

WORLD POLITICS

VOL. XXX

JULY 1978

No. 4

CONTENTS

Decision Process, Choice, and Consequences: Israel's Deep-Penetration Bombing in Egypt, 1970	<i>Avi Shlaim and Raymond Tanter</i>	483
Japan's Multinational Enterprise: The Political Economy of Outward Dependency	<i>Terutomo Ozawa</i>	517
Great Britain: The Illusion of Governmental Authority	<i>Norman H. Keehn</i>	538
REVIEW ARTICLES		
Religion, Political Culture, and the Weberian Tradition	<i>David D. Laitin</i>	563
Industrial Modernization and Political Change: A Latin American Perspective	<i>David Collier</i>	593
Soviet Views of "The Scientific-Technological Revolution"	<i>Erik P. Hoffmann</i>	615
Index to Volume XXX		651
The Contributors		ii
Abstracts		iii

THE CONTRIBUTORS

AVI SHLAIM is a Lecturer in Politics at the University of Reading (England). He is co-editor of *The EEC and the Mediterranean Countries* (1976), editor of *International Organisations in World Politics* (1976), and co-author of *British Foreign Secretaries since 1945* (1977). Currently, he is working on a study of politics and the management of national security in Israel.

RAYMOND TANTER is Professor of Political Science and Associate Chairman of the Department of Political Science at The University of Michigan, as well as Visiting Professor of International Relations at The Hebrew University of Jerusalem. He is the co-author of *Rational Decision Making: Israel's Security Choices* (1967) and *National Security Decision Making: Israel's Choices* (1973).

TERUTOMO OZAWA is Professor of Economics at Colorado State University. He is the author of *Transfer of Technology from Japan to Developing Countries* (1971), *Japan's Technological Challenge to the West, 1950-1974: Motivation and Accomplishment* (1974), and the forthcoming *Multinationalism, Japanese Style: The Political Economy of Outward Dependency*.

NORMAN H. KEEHN, who is not affiliated with an academic institution, is currently completing a work on the liberal paradigm of public choice.

DAVID D. LAITIN, Assistant Professor of Political Science at the University of California, San Diego, is the author of *Politics, Language, and Thought: The Somali Experience* (1977). He is at present studying the political ramifications of religious change in Nigeria.

DAVID COLLIER taught at Indiana University from 1970 to 1978 and is now Associate Professor of Political Science at the University of California, Berkeley. He is the author of *Squatters and Oligarchs: Authoritarian Rule and Policy Change in Peru* (1976) and editor of *The New Authoritarianism in Latin America* (forthcoming).

ERIK P. HOFFMANN is Associate Professor of Political Science at the State University of New York at Albany, and Senior Research Fellow of the Research Institute on International Change, Columbia University. He is the Coordinating Editor of the journal *Soviet Union*, and is currently completing a book on "*The Scientific-Technological Revolution and the Soviet Political System*."

The appearance of the code at the bottom of the first page of an article in this journal (serial) indicates the copyright owner's consent that copies of the article may be made for personal or internal use, or for the personal or internal use of specific clients. This consent is given on the condition, however, that the copier pay the stated per-copy fee through the Copyright Clearance Center, Inc., P. O. Box 765, Schenectady, N.Y. 12301, for copying beyond that permitted by Sections 107 and 108 of the U.S. Copyright Law. This consent does not extend to other kinds of copying, such as copying for general distribution, for advertising or promotional purposes, for creating new collective works, or for resale.

ABSTRACTS

DECISION PROCESS, CHOICE, AND CONSEQUENCES: ISRAEL'S DEEP-PENETRATION BOMBING IN EGYPT, 1970

By A. SHLAIM and R. TANTER

Weapons systems have a great impact on national security decision making. In particular, the use of air power for political coercion or "compellence" is a tempting option when a nation has overwhelming aerial capabilities relative to an opponent. Israel's decision to launch air attacks deep within Egypt during the 1970 War of Attrition suggests that coercive bombing may not yield expected benefits and effect unanticipated costs. The decision process that produced the bombing choice was characterized by inadequate search for alternatives; conservative revision of opinion; faulty evaluation of consequences in terms of likelihood, benefits, and costs; a failure to consider value trade-offs between military and political dimensions; and overestimation of the probability of preferred outcomes, coupled with underestimation of the likelihood of undesirable outcomes.

JAPAN'S MULTINATIONAL ENTERPRISE: THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF OUTWARD DEPENDENCY

By T. OZAWA

Japan has suddenly emerged as a powerful home country for multinational corporations, offering a new form of competition in the world market. She is making all-out efforts to set up manufacturing operations overseas, in addition to ventures in extractive industries in which Japan, as a resource-poor country, is naturally interested. For a number of reasons, Japan has taken up direct overseas production as a *national desideratum*, even though the majority of individual firms are not ready to do so on their own. A variety of governmental measures have been taken to defray part of the private costs and to realize the social benefits of overseas investment. The article explores how and why Japanese industry has suddenly gone multinational; it examines the sources of competitiveness in this new form of international economic activity, and points out that overseas investment is now an integral part of Japan's strategy for economic growth and of her foreign economic diplomacy.

GREAT BRITAIN: THE ILLUSION OF GOVERNMENTAL AUTHORITY

By N. H. KEEHN

The capacity of the British Government to pursue and achieve economic purposes under liberal managed capitalism without the consent, cooperation, or passive acquiescence of organized producer groups is inherently limited. The ineluctable fact is that the British Government is dependent on the holders of economic power for achieving economic purposes. For this reason, national policy makers enter into partnership arrangements and contractual relationships with vital corporatist forces. Deliberate, premeditated, collaborative action is needed to ensure correlation between the government's intentions and achievements. *Concertation*, which represents a partnership between the public and private sectors as well as cooperative give-and-take in reaching agreements on economic objectives, enables the government to govern.

NEW POLITICAL SCIENCE FROM CALIFORNIA

The Pursuit of Equality in American History

J. R. Pole

"A learned and penetrating study of a big subject, written at the high intellectual level we have come to expect from Jack Pole. Even those who do not fully share his perspective will find themselves deep in his debt." —*Eugene D. Genovese*
395 pages, \$14.95

Political Power and Communications in Indonesia

Edited by Karl D. Jackson and Lucian W. Pye

A veritable handbook about how government functions in Indonesia, this volume shows Indonesia as a "bureaucratic polity"—a political system in which power is hierarchically organized, influence is monopolized by an official elite, and individuals outside officialdom have little effect on events.

445 pages, 45 tables, 2 maps, 9 halftones, 13 charts, 15 figures, \$18.50

Scarcity, Choice and Public Policy in Middle Africa

Donald Rothchild and Robert L. Curry, Jr.

This useful examination of public policy in the Third World appraises the relationship between decisional choice and political and economic resources. The authors view African decision-makers as adopting three policy patterns designed to reduce scarcity and to expand alternatives: accommodation, reorganization, and transformation.

365 pages, 21 line drawings, \$15.75

At bookstores

University of California Press Berkeley 94720

RELIGION, POLITICAL CULTURE, AND THE WEBERIAN TRADITION

By D. D. LAITIN

A summary and reinterpretation of Weber's *Sociology of Religion* and *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* provides the framework within which four contemporary studies in political culture, which purport to be in the Weberian tradition, are examined. The framework distinguishes three levels of analysis in which "religion," as a social fact, can be defined. The social, economic, or political consequences that can be attributed to religious adherence are different depending on the doctrine of the charismatic founder, the practical religion, or the practical religion of the converted. The author suggests a new, perhaps more fruitful agenda for research based on the methodological arguments of the paper.

INDUSTRIAL MODERNIZATION AND POLITICAL CHANGE:

A LATIN AMERICAN PERSPECTIVE

By D. COLLIER

The recent emergence of harshly repressive military governments in several of the industrially most advanced nations of Latin America has called into question earlier hypotheses of modernization theory regarding the links between socioeconomic modernization and democracy. Guillermo O'Donnell has made an important contribution to explaining this new authoritarianism and to using the recent Latin American experience as a basis for proposing a major reformulation of the earlier hypotheses. Yet O'Donnell's analysis requires significant modification if its potential contribution is to be realized. Highly aggregated conceptual categories such as "bureaucratic-authoritarianism" should be abandoned, and his explanatory framework should be broadened to explicitly incorporate the crucial political differences among Latin American countries, as well as the impact of the international economic and political system. A revised explanation for the rise of authoritarianism is presented to illustrate how some of these modifications could be applied in future research on political change in Latin America.

SOVIET VIEWS OF "THE SCIENTIFIC-TECHNOLOGICAL REVOLUTION"

By E. P. HOFFMANN

The author analyzes recent efforts by Soviet and East European theorists to explain the interrelationships among science, technology, and social change in socialist and capitalist countries, and to understand the role that scientific and technical advances are playing and can play in the transition to new forms of "developed socialism." Theories of "the scientific-technological revolution" are examined from various perspectives: their intellectual content, their social and ideological functions, and the reciprocal influences of ideas, policy, and administrative practice. This essay brings to the attention of Western readers a type of literature strongly encouraged by contemporary Soviet leaders; it is a major evolving component of Marxism-Leninism, and may be influencing or reflecting some of the changing policies and attitudes of communist political elites.

FROM THE
Center of International Studies

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

THE INTERNATIONAL EXECUTIVE

EDITED BY LEON GORDENKER

Five eminent practitioners of the art of leadership at the international level reflect on their experiences and sum up their thoughts on the international executive, whose decisions and innovations have effects in many parts of the world. The publication comprises the main papers given at a Princeton University Conference on "The International Executive" by David A. Morse, long-time Director-General of the International Labour Office; Robert O. Anderson, Chairman of the Board of Atlantic-Richfield Corporation; Maurice Strong, head of Petro-Canada and first Secretary-General of the U.N. Environmental Programme; Brian E. Urquhart, U.N. Undersecretary-General for Special Political Affairs; and Bradford Morse, Administrator of the U.N. Development Programme and former member of the U.S. House of Representatives.

World Order Studies Program
Occasional Paper No. 6

\$4.00

DESTRUCTION OF
NUCLEAR ENERGY FACILITIES IN WAR:
A PROPOSAL FOR LEGAL RESTRAINT

By BENNETT RAMBERG

Combatants are likely to contemplate destruction of nuclear energy installations which could result in the release of significant radioactive products into the environment. Although international law could be an effective means to reduce such acts, it is inadequate as currently conceptualized. As a remedy, the author proposes an international convention that prohibits both the release and the threat to release radionuclides contained in energy facilities.

World Order Studies Program
Occasional Paper No. 7

\$4.00

Order from the

CENTER OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
Corwin Hall, Princeton, N.J. 08540