

surmised that the export fluctuations have had little effect on the domestic economy because of some government policies, because of the domestic financial system, or due to the policies of expatriate firms having a hand in exports, or, maybe, because of the consumption habits of the native population. The export fluctuations themselves are likely to be associated with the price elasticity of supply of domestic producers, harvests and prices of cash crops in a subsistence economy, etc. Any attempt to analyse these relationships, which is handicapped by the scarcity of data, might after all have little recourse but to that very same *a priori* reasoning and casual empiricism noted above. Moreover, some of the built-in stabilizers which have been useful in smoothing the fluctuations in export earnings are by nature likely to disappear as the economy grows. Those policies for stability currently pursued on a national level would also have to be examined in detail for each country.

MacBean's work will not only give valuable information as well as lessons to students of developing countries, but will furnish useful suggestions to those concerned with the current national and international measures for stabilizing exports from developing countries. To be sure, to understand the relationships among variables would no doubt require studies of individual underdeveloped countries. Yet, merely describing the situation in each of these countries would not in itself be a theoretical work. If it were to be a part of social science, the building of models through abstraction would be needed. In that case, how much meaning is to be found in an *average* of things might be open to question. From the MacBean book we have learnt that in the average underdeveloped country the correlation between export instability and domestic variables is low. Yet, it would not be legitimate to ignore the relations between the export fluctuations and domestic economy as holding little significance. Also, it would not be right to discard all research approaches in the past as being wrong and no longer useful. MacBean's study is confined to short-term fluctuations and does not touch upon the secular trends like the long-run deterioration in the terms of trade for developing countries which is now being hotly debated. Although the consequences of his analysis may suggest leaving the export fluctuations as they are, this does not mean that economic development can make headway automatically in developing countries, and MacBean himself must know this very well.

(Katsu Yanaihara)

STANLEY DIAMOND & FRED G. BURKE eds., *The Transformation of East Africa: Studies in Political Anthropology*, New York, Basic Books, Inc., 1966, xii+623 pp.

This voluminous work was prepared for the faculty-student seminar on problems of nation-building in East Africa by Syracuse University's Program of Eastern African Studies. It contains sixteen papers by different authors

which together intend to cover the whole of Eastern Africa and the whole range of transformation processes taking place there.

The scope of this book is explained in the introductory chapter, "Africa in the Perspective of Political Anthropology," by one of coeditors, Stanley Diamond. He emphasizes the importance of an inter-disciplinary approach because "no single discipline is adequate to cover the range of contemporary African phenomena." (p. 3) An individual scholar may some day create a penetrating and important universal work by himself, but at present Prof. Diamond thinks effort "must depend upon disciplinarians who bring specific points of view and more or less specialized training to a series of problems which have been worked out and, to a degree, coordinated in advance."

He introduces a new term, "political anthropology," which claims to embrace all the relevant disciplines (sociology, economics, geography, political science). "Orthodox" anthropology has concentrated on traditional societies in its analyses, but political factors increase in importance as societies shift from a traditional base to a modern one.

Prof. Diamond rejects the use of the word "acculturation," which is often used by anthropologists to describe such historical shifts, because it has the connotation of the conquest of an "un-civilized" culture by a "civilized" one. He condemns strongly the ethnocentrism of European peoples or, as he prefers to say, the peoples of the North Atlantic world, and suggests that misunderstanding of African cultural potentialities based on preconceived norms should be dispelled, as there may be alternative patterns of social evolution in Africa which differ from the European model. He says that "the perspective of political anthropology, then, furthers our understanding of ways in which cultural forms function in varying contemporary situations of social change" (p. 15), and this line of thinking leads him to construct a scheme for functional analysis.

His preliminary scheme for comparing different African socio-political groups (Table I-I) is interesting, but it is doubtful if this classification—based on the level of integration, which cross-cuts traditional ethnological culture areas—is very helpful in understanding the dynamic social changes of present-day Africa. Such divergent peoples as the Ibo, Kikuyu, and Tiv are classified in one group, while the Ankole, Buganda, and Dahomey are in another category. However, the new forces of integration such as urbanization, education, nationalism and the like have had such an overwhelming influence on many of these peoples that any classification based primarily on tribal characteristics already seems to be quite inadequate in analysing these new transformation processes. This comparative schema therefore falls short of the important task of reclassifying the African socio-political groupings according to the present needs. It is certainly necessary to study the sequence from aboriginal and traditional through colonial to post-colonial forms (p. 14), but the classification well suited to traditional societies in one era may not be the best for analysing present problems.

Prof. Diamond re-defines the limit of Eastern Africa as the area composed

of Sudan, Ethiopia, Somalia, French Somaliland, Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Rwanda, Burundi, Malawi, Zambia, and Mozambique. This represents a conscious effort to overcome the colonial heritage of regarding only Kenya, Uganda, and Tanzania (namely the former British East Africa) as East Africa. The difference is symbolized with the use of the word "Eastern" rather than "East." This Eastern Africa constitutes a "cattle complex": as the author explains, there is continuity in the ideological and economic orientation of the inhabitants to cattle. However, too much emphasis on the relationship between men and cattle may prove to be irrelevant to the present problem as the dominant socio-economic orientation of the area shifts from cattle herding to settled agriculture.

In the succeeding chapters, the analysis of the sequence of development from the traditional bases is difficult to follow, as each chapter begins not with the pre-colonial society but rather with the colonial period. (The one exception is F.A.G. Ianni's chapter on Ethiopia.)

G. J. Moutafakis has brought a wealth of knowledge to his chapter, "The Colonial Heritage of East Africa." He describes the Portuguese, French, and British colonial policies and practices covering the period from the 16th century to the present time. The author shows the interrelationships between the character of the successive metropolitan governments and their colonial policies, and, what is more interesting, that the changes in the metropolitan governments' colonial policies did not change the colonial governments' *actual* policies.

Elizabeth Hopkins has written an illuminating chapter on "Racial Minorities in British East Africa." The theme of her paper is that "the history of race relations in the territories which constituted British East Africa provides a striking example of the way in which a colonial power can manipulate racial categories, whether consciously or implicitly, to sustain a colonial system of control." (p. 83)

Her method of analysis is to look at various communities through the eyes of other communities. For instance, how the African, the Asian, and unofficial European communities are perceived by the Colonial Officer, and so on. She examines the varieties of perception for the three territories of Kenya, Uganda, and Tanganyika. The resulting paper is readable and interesting.

Colonial Officers are pictured as basically paternalistic people who held a professional sense of commitment to the welfare of the indigenous population, but carefully avoided private association with local Africans or Asians. Symbolic of the Colonial Officers' solidarity throughout East Africa was "the Club." Considerable tension existed between the officials and the unofficial European community, especially between administrator and settler in Kenya. "The settler felt infinitely more qualified, by virtue of his continuing residence, to assess the local situation and the needs of the African population" than the recently transferred officers who were to be detached from the consequence of their decisions.

Prof. Hopkins holds the view that the Asian in East Africa had a "long history of sympathy and support for the African despite the risks of such cooperation." (p. 121) She emphasizes that before Africans acquired representation in the Legislative Councils in the former British East Africa, the Indian representatives "played an important role as spokesman for African opinion." Tension emerged in African-Asian relations due to the clear disparity in economic status between the two groups, and the increasing African demands for entrance into commerce and the lower- and middle-level civil service posts presented a formidable personal threat to the job-security of Asians. However, the roots of this tension lay in the colonial policy as "the structure of the colonial society was such as to inhibit any realization of a position of privilege by trained African personnel." (p. 149) The British policy thus reinforced the dominance of the European's position through the handling of African-Asian tensions by stressing the common identity of Asians and differentiating them from the African.

Part II of the book is devoted to seven studies of individual emerging nation. There are: "Race, Conflict, and Reform in Mozambique," by M. Harris; "Political Evolution in Kenya," by F. G. Burke; "The Evolution of Tanganyika's Political System," by W. H. Friedland; "Modernization in Uganda: The Struggle for Unity," by G. W. Shepherd, Jr.; "The Modern Emergence of Malawi and Zambia," by R. I. Rotberg; "The Sudan: Link to the North," by R. O. Collins; and "Ethiopia: A Special Case," by F. A. J. Ianni. The first five of these studies describes the development of colonial administration and how African nationalism emerged in each area. Although each study was written by a scholar distinguished in the area concerned, there is little original contribution here. The sixth study is more illuminating. R. O. Collins concentrates his attention on the Southern Sudan Policy of the British administration and its assessment; and through the extensive use of letters, communications, notes, and memoranda written by the colonial officials dug out from the Sudan Government Archives, he succeeds in clarifying how the Southern Policy was formulated and how it evolved.

His study shows how conflicting forces acted on the colonial government in formulating policy, and how it in turn created future problems. The author's assessment of the Southern Policy is that it had successfully excluded Northern influence from the southern provinces for a generation, but that this precluded any identification on the part of the Southerners with the Sudan as a whole. "The Southern Sudan was ill-prepared for the rapid political transition from colonial rule to participation in a self-governing and independent Sudan." (p. 329)

F. A. J. Ianni's study of Ethiopia must of necessity differ from the others as this unique country has never really experienced colonialism. He calls attention to the need for examining the relationship between colonialism and culture contact from the point of view of anthropology and advances the following controversial proposition. "It should be noted how the lack of a macrotemporal experience with the culture contact brought about by colonial-

ism has combined with geographic and cultural isolation to retard the political and social development of Ethiopia." (p. 423) He is not defending colonialism, as he accepts the possibility that the long multi-generational contact with the outside world could have come without colonialism as, for instance, in the manner of Commodore Perry who helped Japan's opening to the outside world. (p. 425)

Part III contains six chapters on various regional processes and problems, including: "The African Elite," by G. M. Wilson; "The Growth of Urban Society," by A. W. Southall; "Education," by Carol Fisher; "Native and Missionary Religions," by C. E. Fuller; "Resources and Problems of Economic Development," by K. G. V. Krishna; and "Federation: An Unfinished Portrait," by A. H. Rweyemau and B. E. S. Brown.

G. M. Wilson's chapter is an attempt to examine the attitudes of African élites through opinion polls. The questions asked are too simple, and the result is not satisfactory as it lacks depth. A. W. Southall's chapter is a general survey of East African towns showing their ethnic composition and numerical ranking. Characteristic features of Nairobi, Kampala, and Dar es Salaam are also described, but the author does not analyse social structure and the transformation of town dwellers as he has done elsewhere.

Both Carol Fisher's study of education and C. E. Fuller's study of religion come to a similar conclusion: that the westernized educational system and the missionary religion must be integrated with truly African qualities. The Africanization of education and religion is viewed not merely as a re-establishment of specific cultural forms but the spontaneous amalgamation of both African and Western elements. The need to adapt, with a higher level of integration to the new situation which departs from the traditional way of life, is also the theme of K. G. V. Krishna's chapter on the problems of economic development, as he says "the immediate challenge facing the East Africa governments is to ensure that the programs of development initiated in the closing phases of colonial rule be carried to a conclusion." (p. 561) The process of tribal distintegration had already begun, and transformation to the market-oriented economy is taking place, but what constitutes the essential African economic organization which can be incorporated into the modern economic system, is a very difficult question which the author does not answer. Part III concludes with a short historical survey of failure to achieve an East Africa Federation.

Although some of the chapters have analytical depth, the volume as a whole is somewhat lacking in coherence and integration. The book is subtitled "Studies in Political Anthropology," and one of the co-editors, Prof. Diamond explains what should be the perspective of political anthropology in the first chapter of the book. However, an analytical methodology for "political anthropology" is far from being established, and in its entirety the book gives the impression of being a mere collection of papers written on the bases of analytical methodologies of various disciplines. (*Masao Yoshida*)