

this respect it is an exciting experience to read the author's narration of the deeds of such great colonials as Marshal Lyautey or such great political figures as Jules Ferry. But the author does not limit himself to a mere historical account of French colonial theories and institutions. He proceeds to an analysis of the dynamics underlying the views and actions taken by those historical figures. Thus, the opposition between *assimilation* and *association* which is mentioned in every book on French colonialism takes on a particularly vivid outlook in this work. We learn, for example, that this opposition is not self-contained and that historically there was another pair of contradictory concepts preceding it: that of *cantonnement* and *refoulement*. It is also helpful for the reader's understanding of these dynamics to trace the various anthropological and sociological theories, such as Bastian's theory of *Elementargedanken* and Le Bon's *Lois psychologiques de l'évolution des peuples*. It is interesting to encounter the problem of the French attitude towards the natives. We read that "French native policy has thus crystallized in the direction of *association* or 'protectorate' policy, tendencies assisted by the 'human' spirit in that policy, and by a certain curious sympathy with the native soul,—at least for the negroes, if not so noticeably for the Mohammedans" (p. 121). This remark is particularly suggestive to a contemporary reader who is interested in finding out some clues to the fact that at present, as we mentioned before, African-French relations seem to be very friendly. Over and above the other traits, whether economic or political, this one seems to continue to work even at the present stage of decolonization.

Among the various conclusions we might have drawn from the book, we quite arbitrarily chose to mention the problem of the attitude toward the natives. There are other interesting conclusion contained in the book, such as the author's evaluation of French economic policy. But we were attracted by the problem of French native policy for the simple reason that the development of mutual understanding between the ex-colonizing peoples and the ex-colonized peoples constitutes one of the most crucial problems of our time. In this sense, it is profitable for everyone on both sides, whether in the *North* or in the *South*, to try to understand the reasons which lead the French colonial Empire to take the shape it took and to follow the course it followed. (*Kinhide Mushakōji*)

YOICHI ITAGAKI, *Ajia no Minzoku-shugi to Keizai Hatten—Tōnan Ajia Kindaika no Kiten* (Asian Nationalism and Economic Development—The Starting-Point for Modernization in Southeast Asia), Tokyo, Tōyō Keizai Shimpō-sha, 1962, xii+328 p.

Since the war, studies of international affairs in Japan have developed to a marked degree, but it must be admitted that as far as systematic studies of international relations (considered as a field of study in the social sciences) are concerned, this department of study is one in which methodology is still

lacking. The author of the work under review has maintained in his earlier publications, *Sekai Seiji Keizai Ron* (World Politics and Economics), 1951, *Kokusai Kankei-ron no Kihon Mondai* (Basic Problems of the Theory of International Relations), 1963, etc., that a new department of academic study dealing with the substance of international relations as unified politico-economic phenomena must be established in order to make possible the scientific investigation of the total reality of living international society. The book under review is a scholarly work in which the author employs this method of systematic study of international relations by presenting to the public the accumulated results of many years of work in Asian studies.

The author's intention is "to make clear what it is that prescribes the essential nature of nationalism in the countries of Southeast Asia and in this connection to make clear the basic points at issue in economic development, to elicit the points at which problems exist in the directions, forms, scale, and speed of the political, economic and cultural modernization of Asia, and thereby to proffer some suggestions as to co-ordinates of observation to be employed in setting up theoretical frameworks or laying down policies for the development of the backward countries" (Foreword, p. iv). This basic way of thinking pervades the whole book. The author finds the prescription of the essential nature of Asian nationalism to consist in its character of being "colonial nationalism," and he treats the special characteristics and structure of the economies of Asia in the light of their colonial and backward nature.

In Section I, "Asian Nationalism," the author first gives a historical analysis of the various types of colonial policies employed by the countries of Europe and America and their processes of development. He then deals with Asian nationalism as being something that exists in opposition to these policies, having come into being and developed as colonial nationalism. Further, the author finds the basic tasks of Asian nationalism at this stage to be reducible to two—the establishment of political stability and the bringing about of economic development—and he arrives at the judgement that whether Asian nationalism will be able to hold its own in its resistance to Communism or not will depend on the ways in which these basic tasks are solved.

As difficult problems connected with the task of attaining political stability, the author discusses religious authority and charismatic authority, the opposition between linguistic nationalism and provincialism, the question of minority races and its relation to federalism, the crisis of parliamentary democracy, and Communism. In connection with the tasks of economic development, he points out the existence of a large number of dilemmas, such as those existing between politico-economic independence and dependence on foreign aid, and between the development of capital accumulation for increasing productive capacity and the equalization of incomes in the interests of social justice.

In Section II, "The Theory of the Development of the Asian Economy," the author first discusses the meaning of 'economic backwardness,' and then

draws attention to two problems faced by backward countries in their economic development—the problem of the structural changes occasioned by contact between imported modern elements and indigenous pre-modern elements, and the problem of those factors creating inequalities which have their origin in the colonial relations of dependence of former days. In regard to the first of these problems, the author examines Boeke's concept of 'dual society,' Furnival's concept of 'plural society,' and Frankel's concept of 'multi-racial society.' He emphasizes that in such heterogeneous backward societies progress does not necessarily create social welfare, and that consequently the attainment of economic progress demands simultaneous development of social welfare. In regard to the second of these problems, the author maintains that the solution is dependent on the nature of the efforts which are made towards the organization of economic nationalism.

The author then goes on to survey the recent theories of the development of the backward countries proposed by such scholars as Rosenstein-Rodan, Leibenstein, Nurkse, Hirschman, Myint and Myrdal. He notes a marked tendency to move from a 'typological approach' to a 'stage approach,' considering this to be an index of progress in these writers' consciousness of the problems and methods of approach. The typological approach is one in which greatest emphasis is placed on the question of how the structural features or character of a particular region are to be conceptualized, the manner in which this conceptualization is carried out prescribing the character of the theory of development. According to the author, if the features and character of a region are conceived as coming under the category of 'underdevelopment,' the resulting theory of development will be a 'pure economics' theory, while if they are conceived as coming under the category of 'backwardness,' the resulting theory of development will be a 'sociological economics' theory. Further, if the features of a region are conceived as coming under the category of 'colonial backwardness,' and not merely 'backwardness,' the resulting theory of development will be a 'political economics' theory. In the case of such a typological approach, the deepening awareness of the problem of the transition from 'underdevelopment' to 'backwardness' is accompanied by the conceptualization of the problems of economic development. This conceptualization is seen in terms of a 'transition period' between a static, traditional form of society and an autonomously developing modern society, and not merely in terms of capital formation or industrialization. Further, the author demonstrates how an increased consciousness of the transition from 'backwardness' to 'colonial backwardness' results in the problems of the 'transition period' being conceived as the problems of a non-continuous structural change, a 'system transformation' leading away from 'colonial backwardness.' He does not see these merely as problems of a continuous evolutionary process of change consisting of the breakdown of traditional society under the impact of an external shock and its reorganization as a result of the reactions to this experience. The author argues that herein lies the necessity for moving from a typological approach in develop-

ment theory to a stage approach. The author further suggests that as an accompaniment to such a change in approach it is also necessary for us to change our co-ordinates of observation in the realm of policy theory in economic development. Development policy thus begins with the 'pure economics' approach and proceeds first (as in the theory of the Big Push) to the conception of the problem of the 'development start' (the problem of how to create the impulse which will break through the inertia of a static economy and generate development). It next develops into the 'theory of the strategy of take-off.' However, if we adopt the standpoint of the 'political economics' approach, in which a region is designated as a colonial backward territory, we are called upon to establish a 'stage policy theory.'

The author takes up Rostow's theory of stages of economic growth from the above point of view, and while evaluating it highly as a policy theory for the development of backward countries, attacks it for the reason that the 'traditional society' which Rostow takes as his point of departure is regarded as identical in character to a homogeneous backward society of the Western European type. He goes on to point out that under colonialism the traditional societies of Asia are heterogeneous, plural societies, and that the factors making for inequality which are inherent in these societies constitute a restricting condition in the course of the change from traditional society to transitional society, and later in the course of the change from the transitional stage to the take-off stage. Consequently the author holds that the provision of the preconditions for Asian transitional society cannot, as Rostow maintains, be satisfactorily accomplished merely by means of social overhead capital and the provision of facilities in the external economy. The author holds that in addition to these it is necessary to remove the factors making for inequality which lie concealed in the colonial socio-economic structure. This necessity leads to the question of a 'system transformation' from a colonial system to a national system, and in many cases raising the question of the 'system revolution,' the choice between the capitalistic and socialistic systems of society.

In Section III, "Religion and the Modernization of Asia," the problems of the spiritual basis for the modernization of the societies and economies of Asia are taken up in a manner similar to that in which certain problems were raised by Max Weber in "Die Protestantische Ethik und der Geist des Kapitalismus" (in *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Religionssoziologie* [Tübingen, 1920]). In this way the author examines the present-day significance of the religious reform movement in Indian Hinduism, Egyptian Wahhābiya-ism, and the Indonesian Muhammadiyah movement. He questions whether Asian religious consciousness is capable or not of transcending traditionalism by self-regeneration and of producing a new rational economic spirit which will be distinct from the rationalism of Western Europe.

The work under review is thus a very wide-ranging scholarly study which attempts to approach Asian nationalism from three sides, from the points of view of politics, economics and culture. The book contains an abundance of

references to published material and reports of studies both in Japanese and in foreign languages, and may be said to be of most valuable significance in that it offers an overall view of the academic work on this subject.

The author is certainly correct in his basic assumption that the new department of academic study which is to treat international relations from a systematic point of view can be developed only on the basis of positivistic area studies undertaken within a certain frame of reference. In this sense much profit is to be gained from detailed comparative studies of past policies for the control of colonial territories. On the other hand, however, positivistic studies designed to enable the reader to grasp the socio-economic structure of present-day Asia can scarcely be called adequate. The elucidation of prewar colonialism and the problems of dual economies are of course indispensable if we are to seek out the starting-point of Asian modernization. But so long as there are no analyses of the present state of affairs, based on positivistic studies of individual countries which go further and explore how the static and rigid condition of Asian society which is a product of these factors actually constitutes an obstacle to economic development at the present time, it will prove difficult to elicit concrete policies for development from the study of this area. In this sense, too, such opinions as the author's conclusion that "the stronger the rigidities left behind by colonial capitalism, the greater is the possibility of a 'system revolution' leading to a socialistic system" (p. 205) must be recognized as mere products of abstract conceptual reasoning, deficient in persuasiveness as necessary logical conclusions.

In connection with this lack of analyses of the present state of affairs, we may add that it is unfortunate that the author's examination of the international environment in which Asian nationalism is placed is restricted to the problem of Communism. Political and economic pressure from the advanced countries has continued to affect the countries of Asia even after they have attained independence. Penetrating into the interior of the backward countries, this pressure has produced more complicated effects than any in the past. Leaving aside the question of whether this is to be characterized as 'neo-colonialism' or not, we may believe that the external factors in the modernization of the economies and societies of Asia are not to be ignored. It is precisely for this reason that there is a need to establish clearly the position of Asian nationalism in relation to the question of the disparity in income between the countries of the Northern and Southern Hemispheres. This may be said to be one of the important tasks left for Asian studies in the future, along with comparative studies of the economies and societies of the various countries of Asia. However, there is no doubt that the present work is a worthy milestone in the development of Asian studies and the theory of international relations in Japan. (*Yukinori Itô*)