Book Reviews

The Politics of the Developing Areas. Gabriel A. Almond and James S. Coleman, Eds. Princeton University Press, Princeton, N.J., 1960. xii + 591 pp. $10.

From Empire to Nation. The rise to self-assertion of Asian and African peoples. Rupert Emerson. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1960. x + 466 pp. $7.75.

India: the Most Dangerous Decades. Selig S. Harrison. Princeton University Press, Princeton, N.J., 1960. x + 350 pp. $6.50.

The Death of Africa. Peter Ritner. Macmillan, New York, 1960. xii + 312 pp. $4.95.

The four works before us, each with its particular emphasis and approach, are joined in a common effort to explore and interpret the secular processes of political, economic, and cultural change which are transforming non-Western societies at an ever increasing rate. While Emerson and the participants in the Almond-Coleman symposium grapple with the problem in the large, in terms of two and three continents, Harrison and Ritner have chosen a subcontinent and continent as their focus.

Each of these studies, naturally reflecting the special preoccupations and values of the writers, varies in method, organization, and, in some measure, in the nature of the findings. Yet, it is remarkable how much agreement there is on important aspects, however dissimilar the tone or stress. Almond and Coleman, both political scientists (the former noted for his studies of elites and opinion problems and his concern for the comparative method, the latter a highly regarded Africa specialist), have assembled an extremely able team of area specialists to cooperate in the present symposium on the politics and political systems of the "developing areas": L. W. Pye on Southeast Asia, M. Weiner on South Asia, Coleman himself on sub-Saharan Africa, D. Rustow on the Near East, and G. I. Blanksten on Latin America. Emerson, long known as one of the leading students of Southeast Asia and Asian nationalism (with a growing concern for African affairs) has summed up years of inquiry and reflection in this broad-ranging study of the foundations and growth of nationalism, primarily in the Afro-Asian orbit, with an appraisal of its contemporary achievements and problems.

Selig Harrison, combining years of journalistic experience in India with impressive academic qualifications and concerns, has developed a pioneering interest in the role of the language problem in multilingual states. In his present study, unique of its kind in American literature, he probes into the problem of India's multilingualism and its implications as the key divisive agent in the country's political growth. Peter Ritner, a journalist whose interest in Africa was kindled with his assumption of responsibility for a special Africa supplement of a literary journal, here presents the findings of a subsequent field trip and research into the "realities" of contemporary Africa. He addresses himself to the American voter in the passionate conviction that "Something Must Be Done."

Reluctantly overcoming a pragmatist's hesitations, Emerson has embarked on a highly productive "search for uniformities on a grand scale" for which a base is provided by his unifying theme, "the rise of nationalism among non-European peoples as a consequence of the imperial spread of West European civilization . . ." which has "thrust elements of essential identity on peoples everywhere." His reading of the evidence suggests the "inevitability" of the broad results. However dominant its "power and profit" motivation, imperialism became "as radical a transformer of native society" as the "avowed missionary or modernizer." And however inadequate the final "civilizing" achievement, Emerson doubts that, without the impulsions set off by this achievement, the non-European peoples could have been induced to undergo a comparable revolutionary change. Whether or not Westernization and modernization really signified progress, Emerson rests on the "pragmatic ground that the peoples most affected are themselves making such an identification."

The system of foreign dominance has turned out to be self-liquidating, owing to its inherent revolutionary dynamism, which it has transmitted. Yet an "immense imbalance of power," sharp disparities of wealth, and an inadequate understanding of the assumptions underlying Western civilization are part of the transitional societies heritage.

Emerson offers a highly perceptive, generalized sketch of the process of transition, which culminates in the repudiation of colonialism. He concludes that the growth of the new, indigenous nationalism is related much less to neglect and oppression than to the rate of modernization and the rise of Westernized elites which it has stimulated. In this connection, the comparison of British, French, Belgian, and Portuguese colonial attitudes is highly suggestive, as is the writer's astringent appraisal of the role of white settlers. His contention that these groups tend to delay indigenous advance rather than to stimulate it will call forth some spirited argument. Altogether, the colonial system emerges from this appraisal as being neither good nor bad but rather, as if impelled by some Hegelian cunning of reason, invested with a higher liberating purpose which it served despite itself. His acute reexamination of the "nature of the nation" and its main elements will be welcomed by students of this venerable subject, who will find here a helpful critique of the Marxian view in the non-Western context. Nationalism itself is seen everywhere as a "product of the breach with the old order" involving the disruption of traditional groups and loyalties. This is highlighted by the remarkable parallels between the social carriers of that movement in 18th- and 19th-century Europe and in 20th-century Afro-Asian societies.

The wealth of insight and stimulation provided by Emerson can only be suggested here. We should note his

exploration of the connection between colonial and postcolonial democracy, of self-determination, and of some crucial problems of postcolonial societies, more especially his observations on the erosion of democracy in the new states. Sobering views on the problem of foreign aid will be found as a part of the concluding argument. That "economic and social development will surely redound to the benefit of the West" is seen as one of our "cheerful illusions," since its effects on stability and peace are problematic. Aid should nonetheless flow from the determination on the part of the West to associate itself with the processes of revolutionary change which were, after all, set off by Western dominance. This requires "acts of faith" concerning the feasibility and desirability of Western-style growth, on the part of both donors and recipients, in the face of the indeterminacy of the political outcome.

Where Emerson's study is historical-political, with its perceptions and generalizations grounded upon his personal evaluation of a vast body of evidence, Almond and Coleman and their associates have set out to devise a tool of analysis which will permit a "more scientific" treatment of political processes and structures in the non-Western communities. In his elaborate and highly provocative methodological introduction which sets the tone for the undertaking, Almond claims, not unjustly, that this is "the first effort to compare the political systems of the 'developing' areas and to compare them systematically, according to a common set of categories." It is quite true that the conventional categories of comparative government and politics have been largely derived from the experience of Western Europe, that even in the contemporary Western context some of them have become threadbare, and that hitherto only scattered efforts have been made by political scientists to develop categories adequate for the comparison of Western and non-Western systems. Several of the participants in this symposium have been engaged in such efforts, carried on partly under the auspices of the Social Science Research Council. The present undertaking explicitly associates itself with the behavioral approach, "an underlying drift toward a new and coherent way of thinking about and studying politics." This involves certain terminological preferences—such as *political system* for *state, functions* for *power, roles* for *offices, political culture* for *public opinion*, and *political socialization* for *citizenship training*—and generally a leaning toward an esoteric, specialized language which poses problems of communication for all except insiders.

In this context, conceptual shifts, Almond assures us, are "an intimation of a major step forward in the nature of political science as a science." Part and parcel of the "social science explosion," the inquiry leans on the findings of sociologists, anthropologists, social psychologists, and political scientists, among whom Weber, Parsons, Shils, Hyman, Lazarsfeld, Linton, Lasswell, and Truman may be mentioned. Only some of the results can be indicated here. The "political system" is defined sufficiently broadly to fit primitive, traditional, transitional, and revolutionary communities, as well as established states as "that system of interactions to be found in all independent societies which performs the functions of integration and adaptation . . . by means of the employment, or the threat of employment, of more or less legitimate physical compulsion. The political system is the legitimate order-maintaining or transforming system in the society." Stress is placed upon the comprehensiveness of social structures, the interdependence of "subsets," and the existence of boundaries between the political and nonpolitical phases engaged in the process of interactions. It is argued that essentially the same functions (in a variety of patterns) are performed in all political systems, whether "modern" or "traditional." These functions, in turn, are broken down into the "input" functions of political socialization and recruitment, interest articulation, interest aggregation, political communication, and the three "output" functions: rule-making, rule application, and rule adjudication. Throughout it is emphasized that all political systems, Western and non-Western, are transitional and, hence, that dualistic rather than monistic, developmental, as well as equilibrium, models must be used. Almond's essay, remarkable for its suggestiveness and bold originality, is given over to the elaboration and classification of relevant concepts and categories. It breathes a sense of confidence in the vitality and continuing productivity of the chosen approach. The regional studies which compose the bulk of the work, all of them on a high level of professional competence, in turn deal with their subject matter broadly in terms of the functional design projected in the introductory essay. While from the point of view of some readers this may lead to certain artificialities and terminological problems, it gives the work a unity unusual for a collective effort. The regions are treated as units so that discussion of individual countries has been subordinated to the over-all functional treatment for the whole. Coleman concludes the symposium with a notable essay summing up the "modal characteristics" of the several systems and developing the "functional profiles" of systems, based on a recent classification of "new states" by Edward Shils. Clearly, this is a seminal work destined to leave a trail of influence and controversy among students of comparative politics, area specialists, and social scientists in general.

Emerson, Weiner (in his exploration of South Asia), and Coleman (in his concluding analysis) all bring out the gravity of the language problem and its implications for cohesion and continuity, especially in a multilingual society which lacks an actually or potentially dominant language and where other unifying factors are weak. This is the problem that Harrison, with impressive erudition and singlemindedness, explores for contemporary India. Actually, this is a series of studies of crucial aspects of the Indian political system and its background, all of them showing the impact of linguistic and regional loyalties. He reminds us of the old British colonial argument that there never was an India or Indian nation except as a geographic concept, an insult which concealed the continuing question: "Can a unified Indian state in fact survive, and if so, what will be the political price for survival?" The "dangerous decades" of the title refer to the coming period when rising aspirations are astir but before they can be adequately satsfied.

Harrison sets the stage with a preliminary discussion of the principal regional and linguistic traditions of India, which stresses their continuing vitality in a sort of competitive coexistence in the new India. Two further chapters develop, with lucidity and learning, the inevitable decline of English as the language of a national elite since independence, the resistance to the expan-

sion of Hindi as its successor, and the growing emergence of separatist, regional elite groups whose horizon and national cohesion will, in his judgment, be increasingly limited as time goes on. This divisiveness is enhanced by the fact that in the matrix of the old Hindu caste system (which the secularists hoped to wear down) vigorous regional-linguistic caste alignments arise and already have come to wield great power. The argument culminates in a searching examination of the role of the Indian Communist Party which is shown to thrive on the expert manipulation of these divisive factors. It is ironical that not only the ruling Congress Party, but the Communist Party itself, is hampered and riven by the internal working of these forces. While for the present the old remaining national leadership can secure unity, Harrison foresees the possibility of some future authoritarian adventure, as a desperate effort to save the union against the onslaught of separatist forces. There is, of course, the possibility that the tempo of linguistic disintegration will slow down or that external pressures (China) will foster a sense of national unity in leaders and masses. Harrison has contributed a penetrating, truly important study of problems far transcending the fate of the Indian Union itself.

Ritner's *Death of Africa* in a very real sense speaks for itself. He is fascinated by what he regards as the virtually unavoidable advent in Africa of "a historical monstrosity whose whole future is mortgaged to its deformities." He sees in the rapid disintegration of African society a source of coming disasters—social, economic, and political, which partial measures and correctives can do nothing to stem. Only truly massive American support measures can help. This will require a broad reorientation of American economic and foreign policy. To buttress his contention, Ritner takes the general reader on a well-directed guided tour through the principal areas of Africa south of the Sahara. The objectivity of his account is indeed somewhat "adulterated" by his "passionate convictions." But he has something to say, and he tells it with a dramatic force that cannot leave us indifferent. This is a striking and significant brief for a policy change. It deserves an audience.

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Tribes of the Sahara. Lloyd Cabot Briggs. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1960. xx + 295 pp. Illus. $6.

"There has been more pure balderdash written and repeated about the tribes of the Sahara," begins Cabot Brigg's preface, "than about almost any other peoples in the world." No truer words were ever written. The ignorance of most authors, though not their flights of imagination, about the tribes of the Sahara can be excused on the grounds that hitherto there has been no authoritative work in English to which they could turn; and although French literature covers most aspects of human life in the Sahara, that literature is mainly composed of scholarly monographs unsuitable for the general reader. At last we have an over-all picture in our own language, and one which places the French, no less than the English-speaking peoples, under an obligation to its distinguished author, whose polished prose equals his erudition.

The opening chapter is a valuable essay on the geographical factors which impose so narrow and sensitive a margin between life and death on man in the Sahara. In the following chapter the author brings to life the prehistory of the desert in a way that no other writer has approached. But in so doing he is, as indeed throughout the book, at pains to emphasize the limits of our knowledge. He never allows himself the mildest conjecture. This exceptional chapter concludes with a masterly summary of recorded history which for brevity, adequacy, and clarity is quite outstanding.

Cabot Briggs devotes a chapter to each of the main groups of Saharan tribes, in every case selecting for close study a typical member of each group. The Tuareg are represented by the Ahaggar, the Teda by those in the Tibesti, the nomadic Arabs by the Chaamba, and the Moors by the Ouled Tidrarin of the Spanish Sahara. Cabot Briggs protests that his account of the Ahaggar is "full of gaping holes," but it should fully satisfy most of his readers. In his account of the Teda, of whom we know so little, he stirs the imagination by pointing out that the far-distant "Tomb of Tin Hanan" is Teda in character. His accounts of the Chaamba's adoption of shopkeeping as an alternative to raiding and of how the still half-tamed Moors have been known to raid 1500 miles afield and to take 8 months for such raids, make enthralling reading.

Earlier in the book we have chapters on the sedentary tribes and on the hunters and food gatherers, which include revealing sketches of the residual peoples of the Sahara, the tiny obscure tribes whose survival never fails to astonish. Those who have seen, from the security of a ship, the forbidding shore of Cape Bojador can scarcely fail to wonder how Gil Eannes, one of Prince Henry's captains, came to find footprints of men and camels on so desolate a spot. After reading Cabot Briggs, I cannot doubt that the owners of the footprints were the Imraguen, the queer nomadic fishermen who haunt this coast. This discovery is but a small part of my debt to this admirable book. Another is added respect for what the French have done in policing and cherishing these hordes of predatory nomads. There could be no better judge of this than the author.

Finally, a word of praise for the publishers. Excellent type, wide margins, and good maps and illustrations combine to achieve the same high standard as that set by the author. May this book be as widely read as it deserves, and the flood of balderdash be stemmed.

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The Professional Soldier. A social and political portrait. Morris Janowitz. Free Press, Glencoe, Ill., 1960. xiv + 464 pp. $6.75.

Serious inquiry has finally been made into the private life span of the professional military leader as a member of a group. This inquiry has not left a cold, heroic piece of statuary or the memory of an adventuring opportunist to symbolize the type of person to whom we entrust our national security. Instead, it has portrayed a dynamic human figure, continuously in transit from one situation to another, motivated, in the main, by rather altruistic objectives.

While you could not get any one of our officers to agree with all of Janowitz' findings and conclusions, yet the great majority of these officers will admire the depth of inquiry of his study. The *esprit de corps* of each service will generate objections to certain things, ranging from the title of the book itself to what appears, at first, to be