

analytic tools; provides rich accounts of development of both science and politics in ozone depletion, acid rain, and climate change; and develops useful insights into how and why these issues developed as they did. Most importantly, it focuses our attention not only on how we manage global environmental risks but on the higher level phenomena of social learning, i.e., how—at a societal level—we improve our ability to manage those risks.

Anny Wong. 2001. *The Roots of Japan's International Environmental Politics*. New York & London : Garland Publishing.

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In *The Roots of Japan's International Environmental Politics*, Wong examines three environmental issues: whaling, deforestation in the tropics, and acid deposition within Asia. The author applies Robert Putnam's two-level games approach in order to identify the domestic roots of foreign policy decisions. The reader, however, should be aware that the title and the method of this book are somewhat misleading in terms of game theory and roots of foreign policy decisions. Rather, the book should be understood as an attempt to reconstruct, on the basis of 105 interviews done in 1995, the rationality of domestic actors behind the irrational diplomacies. As for the roots of foreign policy decisions, the focus is on explaining foreign policy as a consequence of domestic struggles, with very limited analysis of the formation and changes of Japanese domestic policies. Therefore, bureaucrats are portrayed as major actors in the case studies. The marginal role of politicians and NGOs has been simply ascribed to the "lack of strong environmental consciousness amongst Japanese voters" (p. 62) or "underlying assumptions among government officials that NGOs are basically unauthorized organizations to promote public interest" (p. 69). The changing role of NGOs is partially described in the chapter on acid deposition. It is unfortunate that these nonstate roots of domestic discourse are omitted, and consequently that the interaction of national and international politics is described from a narrow perspective.

The three case studies constitute the core of the book, with a certain implication of progress over time. In the case of whaling, Japanese diplomacy was internally inconsistent. Fishery industries and the ministry in charge decided to launch their own "research whaling" against the will of the Prime Minister at the time. With their insensitive harping on the whale-eating habits of Japan, western NGOs found little support from domestic NGOs. The whaling issue became emotionally charged around questions of pride, culture and sovereignty.

Western and domestic NGOs, however, gained prominence when attention shifted to deforestation in the 1980s. While the interest of the ministries could not be unified over trading rules and eco-labeling, the NGOs "stirred public memory of Japan's own deforestation and their anger towards the government and big business for poor handling of domestic industrial pollution"

(p. 189). Unfortunately, the author does not mention in concrete terms how, for both whaling and forestry, the endangered fish eating habits of indigenous people were introduced as a campaign tool in the domestic discourse to evoke the collective memory of the Japanese public.

On the third issue, the environmentalist efforts of both state officials and NGOs culminated in the cooperation of China and Japan over acid deposition. This last issue was initiated by a young Environmental Agency of Japan (JEA) and maturing NGOs. The agency had to carefully avoid the framing of global warming and redefine itself based on energy or technical issues which all fell in the political jurisdiction of other ministries. Sensitive issues, such as investigation of pollution, were avoided in the bilateral talks with China and discussed in another multi-national arena, the East Asia Acid Monitoring Network. Official development aid was the key to technology transfers and sharing knowledge.

The book ends optimistically with a discussion of the role of JEA (now upgraded *de jure* as ministry), NGOs and regional regimes in Asia. It is probably too early to judge the effectiveness of the acid deposition regime, though there are a couple of significant signs. As for the Japan-China cooperation in the face of a sluggish Japanese economy, foreign aid to China has been increasingly criticized. Another source of criticism is China's possession of a strong military, especially nuclear arms. Another recent development is the cooperation between NGOs and cooperate bodies. The amount of donations are still not comparable to western standards, but the Yasuda Group is now offering internships in international NGOs for university students, which was unthinkable a decade ago. Of course, whether these efforts go beyond symbolism and rhetoric remains to be seen.

In general, the data in the book are slightly out of date, and therefore, these recent developments were not foreseen. Coinciding with the year of interviews, the statistical data include mostly information until 1995, with some updates in 1998. Especially in the deforestation chapter, all the data include statistics until 1987 or 1993, which diminishes the contemporary claims of the book. This ironically validates Wong's claim of the poor status of disclosures, especially in English, by the governmental bodies. Even with these shortcomings, the book describes well the specific characteristics of Japanese bureaucracies and their inner struggles. To name a few, this includes the prevalence of technological solutions to policy questions, the mistrust among and within various ministries, and Japanese ambivalence to both Western and Chinese pressures. Additionally, this book fills an important gap in that hardly any detailed interviews have been conducted before simultaneously in China and Japan in a single study. While bureaucratic activities were unquestionably important for the whaling issue until the 1980s, bureaucratic politics models are less useful in explaining Japanese foreign policy on tropical deforestation and acid deposition—or on global climate change, an issue the author wisely avoided.