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*The Japanese Civil Service and Economic Development:
Catalysts of Change* eds. Hyung-Ki Kim, Michio
Muramatsu, and T. J. Pempel

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psychology and sociology who are called to testify on matters of homosexuality. Psychology-based experts testify as to the features of homosexuals and homosexuality, never challenging the normative status of heterosexuality; sociologists, historians, and (increasingly) political scientists find themselves boxed within minority discourses in the courtroom, forced to translate the subtleties of social construction into yes/no statements about family structure, social stability, and sexual variation. (Herman's book was written before the testimony concerning Colorado's Amendment 2, in which political scientists were called to establish the political power and powerlessness of gays and lesbians; I suspect her reservations would hold against those cases as well.)

The book is noteworthy as much for its coverage of the Canadian New Christian Right (NCR) as for its treatment of lesbian and gay activism. Two chapters on the NCR focus on the worldview of the NCR and on the ways that that worldview was muted for the purpose of legal intervention in *Mossop*. Herman astutely describes the ways in which both the NCR and gay and lesbian leaders are frustrated by the limitations of rights discourse. Indeed, the NCR leaders are more attuned to a rights critique than the gay/lesbian activists, because the latter see rights as at least protective, while the NCR is frustrated in its aims. The NCR leaders are involved in a communitarian discourse of responsibilities and privileges, and see rights as fragmenting and oppositional. Lesbian and gay activists often were aware that rights discourse works through fixing differences and identities, but chose to use it "because it was there" (p. 58), and their concern for immediate gains against discrimination outweighed longer-term or more theoretical concerns. Herman argues that these "theoretical" concerns are in fact central to how lesbian and gay movements present their visions. We cannot adopt medical, biological, or psychological models in the courts without having them spill into our daily lives, often in forms we would not endorse.

Herman's interviews have provided much worthwhile material, and she clearly presents the complexities of their ideas and the conflicts among the groups. In contrast, her treatment of activists in the Coalition for Gay Rights in Ontario (CGRO), the primary actors in the Bill 7 fight, is more cursory; Herman gives relatively short shrift to the interviews and discussion that might have really dramatized the gap, so evident in the NCR legal brief, between "internal" community views and public presentations. This is not a major problem for those versed in lesbian and gay politics, but it may be deceptive for those new to the field.

Another limitation in Herman's presentation concerns her isolation of struggles over lesbian and gay rights from other political events in Canada at the time. In assessing the relative gains of the NCR and CGRO over Bill 7, she argues that CGRO's gains were due to the growth of support for equality within the Liberal and New Democratic Parties. Thus, when the Liberals came to power, Bill 7 was greeted more warmly than would otherwise have been the case. This is certainly important, but Herman labels "such events" as "unpredictable 'chaos' phenomena" (p. 71). Her point seems to be that CGRO cannot take credit for the Liberal/NDP accession, and that much is certainly true; nonetheless, such events are neither unpredictable nor unrelated to Bill 7's success. Herman notes that without such changes Bill 7 "might never have passed" (p. 70), but she does not sufficiently engage the meaning of the accession and the growing acceptance of gay/lesbian equality within the two parties. Rather than write off these changes as "unpredictable," readers may hope for a more thorough discussion of

the activism before 1985 that fostered such changes and an integration of the Bill 7 victory within that context. This is not a major objection to a book rich in details about legal strategies, but it is a problem common to all scholars of social movements. We can hope the next generation of comparativists, trained in less hostile atmospheres, will offer us such integrated analyses.

Fortunately, these problems are minor compared to the wealth of information and analysis that Herman offers. For scholars in law and social movements, Canadian politics, and lesbian and gay politics, *Rights of Passage* will be an invaluable volume.

The Japanese Civil Service and Economic Development: Catalysts of Change. Edited by Hyung-Ki Kim, Michio Muramatsu, and T. J. Pempel, New York: Oxford University Press, 1995. 552p. \$65.00.

Robert C. Angel, *University of South Carolina*

The World Bank's Economic Development Institute, with funding from the government of Japan's Human Resources Development Trust Fund, joined forces with the University of Washington-based Society for Japanese Studies to undertake this ambitious project. The second in a series of studies on the Asian economic development experience, it follows the institute's widely debated *East Asian Miracles* (1993). The editors have recruited eighteen highly qualified scholars to write on those topics and from those intellectual perspectives they considered appropriate for inclusion.

The editors note they write for the managers of economic growth in developing and transitional economies around the globe, rather than for academic specialists on Japan or comparative political economy. They present their interpretation of the role of the bureaucracy in Japan's modern economic development to this audience in four sections. Three longish articles in the first section by political scientists T. J. Pempel and Michio Muramatsu, law professor John Haley, and economist Kozo Yamamura set the stage. Pempel and Muramatsu explain how interpersonal competition within an overall cooperative bureaucratic framework has been harnessed to forge a bureaucracy that has managed to remain small, efficient, and creative, a far cry from the usual image of governmental bureaucracy. Haley explains how an administrative legal framework that grants very weak coercive powers to the civil service has compelled bureaucrats in pursuit of voluntary compliance with their directives to develop better relations with the private sector, relationships that also have facilitated rapid economic development. Yamamura then traces the role of the Japanese bureaucracy in national economic development since the early years of the mid-nineteenth century onward, noting its intervention in the market where beneficial, especially to reduce information acquisition costs and to stimulate efforts to catch up with the West. Yamamura identifies as most important the bureaucracy's support of technology acquisition from the West, reduction in the cost of capital for firms and industrial sectors judged to have greatest potential, promotion of exports, and obstruction of imports.

The remainder of the book includes a five-article section that illustrates critical aspects of the evolution of the bureaucracy's relationship with the private sector, a series of five cases that illustrate how the bureaucracy dealt with specific challenges, and a concluding comparative section in which the Japanese experience is considered in light of the experience of other countries and regions.

Space limitations preclude individual comment on each of the articles. But Inoki's interpretation of the effect of early retirement of senior bureaucrats and their re-employment in the private sector (*amakudari*) as a source of competitive motivation within the civil service and Ito's analysis of the consequences of political reform are particularly useful. Here too, former Economic Planning Agency official Yutaka Kosai, in his piece on government-business relations, attacks the "Japan Inc." model, propping up and breathing new life into that discredited and desiccated corpse, assuring its survival into the next century.

The case studies include useful explanations of how Japan's civil service has handled problems common to all government managers in the course of economic development, such as financing, central-local government relations, and labor policy. Much of this information also will interest specialists on economic-political Japan. Meredith Woo-Cumings's essay in the comparative section, one of the most interesting in the volume, should prove quite helpful for the project's economic developer target audience, since she explains how a developing economy has taken lessons from Japan throughout much of this century, whether it wished to or not. Accepting without preamble the importance of the government's market intervention for economic development in Korea, Woo-Cumings explains in a straightforward fashion the effect of Japanese influence on Korea and how this influence combined with indigenous traditions.

Mindful of cautions of Japan's unusual attributes and environment that run throughout their articles, the editors in their introduction and Hyung-Ki Kim in the final chapter still conclude that managers of developing and transitional economies can profitably study the economic development role of Japan's civil service. Especially important is the effect of encouraging competition within the bureaucracy at the individual, intraministerial, interministerial, and central-local governmental levels, producing, in contrast to traditional models of lethargic bureaucracy, more efficient, nimble, and creative institutions. The editors also emphasize Japan's respect for the market. Yamamura notes that in spite of the reputation of Japan's civil service for protectionism and an anti-market orientation, it has "built in certain features of market competition that have been highly beneficial to the national economy and to long-term national economic growth" (p. 15).

No topic in the study of economic-political Japan inspires more controversy than the role of the bureaucracy in the national economy. Neoclassical economists often find it difficult to consider government as any more than a temporary interference in market allocations of values and one of little long-term consequence. Political scientists who emphasize the pluralistic tendencies of Japanese politics are inclined to look with suspicion on interpretations that discount the influence of representative governmental institutions over powerful ministries and agencies. After a flush of pride in the early 1980s, Japan's bureaucrats fear being portrayed, especially in English, as too influential, lest such characterization inspire American trade negotiators to demand they shift their influence from promotion of the chronic bilateral trade imbalance to its correction.

Thus, analysts of Japan's political economy who emphasize the significance of its civil service in the national economy have come to be known among their critics as "revisionists and Japan-bashers," to borrow an illustrative phrase from the book (p. 190). Refutation of revisionist interpretations of Japan's political economy occupies considerable space in many of the articles in the volume. The anti-revisionist enterprise certainly belongs in a study of this

sort. But, considering the collective effort expended, it would have been simpler to include one or two articles that accurately represent revisionist ideas rather than to rely on interpretations that border in places on caricature. Indeed, given their emphasis on the economic role of the bureaucracy, a modest revisionist presence would have made the volume more complete and might even have increased its value for the intended audience.

One avoids suggesting additions to densely packed volumes of over five hundred pages. But two come to mind here that would further elucidate the role of the civil service in Japan's modern economic development. The first would be an article devoted specifically to administrative guidance, a topic mentioned in several of the essays. But given its significance in bureaucracy-private sector relations and the diversity of interpretation it has inspired in the literature, an article devoted specifically to administrative guidance would have been welcome. My second candidate for an article topic would be democratization. It too is mentioned by Pempel and Muramatsu, Silberman, Mabuchi, and others. But an article devoted specifically to democratization that explored the consequences for representative political institutions and democratic governmental processes of efforts to strengthen the bureaucracy would have been welcome. It is noteworthy that the only mention of the role of police forces in the whole volume appears in Woo-Cumings's discussion of Korea.

While this volume neither is nor presumes to be the final word on the role of Japan's civil service in economic development, its harvest of information and assessment represents a still welcome addition to the English language literature on Japan's political economy. It seems to me more useful for the English-speaking specialist on Japan than for the latter day economic developer. But future citations will tell.

The Reincarnation of Russia: Struggling with the Legacy of Communism, 1990-1994. By John Loewenhardt. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1995. 238p. \$42.50 cloth, \$15.95 paper.

Nicolai N. Petro, *University of Rhode Island*

In this short book, John Loewenhardt, a distinguished Dutch observer of Russian and Soviet politics, sets out to test the alleged uniqueness of Russia's transition to democracy. His aim, as he points out, is not to explain the collapse of the Soviet Union, but to examine the problems of Russia's emergence from the collapse of the USSR.

Loewenhardt's first chapter is by far the best. In it he summarizes the key approaches to democratic transition that have been applied to authoritarian regimes in Latin America and Eastern Europe, and asks whether some of these models might not also apply to Russia. Despite the confusion and volatility of contemporary Russian society, Loewenhardt argues that the problems Russia faces in her transition to democracy are not *sui generis*. Russia's approach to democracy may be distinctive, but not sufficiently so that models applied elsewhere cannot also be applied fruitfully.

Playing devil's advocate, Loewenhardt then launches into an exploration of the key issues that condition Russia's experience of transition. These include the enduring legacy of Soviet attitudes and institutions, the constraints of Russian history and political culture, and the impact of generational change on Soviet society. Subsequent chapters highlight the problems that the collapse of empire pose for