

government and the putting into effect of a socialist planned economy are essential. In particular, as regards African unity, so long as Africa remains split up into a large number of small nations how can Africa offer effective resistance to a great monopoly whose annual budget is greater than that of an African state? The element of time is important. At a time when in addition to the nations already involved the powerful neo-colonial force represented by America is continuing to make headway, Africa must not spend its time in vain. If action is taken before the right time the difficulties will only be that much increased. The economies which can be nurtured taking the small state as the unit will be unable to support themselves, but a planned economy and division of labour on the Continental scale promise Africa's prosperity. Regarding the other advantages attaching to African unity detailed discussion is to be found in the author's other works (for example, in *Africa Must Unite*), but this is repeated in the book under review.

The overcoming of neo-colonialism is necessary not only for the underdeveloped countries of Africa. Since it is only when neo-colonialism has been abolished that mankind will be able to grapple with the dissolution of the danger of world war and the question of world poverty, Nkrumah maintains that this is a task which must be fulfilled by the people of the whole world. (*Keisuke Tanimoto*)

GEORGE ROSEN, *Democracy and Economic Change in India*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1966, xviii+326pp.

This voluminous work is the outcome of George Rosen's ten years' research work on India, three years of which he spent in that country. Several years ago he completed a book on industrial change in India, and since then he has been widely regarded as an established research worker on the economic development of India. In this book, however, he has made an extensive use not only of the existing data on Indian economics, but of the written materials concerning the various aspects of India's political and social structure and change, and has tried to construct a comprehensive picture of the process of change taking place in India. Therefore, in a way, one can take this work as an aggregate of social scientific researches made so far on India, both in and outside that country.

What the author has tried to do through this laborious work is to establish the relationship in India between politics and economics, or more specifically, "between the political environment and economic development" (p. vii), certainly an absorbing and challenging subject to any student of social sciences.

Another characteristic of this book is that Rosen has tried to combine his researches with a presentation of, or at least a set of proposals on, United States policy toward India. This strong consciousness of the policy implications of his work would be understandable, since he has been with the RAND

Corporation for some time, and this book has in fact been completed as part of its research programme for the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense, International Security Affairs. One would see, perhaps between the lines, some of the theoretical basis for the recent U. S. policy toward India.

Although the narration is for the most part up to the end of 1964, the author has seen to it that some of the most important events since then have been incorporated in the book. This is probably the first comprehensive treatment of India's development, and has unquestionably attained the present-day levels of international researches on India.

Going into the details, the book consists of seven parts. Part I is an Introduction, giving a brief framework of the book. In Part II, *India At Independence*, Rosen identifies the various caste and class groups which existed in India at the time of Independence, emphasizing the caste elements in rural India and class elements in urban India. "To identify and understand the position of the major groups in Indian society at Independence, major emphasis will be placed on caste groups modified by class elements in rural India, and on class groups modified by caste elements in urban India." (p. 15) The idea is to consider India at that time as in equilibrium, as a static system, into which changes are to be introduced later, and there follows a description of those various groups thus identified. (His theory of the social system is presented in Appendix A to this book.)

Although the relative emphasis Rosen gives to the caste and class elements seems to be a widely accepted one, the present reviewer has some doubt concerning its validity. Certainly the caste does play almost a decisive role in the socio-ritual life in India even today. However, would it be wrong to say that for some time by now, even in rural India, there has been an increasing discrepancy between the caste and the class aspects, that man's economic position is more and more determined by the class element more or less independently of the caste element, and that in this sense the caste is becoming more of a shadow as distinct from the reality? Tables 1 and 2 (pp. 28-29), summarizing the numbers and positions of four major caste groupings in rural India, and relating these caste groupings to rural occupations for the period 1952-1954, seem to show, rather contrary to what Rosen explains there, that the above-mentioned discrepancy had already advanced to a very great extent. It may be mentioned in this context that it is difficult to understand why Rosen has entirely skipped over the problem of land relationships while he depicts the classes in rural India. He certainly classifies the rural population in terms of operated size of holdings, but it appears that the relationship concerning the land ownership and tenure, and not the simple operational size of holdings, should have been taken as the axis in defining the rural classes.

Part III analyses Political Change in India since Independence, and, together with Part IV on economic change, forms the central part of the book. Here Rosen stresses that, partly due to the introduction of universal suffrage, there has been some shift of political power from urban to rural groups,

the role of the caste has become greater, and, together with the gain in the power of the private business groups, "new coalitions were formed between rural groups that controlled votes and urban groups that controlled resources for elections." (p. 70) While this reviewer agrees with Rosen that "The Indians are very conscious of an individual's membership in a group and are skeptical of his actions apart from the group..." (p. 87), he doubts whether the role of the caste has really become greater. True, in the present political context of India, caste or communal factors seem to play a great role; but is it not so that very often these factors are made much use of and mobilized politically to conceal the real issues which should be understood primarily in terms of class element? Rosen's concept of "new coalitions" should be examined more closely in this light. The new rural élite groups and their influence should be analyzed on the basis of their economic strength first, and not their caste background. Rosen's reference to the class backgrounds of the panchayat members in some States (p. 96) are illuminating in this regard.

Part IV, entitled Economic Policy And Achievement, 1947-1962, is mainly devoted to assessing the economic gains or losses of the various class or caste and communal groups identified in Part II as the consequence of more than a decade of economic change. Rosen says that "From the theoretical analysis it would be expected that there would be some relationship between the shifts in political power over the period and the distribution of economic gains." (p. 154) His analysis shows that in the rural sector, "It is probable that the peasants with medium-sized landholdings have gained the most..." (p. 154), while in the urban sector, "entrepreneurs, professional people and management groups" (p. 155) have done so. One might think that these are the conclusions one just expected. But Rosen's laborious effort to reach statistically elaborate conclusions, especially in Chaps. 8 and 9, is very interesting to have a close look at, although data are often scanty and therefore Rosen sometimes introduces arbitrary figures. Rosen's analysis concerning the rural sector is ultimately presented in Table 20 (p. 172). On this basis he concludes, after introducing some qualifications, that "The gains would thus be concentrated among the landholders of 15 to 30 acres." (p. 173) Turning to the urban side, his analysis of the entrepreneurial profits is quite interesting and valuable. (pp. 179-182) Reflecting the sharply upward trend in these profits, it is shown that "...almost all the per capita money income gains (among the urban high income groups) have been achieved in private industry." (p. 186) The validity of Rosen's conclusions on the urban factory workers is, to the reviewer, somewhat questionable. He says, on the basis of the assumption that their real wages went up during the first plan, then went down during the second plan, but showed some overall increase over the whole decade, that next to the upper-income middle class groups, they have also gained from the development. The reviewer wonders if the factory workers have really gained under such circumstances, although, technically speaking, the term gain is properly used (the twin concepts of gain and loss

are also given in Appendix A). The above-mentioned data show that the factory workers have apparently lost already during the second half of the decade, and such has become a definite trend afterwards; during the third plan the trend has been sharply stressed. Therefore, the reviewer feels that some of Rosen's conclusions on the gains and losses, at least those on the workers, be modified if the author's primary preoccupations are with the "more underlying trends in the Indian society and economy..." (p. xi)

The last chapter (Chap. 10) in Part IV examines the gains and losses in terms of caste and communal groups. Here, analysis is practically impossible since the data on this subject are lacking as Rosen himself has virtually admitted. Moreover, such an analysis would be largely meaningless since the gains or losses have occurred primarily on the basis of the economic position. Considerations along the caste and communal line have only additional, not primary, meaning in the analysis. (It is natural that this chapter on caste and communal gains should follow the two chapters on class gains and losses.) The case with the business communities seems to be an exceptional one. Here certainly Rosen seems to make a case for himself, drawing on the works by R. K. Hazari and presenting such an interesting enough subject as the Marwaris. But there is a great deal of class differentiation among those communities, and although they often appear to be unified groups, it is highly questionable to treat them as such. The Marwaris outside Rajasthan, particularly those in Calcutta, may be one of the foremost groups in India in this sense. Therefore, it seems advisable to distinguish those dominant groups within the business communities, and to treat them as a distinct class, not as a part of the middle-class groups, as Rosen does.

It would not be too presumptuous to say a word here about Rosen's way of treating the caste as a central concept, which is also a widely accepted way. As his extensive drawing upon the anthropological studies would show, the caste is essentially an anthropological concept, based upon the implicit idea of division of labour in a state of equilibrium (In this sense E. Durkheim's theory of the division of labour is a sort of a modern version of the caste theory). As is usually the case with equilibrium theories, Rosen's also may not be quite capable of incorporating changes into it. No wonder that here the economic problems tend to be treated as being of a more or less cyclical nature, as is well shown especially in Part V, rather than in an institutional way. One might be reminded of the case of some Russian thinkers who, round the turn of the century, firmly believed in the real existence of the Mir, while under the surface it had been all but undermined by the work of the economic forces. Could some resemblance not be seen here?

In Part V, *Indian's Future Economic And Political Trends*, Rosen studies the present situation of the Indian economy, after the decade of planned development, to locate the problems and difficulties, and proceeds to suggest the ways of solving them. For the agricultural sector, among other things, he suggests that the output of those manufactured goods consumed by peasants be expanded, so that there will be increasing flow of resources from agricul-

ture to industry. (pp. 224-225) As for industry, he thinks that the existing complicated network of controls can be dismantled by using the price mechanism as an allocative device, thus leading to higher efficiency in development. On the whole, he puts forth the idea of "indicative" as against the present "detailed" planning for India. Part V ends with a consideration of the current political situation. Rosen thinks that as far as this economic stagnation continues, there cannot be much hope for the continued political stability in India beyond 1970; and in order to help maintain this stability, he feels that there is a case for the U. S. to intervene.

Part VI, Conclusions: United States Policy, deals with the broad policy strategies by way of which the U. S. might be able to help India to get out of the present stagnant economic situation. The author suggests a number of rather bold policies and says that it would mean "that the United States become far more deeply involved in Indian planning than it has heretofore." (p. 268) One is struck at this straightforward proposal for intervention, for it is nothing more nor less; and also at the fact that U. S. recognition of the crisis in India has come to this height. At the same time, one feels that U.S. determination to maintain political democracy in India is based upon cool calculations in terms of the additional U. S. costs in case of India having alternative forms of government, whether right or left. The present reviewer cannot but be impressed by the fact that, with this book, the government and research workers in Asian affairs in the U.S. have come to entertain common aims and goals, and that the latter have started providing theoretical bases for the policy of the former, although the theorizing is still lagging somewhat behind. Under the present U. S. foreign policy, theorizing may be bound to be so.

Finally, Rosen suggests, in Part VII, Epilogue, the possibility of applying the framework outlined in this book to other developing countries. One would certainly be tempted to ask oneself if such applications might not lead to warranting global U. S. intervention in their home affairs.

(Hiroichi Yamaguchi)

DONALD M. LOWE, *The Function of "China" in Marx, Lenin, and Mao*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1966, xiv+200pp.

Studies on Maoism have been centred on the original formation of Mao's thought along with his deviation from the orthodoxy of Marxism and Leninism. Therefore, attention has been mainly focused on theoretical differences regarding the basic propositions and revolutionary strategies of each of these three thinkers. Lowe analyses the position and weight of China in the Marxist frameworks, from Marx himself to Lenin and Mao, and through this study he tries to make clear the mode of thinking characteristic in each of them, thereby to shed light on the weak points in past studies of Maoist thought.