

However, the Central Government's policy was emasculated at State level. In order to realize their objectives the interest groups very often resort to mass movements or sometimes to violence. Their leaders do not hesitate to use such effective weapons as civil disobedience or hartals rather than petitions or deputations, and have often succeeded in getting concessions from the Government. The most notorious defeat the Central Government suffered was when it tried to establish new units of State government on the basis of language, and backed down in the face of mass demonstrations. "Only when public order is endangered by a mass movement is the government willing to make a concession, not because they consider the demand legitimate, but because they then recognize the strength of the group making the demand and its capacity for destructiveness." (p. 201) Naturally the responsible government must be responsive to popular demands, but there is danger that the Indian Government may make too many concessions to the demands of various organized groups, in the present state of India. In Prof. Weiner's opinion, the danger to India's democracy is "in the breakdown of authority than in its concentrations." (p. 231) In order to modernize the country and carry out economic planning, the Indian Government must somehow control or restrain these demands.

Generally speaking, in underdeveloped countries, a great gap exists between aspirations and reality. Can this gap be narrowed by economic development? Prof. Weiner answers this question in the following way: "In the short run, economic growth can therefore be politically unstabilizing." (p. 238) India has now entered its third five-year programme period. There are still such problems as politics, social organization, and cultural values, to be solved in order to realize the plan. However, it is true to say that very few studies have been made in the field of political process and its relation to realization of the policy so far. Actually, the big problem India faces at the moment is "a great hiatus between law and reality, between what is willed by the national leadership and what is done at the local level, between the high ideals in New Delhi and the cynicism in the *mofussil* towns." (p. 239) In order to eliminate these gaps, it is important to study the political situations, especially at the level of local politics. In short, one lesson which could be derived from "The Politics of Scarcity" would be: in the long run, it is true that, unless there is economic stability, there is no political stability. But, where underdeveloped countries are concerned, unless there is, for the present, political stability or an effectively workable political system, it is very difficult to expect their economic development. (*Fukuo Noda*)

LEA E. WILLIAMS, *Overseas Chinese Nationalism: the Genesis of the Pan-Chinese Movement in Indonesia, 1900-1916*, Illinois, The Free Press, 1960, 235 p.

The author succeeds, in the book under review, in describing very con-

cretely and objectively how the nationalism of the overseas Chinese in the Dutch East Indies developed in an organized manner during the period of 1900-1916, about the time of the Chinese First Revolution. He analyzes how the *Tiong Hao Hwe Koan* (THHK), *Shang Hwe*, and the *Soe Po Sia* were established to serve as pan-Chinese associations for the then disunited overseas Chinese, and how their nationalism was organized among themselves. He also clarifies that, during these processes, nationalism was strengthened through the improvement in education, especially through teaching of their national language (Kwo-yü). He stresses the point that it was the overseas leaders, rather than the bureaucrats in the homeland, who played an important role in developing Chinese nationalism, availing themselves of the revival of Confucianism.

In the reviewer's personal view, however, nationalism did lurk among the overseas Chinese society early in its history. Although the author scarcely touches on the secret societies, the reviewer thinks the existence of a secret society related with the Hung-mên group should not be overlooked. Especially among the Hokkien merchants, who made their entry into Indonesia during the early days, there was a very strong anti-Manchu feeling, and it can be deduced that there was a secret society connected with the powerful Hung-mên group there. Although it would mean going back to the period beyond the one the author is dealing with, the book would have doubled in value if he had delved deeper into this phase.

Secondly, the reviewer believes that the author should have stressed the importance of the network spreading from the homeland to the overseas Chinese societies in various areas. The author regards the role of the local leaders of the overseas Chinese as important. However, it is the opinion of the reviewer that the significance of the part they played in Indonesia was not too great in the overall picture. The reviewer thinks that the roles played by K'ang Yu-wei and Sun Yat-sen in developing Chinese nationalism around the time of the Chinese First Revolution should be evaluated more. The Chamber of Commerce which was the product of K'ang Yu-wei's Reform Policy and the *Soe Po Sia*, which took the place of a chapter of the *Kuomintang* or the Nationalist Party, established by Sun Yat-sen, served greatly to organize a nationalistic feeling among the overseas Chinese. It cannot be denied that, at that time, the reaction of the Chinese in Indonesia to this kind of nationalistic movement was much weaker than those of the Chinese in Japan, Malaya, the U.S.A., and other areas. The reviewer thinks there should be new light thrown upon the reason the local leaders among the overseas Chinese in Indonesia were weaker in the whole pan-Chinese movement compared with other areas.

The third problem is that the author bases his argument on his pro-Chinese stand in examining the nationalism of the overseas Chinese in Indonesia. However, it goes without saying that, from the point of Indonesia herself, too much stress on the Chinese nationalism in the country is not at all welcomed. At present, they can only choose the road to assimilation with

the Indonesian society.

Why should they proudly demonstrate the excellence of their native land's culture and adhere to nationalism? The author attributes this to the fact that the overseas Chinese have been persecuted as a minority race. However, the reviewer does not think this explains the situation fully in view of the fact that the overseas Chinese nationalism is strong in proportion to the ratio of their population among the entire population in the area, as in Malaysia.

Although the reviewer has raised a few questions which came to his mind in reviewing the book, he is not at all adverse to valuing the author's achievement in tracing the pan-Chinese movement among the overseas Chinese in Indonesia during this period (which had been hitherto overlooked) after carefully exploring much literature on the Netherlands, China, and Indonesia. The reviewer would like to add that he owes a great deal to the author's minute description regarding the activities of the overseas Chinese in the field of education and the process of establishment of the *Tiong Hoo Hwe Koan*, *Shang Hwe*, and the *Soe Po Sia*, which served as pan-Chinese associations.

(Naosaku Uchida)

LUCIAN W. PYE, *Politics, Personality and Nation Building: Burma's Search for Identity*, New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1962, 307 p.

Prof. Pye's book *Politics, Personality and Nation Building* represents an effort by an imaginative and perceptive American political scientist to explain the main American idea of discipline and civic responsibility as applied to the problem of national development in newly independent non-Western countries.

His previous field of interest, which led him to write the book under review, was the process of political development in emerging nations, with emphasis on the attitudes and orientations of the key groups to the political process. His first book *Guerrilla Communism in Malaya: Its Social and Political Meaning* studied the personal and political meaning of communism for people in a transitional society who were attracted by communism. The book under review aims to follow up this research by further investigating "how people equally caught up in rapidly changing circumstances but who do not become communists have come to understand the realm of politics and to perceive their own political identities." (p. xiii)

In making this approach, the author was influenced by the ideas of Prof. Gabriel Almond and the Committee on Comparative Politics of the Social Science Research Council of which Prof. Almond was the chairman. And as the author himself admits, this book is in that sense "an attempt to explore the consequences of the basic 'functions' of 'political socialization' and 'recruitment' in the development of a political process." As Prof. Pye also points out, his frame of reference in writing this book was further influenced