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Reviews

Encyclopedia of Government and Politics, edited by Mary Hawkesworth and Maurice Kogan, Second Edition, London: Routledge, 2004, ISBN: 0415276225
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This encyclopedia represents a substantial undertaking and a considerable achievement. It consists of eighty seven individual entries arranged in ten sections. The section headings give some idea of the range and scope of the work. In the first, Mary Hawkesworth discuses the aims and approach. Thereafter the sections range across central concepts in political theory (seven essays), contemporary ideologies (five essays), contemporary political systems (five essays), political institutions (five essays), political forces and processes (eight essays), pressures on nation states (ten essays), policy making (fourteen essays), international relations (fourteen essays) and contemporary issues (eighteen essays).

Something of the scale and scope of the project is evident in the index, which covers 80 pages and has about 4,800 major entries with considerable cross-referencing. If this is a daunting project for the editors, what about a reviewer? Who has the reach to assess such an undertaking justly? Yet the most prominent contemporary themes, 'globalisation' and 'democratisation', demand just such synoptic sympathies and cosmopolitan judgements. This must at least be the aspiration.

Undoubtedly, the essays on individual topics can be helpful for those trying to gain a quick overview and a sense of key issues. I will comment later on some individual entries. But the whole is more than the sum of its parts. The editors, through the selection and arrangement of topics offer one reading of the state of the discipline and of its putative contribution to political practice.

Taken at this level, the encyclopedia mirrors both our disciplinary accomplishments and our failings. Accomplishment is evident in the work of contemporary political scientists whose scholarship, imagination and judgement has advanced theoretical understanding and sometimes political practice. The references cited in individual chapters record their many names. But this encyclopedia also testifies to the complex theoretical and substantive issues that now condition scholarly achievement. At a theoretical level, the age of 'grand theory' has passed. Now interpretative schemas proliferate. In her introduction, Mary Hawkesworth lists at least ten different ways in which knowledge of the political world can be produced – behavioural, institutional, statistical, theoretical, structural, functionalist, psychological, semiotic, hermeneutic and genealogical. All promise to enhance explanatory power. But many involve ontological and/or epistemological premises that are incompatible – for example the

differences between interpretative and (some) institutional approaches. Diversity in approach might itself be construed as a positive development – a testament to that elusive human 'matter' from which political life is constituted.

Theoretical diversity also matches the substantive diversity of contemporary western politics, which is (despite the editors stated contrary intention) the primary focus of this encyclopedia. Charles Taylor concludes his magisterial study *The Sources of the Self* with a chapter on the contemporary (western) political scene entitled 'Subtler Languages'. That represents a positive reading of the contemporary situation, at least in relation to domestic politics.

At the disciplinary level, however, variety is not without cost. First, many current frameworks (e.g. institutional theories, network theories) are explanatory but not critical. They tell us after the event why things happened the way they did. An ambition that does not transcend explanation embodies (perhaps unintentionally) a conservative disposition. Should analysis also aim to improve? Second, in a world of multiple frameworks, how do we choose which ones best suit which real life situations? The 'fit' involves a judgement that theory does not itself comprehend. A chronic problem in the social sciences. Third, protagonists for the alternative schools are prone to talk past or across each other rather than to each other. Exchange turns into noise. Fourth, the outcome that Nietzsche lampooned, narrow pedantry, is an abiding temptation in a complex world. Scholars know too much about the little things – but have nothing to say about the large things.

At a substantive level, the problems are no less serious. The woolly notion of 'globalisation' has become a defining contemporary theme. Another is the admirable theme of democratisation. But this latter concept remains vague even amongst scholars. Little wonder its pathological forms (e.g. Singapore, the Philippines?) go largely unchallenged. Meantime in the west, political scientists diagnose citizen disaffection but have no remedy to offer outside (anti-political) neoliberalism or the (wholly vapid) 'third way'.

So far as globalisation is concerned, the vagueness of the concept testifies perversely to the complex processes that it circumscribes. It also testifies to their contested nature. Is globalisation a new imperialism masked by apparently neutral technical concepts like 'free trade'? Or a benign development easing poverty, transfiguring the role of states and enlarging the horizons of citizens? The essay on globalisation in this volume (by Saskia Sassen) is a model exposition.

In step with 'globalisation', political study has itself attained a substantive scope and breadth that transcends that of an earlier age. With this goes a formidable challenge. How to neutralise provincial judgement or parochial approaches? How to frame analysis and findings in a way that does justice to spillovers, junctures and interdependencies? How to articulate in a compelling way the global challenges of justice, rights, inequality and sustainability, much less those of regularising the exercise of power and diminishing war?

The national origins and orientations of the contributors to this volume are one immediate symptom of the dilemmas of 'globalisation'. By my count, there are 95 contributors. 52 work at American universities and 26 at institutions in the UK. There are 3 from Australia and 2 from Canada. This makes 83. The Anglo-American group thus accounts for 87% of contributors. There is one contributor each from China, India, Italy and France and two each from the Netherlands, Norway and Sweden. The encyclopedia has a clear Anglo-American orientation. Asian, African, Russian and Middle Eastern perspectives are conspicuous mostly by their absence. Even a few scholars from each region would surely have helped to fulfil the cosmopolitan ambitions of the editors?

This is also reflected in the scope of individual essays. Some do eschew parochialism and ethnocentrism. Others do not even try. For example, the chapter on policy-making theories barely moves beyond American debates. The chapter on education policy focuses wholly on the UK.

Some compress far too much. For example, the chapter on trans-national organisations includes trans-national enterprises. The role of these organisations is not discussed anywhere else.

If I take an area of my own interest, political and economic developments in East and South East Asia, the hazard to the synoptic ambitions of the editors is immediately apparent. There is one essay on Asia in the section entitled 'major issues in contemporary politics'. This is only ten pages long. In that space it attempts to summarise developments in the arc of countries from India and Pakistan on one perimeter through China and on to Indonesia. Japan is not mentioned in the essay. Central Asia is also not mentioned. Meantime, China gets 13 lines in the index, Japan 6, Indonesia 3, Taiwan 3, Thailand 4 and Korea 5. By contrast the USA index entry runs to 46 lines and that for the UK to 27, and France and Germany 14 each. Nor is there an index entry for 'developmental states', surely an important theme in the consideration of economic development strategies, the role of the World Bank, globalisation and the role of the state etc. Democratisation around East and Southeast Asia is also only mentioned in passing. Yet in the 1990s five states have adopted an elite dominated version of this political order – a development that is perhaps even more significant than their earlier achievement of economic modernisation. By contrast Latin American democratisation is accorded an individual chapter.

Individual essays vary widely in scope and quality. All are workmanlike. But one might have wished for a more enlarging discussion of some issues. Take economic policy. One might have wished for neo-liberal influence and the alternatives to be placed in sharper focus. Further, there is only one reference to industrial policy in the index – and that in the context of science policy. Both themes surely deserve more attention. Similarly, the chapter on social welfare eschews references to Scandanavia or to recent developments in Taiwan and Korea. A major scholar, Gosta Esping-Anderson, gets no mention. It does however usefully discuss migration. There are overlaps. For example, the essay Global Politics after the Cold War cuts across the chapter on Democratisation. On the other hand, there are also many model chapters: for example, on the IMF and World Bank (Ngaire Woods), on Liberal Democracies (Bingham Powell), and on Ethnic policy (Martin Marger).

In such an ambitious and wide-ranging enterprise, sins of omission and commission are inevitable. It would be churlish to pick fault at these levels. This reviewer's major criticism concerns the western and even national focus of some of the survey chapters. This is in a work that aims to be synoptic and to transcend ethnocentrism. But the editors nevertheless deserve praise for what must have been a taxing undertaking – identifying 95 contributors, defining the scope of individual essays, imposing and policing deadlines, editing individual chapters and so forth. The whole justifies the effort. This is an invaluable survey – as useful for its lacunae as for its achievements. This encyclopedia will prove invaluable for scholars and students alike, indeed for all interested in undertaking for themselves a health check of the contemporary state of the political science discipline.

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Valerie M. Hudson and Andrea M. den Boer, *Bare Branches: The Security Implications of Asia's Surplus Male Populations*, Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2004. ISBN: 0262083256
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Valerie M. Hudson and Andrea M. den Boer claim that the number of surplus males in many Asian countries, particularly in China and India, has grown higher than ever before in human

history. They argue that highly skewed sex ratios will most probably lead to unpleasant political and security consequences, including domestic and international violence. The book covers seven chapters, in which the authors first describe the gender dimension of environmental and human security and refer to the long history of infanticide and offspring sex selection, after which they analyze the problem of 'missing females' in India and China, formulate their theoretical arguments on the problems caused by bare branches, discuss the policy implications of bare branches in the twenty-first century, and, in the concluding chapter, summarize their arguments and specify their predictions.

A great merit of this book is that it provides extensive empirical evidence on the long history of infanticide in human societies. Such data help us to understand that the question is not on a local or recent phenomenon. Infanticide has been practiced throughout human history, and quite often, although not always, male infants have been selected over females in cases of offspring sex selection. Their discussion on the reasons for infanticide and for offspring sex selection discloses that in many cases parents have not had enough resources to retain all their children. In this connection, it would have been useful to pay more attention to the adaptive significance of infanticide. It has been, and still is, an inevitable consequence of the fact that there are not enough resources to raise and maintain all children that are born in the world. Thus, this practice is connected to the struggle for existence in our world of scarce resources.

In the two chapters on the 'missing females' in India and China, the authors tell about the history of sex selection in these countries and support their arguments by detailed statistical data. It is interesting to note, for example, that female infanticide seems to be much more common in the north and northwest regions of India than in the southern regions of the country. In fact, sex ratios are normal in South India. According to their data, at least 35 million females were missing from India's population in 2001. In China, there are not as clear regional differences in sex ratios as in India, but the number of missing females is even higher than in India. They also pay attention to changing methods of offspring sex selection.

Their theoretical arguments, supported by past experiences, lead them to predict that bare branches (males who will never have families because they cannot find spouses) will turn to vice and violence and that the governments may try to export the violence of bare branches abroad through colonization or war. These are highly interesting hypotheses, but do the authors have any evidence to support their expectations? It seems to me that the evidence provided in the book is scarce. There is some evidence on the increase of crime rates in India and China. It is also possible that the spreading of HIV/AIDS in China and India is connected with the rising number of bare branches. They do not have any evidence on the increase of international violence caused by bare branches, although they argue that the existence of surplus males has made it difficult to solve Kashmir and Taiwan problems.

The authors discuss the consequences of the masculinization of Asia's sex ratios and argue that governments will need new strategies to control the behavior of large numbers of bare branches. They expect, for example, governments to be inclined to move in a more authoritarian direction. Consequently, the chances of full democracy in China are expected to be poor, and they suspect India's ability to maintain its democratic form of government and predict an increase in sectarian and ethnic violence. I think that there are better explanations for the lack of democracy in China than the existence of surplus males, and, in the case of India, there are other factors that explain sectarian and ethnic violence better than skewed sex ratios. In fact, the relative number of surplus males is approximately the same in India and China, but India is a democracy and China a nondemocracy.

Extensive female infanticide documented in this book indicates cruel discrimination against women, but I do not agree with the authors on all expected consequences of this discrimination. They argue that although laws of supply and demand would suggest that in high sex ratio societies the relative scarcity of women would increase their value, this has not been the case. On the contrary, they argue, when women become scarce, males control them even more tightly. I expect, however, that ultimately as a consequence of laws of supply and demand the value of women starts to increase in high sex ratio societies and the rates of female infanticide start to decline, although non-sex-related infanticide may continue.

The authors claim that a high sex ratio does not necessarily mean lower population growth. I am not convinced of this assumption. It is quite possible that because of tens of millions 'missing females' in India and China, population growth has been lower than what it otherwise would have been in these countries. From this perspective, female infanticide may have some beneficial consequences at the level of population, although it causes suffering at the level of individuals and although skewed sex ratios are unnatural. Non-sex-related infanticide and female infanticide are very crude methods to control population growth, but we should understand that they are adaptive consequences of the struggle for existence in the world of scarcity.

It is worthwhile for political scientists and other social scientists to examine the detailed empirical evidence on the growth of surplus male populations in India and China presented in this book and to consider the authors' challenging predictions that large numbers of bare branches will threaten domestic stability and international security as well as prospects for peace and democracy.

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In-Won Hwang, *Personalized Politics: The Malaysian State under Mahathir*, Singapore: ISEAS, 2003, pp. xix + 398, index, ISBN: 9812301852
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Several works and numerous articles on Malaysia during Mahthir's tenure have appeared well before In-Won Hwang's book and some after, and presumably one should be forgiven for expecting a new treatment or some novel analysis of the subject. I was not disappointed. Hwang has written a richly riveting account of contemporary Malaysian politics with analytical insights on an important period of democratic transition in Malaysian history. This was the period dominated by the singular personality of Mahathir Mohamad. The book was written with the impending retirement of Mahathir from the Malaysian political scene in October 2003 in view and provides some hints about the nature of a post-Mahathir political regime.

Written originally as a doctoral thesis at the Australian National University, Hwang's tome certainly bears the mark of a meticulously researched piece of work. It also bears the mark of not truly being a book focused entirely on the Mahathir period, but one which deals with Malaysian politics in pre-Mahathir periods as well. As such, the themes of 'regime maintenance' and 'consociational bargaining', as explained in chapter 3, are its major theoretical thrusts. The Mahathir story does not really begin until chapter 5 on page 142, where Hwang's thesis of 'personalized politics' is advanced. The extent to which the author establishes this thesis as well

as his insights on Mahathir's political style as a form of Machiavellianism will form the main focus of this book review.

Chapter 5 explains with rich detail, supplemented by interviews with political personages, the several political crises leading up to the extraordinary events of 1987, which according to Hwang brought to the fore Mahathir's personal domination of politics. The author attempts to show how Mahathir, through a series of coldly calculated stratagems, brought to a closure the crisis within his party, the United Malays National Organization (UMNO), and by so doing established himself incontrovertibly as supremo of the ruling party and head of the Malaysian government. Hwang states his thesis plainly as follows:

> In line with Machiavelli's suggestion in *The Prince*, Mahathir, this time as a dominator, set about ruthlessly driving out all of his political rivals rather than acting as a manipulator and forming a viable coalition to overcome his leadership crisis. (p. 146)

Machiavelli is invoked specifically for the manner by which Mahathir overcame his challenge within the ruling party UMNO, namely, 'the best thing a leader can do in order to retain his influence, if the foundations of his power are weak, is to reorganize everything in the state from scratch' (p. 154).

Hwang enlists rather well the testimonies of significant political players, such as Lim Kit Siang, Rais Yatim and Tunku Abdul Rahman to buttress his argument. He reiterates the well-known thesis that the Internal Security Act (ISA) arrests of 1987, known as *Operasi Lalang* in which 107 politicians and activists were detained without trial, were engineered by Mahathir to steer attention away from a deep crisis in the UMNO, which severely challenged Mahathir's leadership. From opposition leader Lim, we get this statement in an interview in 1998:

> Mahathir used the racial sentiment and even allowed the escalation of the situation so that he could crack down to consolidate his position against his internal challenge. So, I would say the ISA arrest was more UMNO directed and motivated rather than the racial crisis during that time. This was in fact in order to fight for real challenges from inside [UMNO]. (p. 154)

Several precisely calculated Mahathirian strategems followed from the Operation Lalang arrests:

- A political purge of his detractors in the UMNO, among whom count the present prime minister Abdullah Badawi
- Dissolution of the old UMNO and the blocking of the Tunku Razaleigh faction's attempt to re-register the party
- Creation of a new loyalist party (UMNO *Baru*) under his own faction
- A legal endgame in which the Lord President (chief justice) is suspended and later dismissed and the whole judiciary is virtually emasculated

To the regular student of Malaysian politics all of these are well-known events of the Mahathir era, but Hwang does remind us in chilling details of the events and how Mahathir in three short years after the UMNO crisis had established his unmistakable personal stamp on Malaysian politics.

Chapter 6 deals largely with "regime consolidation" by Mahathir throughout the 1990s, with Mahathir's apogee of power arriving in the 1995 general election when he led the National Front (BN)government to a famous victory, virtually obliterating the opposition, save for the opposition

Islamic party PAS holding on to the state government of Kelantan. In capturing 65.1% of the popular vote, he achieved the largest victory for the BN in three decades. Hwang observes the considerable shift of Chinese voters towards the BN under Mahathir and cites political scientist Francis Loh's hypothesis that 'ethnicism' had been largely overtaken by 'developmentalism', famously ushered in by Mahathir during the boom years of the roaring nineties (p. 262). Few would have predicted then that with Mahathir's overwhelming popularity and dominant control over the political process that another major crisis was in the offing. By this time Mahathir had even brought back into his cabinet many of his erstwhile detractors (including Addullah Badawi), save for the most resistant or unforgiven among them. Also by this time Mahathir had seemingly deeply ensconced his third deputy premier, the dynamic Anwar Ibrahim, as heir apparent and had openly hinted that he would soon leave the political stage. But, as Hwang suggests, at about the end of the 1990s, rumours about a possible rift between the two and a challenge from Anwar was the subject of some speculation in journalistic circles. The financial crisis of 1997 brought matters to a head and created the political pretext for Anwar's unceremonious sacking.

> Anwar Ibrahim was abruptly dismissed from office, expelled from the party, imprisoned under the ISA, beaten while in custody and eventually charged in court on five counts of sodomy and five counts of corruption. (pp. 226–227)

Again, the events leading to this episode in Malaysian politics have been well recounted in many accounts and it is not necessary to repeat them here. Hwang's Chapter 7 adds another important account, which includes interviews with a set of significant individuals, including former deputy premier Musa Hitam, Kamarudin Jaffar and Ibrahim Saad and several others closely associated with Anwar. Hwang opines that 'the nature of Anwar's sacking suggests that Mahathir has learnt from his past experience with Razaleigh' and dealing with the problem within the party was easily accomplished. But Hwang goes on to suggest that an unexpected salutary effect of this episode not anticipated by anyone (including Mahathir) was the 'the rise of new politics,' which was ushered in by the *reformasi* movement following Anwar's sacking.

> [T]he Anwar episode and its social, cultural, and political consequences disclosed a possible erosion of the politics of racialism. What distinguished Malaysian politics after Anwar's dismissal from the previous UMNO crisis of 1987 is the emergence of multi-ethnic awareness in Malaysian civil society, especially among the young Malaysian middle class. (p. 331)

In his concluding Chapter (Wither Malaysia?) Hwang speculates rather sanguinely that the Anwar episode has stimulated the favourable conditions for 'a transition from authoritarian to democratic rule in Malaysia' (p. 357). This conclusion seems to contradict the thesis in the earlier part of the book, which argued rather cogently about the 'personalized' nature of politics under Mahathir for over two decades. Within less than a year of Mahathir's retirement, the *reformasi* movement seems all but defunct. Of course, writing in 2003, the author would not have had the hindsight of observing the rather smooth transition of UMNO and Malaysian politics into the Abdullah Badawi era. With the ascension of Abdullah Badawi as prime minister and his famously winning a general election for the UMNO and the BN in March 2004, one may well ask if there is any stopping Abdullah from re-inventing the personalized politics of his predecessor? Malay politics seems to abhor the vacuum of authoritarian leadership. Furthermore, the 'multi-ethnic

awareness' which Hwang observed in *reformasi* days may give way to yet another round of UMNO in-fighting and political jockeying this time under the patronage of Abdullah Badawi.

Perhaps a missing element in Hwang's book is the character of Malay and Malaysian political culture, which allows for the rise of personalized politics. Malaysian political culture remains inchoate and underdeveloped from a democratic standpoint and is still somewhat short of the values and spirit needed for democratic consolidation. The book deals little with people's attitudes to democracy, and although middle-class awareness is mentioned in the penultimate chapter as an important element of change, little analysis has been given to how a deepening of democratic culture is occurring or not occurring. Were such a culture to exist pervasively in society then it would not have been possible for Mahathir to have imposed his personal will on two important episodes of contemporary Malaysian history.

Indeed, at the point of writing, Abdullah, aiming to be formally elected as President of the UMNO in September 2004, seems like his predecessor to be somewhat intolerant of any challenge to his leadership. Like previous UMNO leaders, he has mobilized the party machinery and party faithful to rule that there should be no contest for UMNO's top two posts. It is interesting too that a challenge to that decision came from the indefatigable Tengku Razaleigh ('Ku Li'), Abdullah's erstwhile leader and ally. Unfortunately, history may repeat itself, or worse, Ku Li may be a non-starter this time around. This said, Dr Hwang's book with its numerous insights into the nitty-gritty of Malay politics is a must-read for all Malaysian specialists who want to understand well the major obstacles to democratic transition and consolidation in Malaysia.

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Aaron Forsberg, *America and the Japanese Miracle*, Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2000, pp. xviii + 332, ISBN: 080782528X.
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Aaron Forsberg's *America and the Japanese Miracle* is a valuable history of the contributions of US policies to Japan's reconstruction and economic transformation in the 1940s and 1950s. Unlike most studies that examine the origins of the high-growth period, this one concentrates on the international aspects of Japan's successes – the development of its reliance on exports, aversion to imports, restrictive foreign investment regulations, and aggressive technology transfer efforts. It is also superbly written, with effective use of apt quotations from participants. (My one quibble in this regard is the use in several places of the oxymoronic phrase 'precipitous rise'.)

Forsberg's general story is simple. He argues that US desire to revive the Japanese economy, despite the loss of regional markets, led it to champion policies in Japan, at home, and in third countries that worked to the advantage of the Japanese economy and promoted the development of what is often called the 'Japanese system'. While the basic argument is not likely to be surprising to most readers, the book meticulously documents the difficult processes that led to Japan's unique trading profile, while also putting to rest some popular myths about the era. By using extensive access to (primarily US) government archives and oral histories, Forsberg reminds us of just how extraordinary the development of the post-war system actually was.

The book starts by going over familiar ground, including the rise of the Cold War, the fall of Nationalist China, and the Reverse Course. Here, he tells the story of how the US government came to be so deeply interested in the revival of the Japanese economy in order to make the country a bulwark of capitalism and democracy in East Asia. The general story is, of course, well known. The strength of these chapters is to demonstrate the ways in which contending views of trade, democracy, and (perhaps above all) the menace of Communist China played out in real time. Thus, Forsberg expands our usual neat retrospective story of how US and Japanese national interests came into alignment to show how contemporary policy makers were thinking about the implications of a completely reshaped East Asia.

The most interesting sections of the book for me were those that dealt with trade policy and foreign exchange/investment policies. Forsberg's extensive use of archives reminds us just how contentious these policies were in the United States and other countries. In particular, the endless arguments between powerful legislators and the Eisenhower administration over recertification of trade negotiating authority and the heat of disputes over various sub-categories of cotton textiles show convincingly how contingent were the successes of those who would open US markets to Japanese exports. They also demonstrate that the myth that the US government gave every concession to Japan without any reciprocation is indeed a myth. In particular, Forsberg takes on the economic historian Alfred Eckes, showing that US concessions were less far reaching and Japanese concessions more far reaching than Eckes and others have portrayed. In contrast to such analysts' single-minded focus on percentage tariff cuts, for example, Forsberg points out that US baselines in the negotiations were based on 1930s-era tariffs, while Japan's were based on 1951 Occupation-imposed tariffs. It is in this kind of careful attention to facts that this book really shines.

The other major issues in trade had to do with Japan's trade with third parties. The most worrisome of these in early years was the question of how to deal with China. The United States put great pressure not only on Japan, but also on its European allies, to restrict their trade with China and the Soviet Bloc. Forsberg shows how Japanese officials became resentful at the easier terms on which the United States accepted European trade with the Soviet Bloc than Japanese trade with China (the so-called 'China differential'), but he also shows the growing realization among Japanese policy makers in the 1950s that the Chinese market would likely be a sideshow relative to the richer US and European markets. The other important set of third-party trade issues was with the rest of the capitalist world, as countries as diverse as the United Kingdom, France, South Africa, and Haiti opposed Japan's entry into the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). Forsberg shows the efforts of Japanese and US policy makers first to secure Japanese entry into GATT and then to reduce the numbers of states that imposed Article 35 restrictions that would prevent Japan from enjoying access to their markets. Both were considerable feats of diplomacy and persuasion.

The investment chapter is equally interesting. Although more based on secondary sources than other chapters, here too Forsberg offers a good analysis of how Japan's extraordinarily restrictive foreign exchange regime came into being. This story is important, not only because it helps to explain Japan's very low levels of inward foreign investment, but also because of how it helps us to understand suppression of imports and promotion of technology transfer. As Forsberg shows, US officials were surprised at how effectively the Japanese government used access to foreign exchange to protect sectors that had putatively been opened to competition.

I do have a small number of reservations about this book. First is the title. While not exactly inaccurate, it suggests (at least to me) a much less nuanced argument that US aid, military protection, technical assistance, and markets were the key to Japan's post-war growth. In fact, this is only partly the case. There is not much discussion of the magnitude or importance of US aid or World Bank lending, nor is there any serious treatment of whether or how Japan's passive military posture might have affected capital accumulation or other economic variables. Moreover, Forsberg is careful to note both the importance of third country markets and the trade-offs forced by the Cold War and the closing of the Chinese market. In other words, the book is better than its title – which, of course, is better than the other way around.

Second, readers should be aware that Forsberg's basic economic stance is firmly in the mainstream. While I generally agree with his judgments, I was aware that in his discussion of quarrels between free trade advocates such as John Foster Dulles and protectionists such as Senator William Knowland, he consistently paints the successes of free traders as progress rather than maintaining a more detached view. However, the book is quite balanced in regard to its treatment of Japanese trade barriers and industrial policy.

Finally, this book is preponderantly based on US archival material, so that even when it offers the analysis of Japanese policy makers on a given subject (as it often does), most of these analyses are secondhand, retrieved from the meeting notes or reporting cables of US government officials. This is probably unavoidable, but it does mean that the book much more effectively shows the politics and ideas of the Americans than the Japanese.

All in all, however, this is a very good book. It will be instructive for specialists in Japanese history, politics, and economics. It may also be a useful book to assign to students in post-war Japanese history classes, or as an adjunct to Japanese economic or political economy courses.

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