies of North East Asia", but expresses dismay at the narrow and unimaginative "stances of the political parties in the face of these challenges". Australia, he suggests, "has some of the features of a highly educated society" but suffers from virtually tribal "disciplinary protectionism" and a consequent poverty of enlightened generalist discourse. One might go further and suggest that Australia has, as one of its notable features, a highly anti-educational and anti-intellectual general culture, which has infected even its universities. The challenge of cultural revolution in this country is, therefore, even more formidable than Richardson cares to claim. What is certain is that an unrelenting debate on the character of Australia and its capacity to command its own destiny is long overdue. This book is, unfortunately, only a tentative and rather timid contribution to such a debate.

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***Asia and the Major Powers: Domestic Politics and Foreign Policy.* Edited by Robert A. Scalapino, Seizaburo Sato, Jusuf Wanadi and Sung-Joo Han.** Berkeley: Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California, 1988. 395 pp.

The volume under review is a rich collection of fifteen essays on the relationship between the domestic political context of decision-making and

the foreign policies of the major powers in Asia. The essays are organized around, and connected by, this linkage theory. Although the writers have their own ideas about linkage theory, this common theoretical approach proves successful in giving the book some coherence.

The essays in this book seek to challenge the notion of the “rational actor” model of international behaviour, primarily with regard to the nature of the domestic political process. In addition, they also consider differing political inputs into the foreign policy-making process.

The challenge relating to the nature of the domestic political process criticizes the realist orthodoxy of there being one single coherent national political process by presenting many supra- and sub-national political processes.

In his introductory essay Scalapino discusses the tendency of the American political process to develop supranational loyalties: for example, an international moralism which contradicts more nationalistic political values and roles. Instead of reflecting coherent national values, the U.S. political process has started to respond to inputs which revolve around international concerns.

Scalapino (with reference to Myanmar and Iran) goes on to mention religious values as another type of supranational value which is an input into the national foreign policy-making process. These values are also discussed by, among others, Zakaria Haji Ahmad who focuses upon the increasing influence of universal Islamic values on the second generation of the Malaysian political élite.

Sub-national political processes, according to Scalapino’s concluding essay (“Political Trends in Asia”), can produce many values which have an impact upon an administration’s foreign policy-making — an impact which can be magnified because of the lack of an institutionalized political process. Thus, the development of political values within armies, military and bureaucratic factions, racial and ethnic group and age cohorts within the political élite is an important factor in explaining the foreign policies of Asian nations.

An interesting analysis of the influence of the perceptions and values of the Thai army (and its different factions and personalities) upon Thai foreign policy is encapsulated in Suchit Bunbongkarn’s essay, “Foreign and Domestic Policy in Thailand”. Sub-national political processes within the military and their influence on South Korean foreign policy are discussed in Han Sung-joo’s essay.

With regard to the increasing role of academic/intellectual extra-bureaucratic political forces, the most interesting analyses can be found in Wanandi’s piece on Indonesia and Suchit’s on Thailand, whilst the political values of ethnic groups and age cohorts are covered by, respectively,

Chan Heng Chee (in terms of Malay-Chinese groups and their impact upon Singapore-Malaysia relations), and Wanandi and Zakaria Haji Ahmad (with reference to generational change in the foreign policy administrations in Indonesia and Malaysia).

Important inputs into the foreign policy-making process, which this book considers, can revolve around a regime's search for legitimacy through its foreign policy; especially with regard to the idea of performance criteria. Foreign policy which stems from an effort to legitimize a regime often drives states to pay attention to, keep close ties with, and seek support from like-minded countries. The converse of this is that close ties with states with differing outlooks or structures could prove costly. Richter's essay on Pakistan examines the impact of Islamic ideology on its relations with other Islamic countries and with communist states.

Many of the essays in this book deal with the necessity of effective administrative performance in order to maintain internal stability, particularly with regard to authoritarian regimes. This theme is examined in the realm of foreign policy by Hiroshi Kimura's essay concerning Soviet policy in Asia, in which he notes that the need for successful economic and political reforms is regarded as an independent variable in Gorbachev's foreign policy. The attempt to establish cordial relations with Japan and China and the downgrading of ideological and power political motives in Soviet Asian policy are partly explained by the need to gain support for the administration's reforms.

Whilst there are problems arising from different individual attitudes towards linkage theory, this collection of essays succeeds in impressing the reader through some thought-provoking ideas and contributions. The efforts made by the Institute of East Asian Studies to create some new understanding with regard to the relationship between domestic politics and foreign policy in these societies have not been in vain.

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***Fiji: The Politics of Illusion.* By Deryck Scarr.** Sydney: New South Wales University Press, 1989. 181 pp.

The May 1987 coup in Fiji was the first in the South Pacific. It caused particular alarm in the Western nations of Australia and New Zealand