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 Hao 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 *Guerrila 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

by his association with the MIT's joint study group whose work resulted in *The Emerging Nations: Their Growth and U.S. Policy.* Through his participation in this group study, the author was made keenly aware that "the problems of the underdeveloped regions represent a profound *historical* and *dynamic* process unique to our age, a process which must somehow rest upon and reflect in a *systematic* fashion the *multi-dimensional* character of human life." (p. xix, Reviewer's italics)

Thus, while brought up in the recently influential school of political science in America which is the proponent of the "functional-structural approach to comparative politics," Prof. Pye's central concern is not so much with the classification (typological or not) of various existing non-Western political systems. Rather, he seems more interested in examining the dynamics of political culture in non-Western political systems. He defines these as *transitional* in the sense that the weakened hold of tradition tends to give rise to the prevalence of charismatic leaders.

Prof. Pye attributes the weakening of the traditional form of authority in these non-Western societies to the diffusion and impact of what he calls "the world culture." This is defined as being largely of Western origin and based upon modern science and technology, modern practices of organization, and modern standards of governmental performance. In terms of such "diffusion of the world culture" and the resultant acculturation, social change and transition, the author consciously tries *historically and dynamically* to divulge the problems of nation building and social development unique to contemporary non-Western societies.

In so noting the multi-dimensional character of human life, he was inspired by Max Weber's suggestion "that there is an inner coherence to all societies in the form of a systematic relationship among the social, economic, legal and political forms of behaviour on the one hand and nonrational spirit or ethos of the society, as best expressed in its religion, on the other." (p. 36) And, in the tradition of of the behavioralistic view of the social system consisting of the three basic elements of social structure, culture, and personality, Prof. Pye submits that the political system comprises a polity, culture and personality in the interrelationships among which, according to his tentative conclusion, the heart of the problem of nation building lies.

While stressing such an *historical, dynamic and multi-dimensional* approach to contemporary non-Western transitional societies, and explicitly observing that "any form of political analysis....must inevitably rest upon some set of assumptions and theories about human psychology on the one hand and a body of sociological knowledge and a *philosophy of history* on the other," (Reviewer's italics) it is not necessarily clear what Prof. Pye's own philosophy of history is. It can be surmised only indirectly through his agreement with Daniel Lerner's statement that "the process of modernization has a distinction of its own, and the elements that make it up do not occur in haphazard and unrelated fashion but go together regularly because *in some historical sense they had to go together.*" (p. 15, Reviewer's italics) The author's philosophy of history

is also implicit in the way he has derived his idea of a transitional form of society from Weber's three forms of authority according to which, Prof. Pye believes, a charismatic form of authority *tends* to predominate when a traditional form is weakened. That is to say, since Weber's three forms of authority are *typological in the sense of Idealtypus*, Prof. Pye himself does not seem to conceive of his transitional form of society as an intermediate stage in the inevitable progress from a traditional form of authority to a rational one.

In this way, Prof. Pye centres research on the question of why transitional societies should have such great difficulties in creating *an elective modern state system.* He examines the problem of nation building thus posed in terms of the interrelationships between personality and social change. And in order to elucidate these interrelationships, the author analyzes the various phases of the political socialization process and then notes the significance for social change of the different types of cultural values and attitudes produced by the socialization process.

Prof Pye has always been particularly concerned with psychological factors in the process of nation building as evidenced by his earlier work. In this book he notes: "In order to avoid the excessively static bias of, say, *classical anthropology* while not going to the other extreme of, say, traditional economics in which change is seen as no more complex than rational choice, it will be *helpful* to elucidate the details of the relationships between personality and social change." (p. 44, Reviewer's italics)

The author depicts the relationships between personality and social change in transitional societies as the "crisis of identity." He analyzes this crisis of identity in the context of socialization, and more specifically in terms of the three stages of the socialization process. These three stages consist of a) the basic socialization process through which the child is inducted into his particular culture and trained to become a member of his society; b) the political socialization process through which the individual develops his awareness of his political world and gains his appreciation, judgement and understanding of political events and c) political recruitment. (p. 45) According to the author, this crisis of identity is due to the lack of coherence among the three stages of the socialization process in transitional societies.

Prof. Pye further tries to shed light on the crisis of identity by distinguishing what he calls the three classes of cultural values and attitudes which are the consequences of the socialization process. These three classes of cultural values and attitudes comprise technical skills and competences: motivational goals (the types of goals and behaviour which the socialization process teaches as appropriate and legitimate objectives of personal motivations), and associational sentiments and values which determine the capacity of people to relate themselves to each other so as to facilitate collective action. (pp. 48-52)

Prof. Pye says that, while the more rationalistic approaches to nation building tend to treat the problem of cultural attitudes and values almost exclusively as a matter of formal education and the learning of skills, only

those with a very shallow view of human behaviour would expect significant changes to follow from improvements in this field alone. (p. 49) According to the author, with respect to the problems of nation building and social development, the prime need is to direct human motivations from old forms of activity to new ones.

To explore the problem of development, it is thus necessary to examine whether the socialization process in the particular society instils a high degree of motivation in the basic personality type; what forms of activities are sanctioned as appropriate goals, and how changes in sanctioned goals may affect the intensity of motivations and the capacity of people to strive for their professed goals. (p. 50) The author deems this problem more complex and fundamental than that of learning skills.

In comparison with these questions, however, Prof. Pye asserts that the real problem in political development is the extent to which the socialization processes of a people provide them with the necessary associational sentiments so that they can have considerable conflict without destroying the stability of the system. (p. 52)

Constructing his theoretical framework in this vein, Prof Pye chooses Burma as a model. This is because Burma seems to him to share strikingly many qualities with most underdeveloped countries. Prof. Pye discusses the Burmese political system in depth in order to capture the subtle nuances and complex interrelationships of sentiment and judgement which are the essence of a political culture.

In designing this book, the author has proved himself extraordinarily ingenious and able in dealing with the general question of balancing specific, concrete research and theoretical generalization. More particularly, he has dealt very ably with problems such as the dilemma of precision versus realism, the emphasis to be put on detailed case studies of particular countries on the one hand and wide-ranging surveys of particular functions as performed in a large number of countries on the other, cross-fertilization between macro-studies and micro-studies of a particular culture and the problem of statics versus dynamics, as Prof. Millikan aptly put it.

Thus, Chapter 1, "The Human Meaning of Nation Building," in which the author points out the diffusion of the world culture as the historical element in his frame of reference, is related to the Epilogue (Chapter 19) entitled "The Prospect for Nation Building." In the latter he emphasized the vision of a new international system which the West, in general, and the United States, in particular, should positively pursue to help solve the crisis of identity on the part of the newly independent non-Western peoples which he believes has resulted from the diffusion of the world culture and the resultant social change and acculturation on the part of these peoples and which he places at the heart of the problem of nation building.

In the same way, the author describes the general characteristics of transitional politics in Chapter 2 and systematizes these hypotheses into what he deems to be a coherent theoretical framework centring around the dy-

namics of political culture in Chaper 3, "Analytical Approaches to Nation Building." Thus positing what he calls "the universal aspects and qualities of modernization and nation building," Prof. Pye proceeds to relate them to what he describes as the particular experiences and subtle realities of the particular Burmese context in Parts II and III. There he sought the structural sources of this culture in the general political and social history of the country, and then in Parts IV and V focused on the life histories of administrators and politicians in terms of their socialization process in which the dynamics of political culture manifest themselves.

This book has often been criticized for alleged psychological reductionism. However, judging from the way Prof. Pye carefully constructed his theoretical framework as reviewed above, he seems to think of personality and culture as part, and only as part of the total complex of interrelationships among a polity, culture, and personality. He places primary focus on this aspect in the book as one stage of his long-range theoretical quest after this complex, which he conceives of as a political system. The reviewer hopes that he is not mistaken in also surmising that the author thought that it was by exmining a political system *in transition* that he could best understand the theoretical interrelationships among polity, culture, and personality.

As noted earlier, the primary reason for the author's particular emphasis on personality and political culture in social change is most probably attributable to his preceding focus of academic concern and actual observation, and his impressions and ensuing tentative conclusions on the crucial problem of nation building which resulted from his field trip to Burma.

Prof. Pye's choice of administrators and politicians as those who set the tone and style of the Burmese political system is based on two factors. One is his hypotheses on transitional politics that urbanized political leadership dominates the whole country, and the other is the particular Burmese pattern, as the author sees it, in which government has always been the centre of society. Indeed, it is commonly assumed these days that there is a significant difference in ethos and interest between administrators and politicians in transitional societies, which crucially affects their political development. Granted that this particular contradiction is an important factor in shaping the destinies of emerging non-Western nations, it does not seem to be always the most important element in every emerging non-Western nation.

Underlying Prof. Pye's theoretical pursuit of the problem of nation building is his anxiety about what he recognizes as the instability of the international system. He attributes this instability to the weaknesses of the emerging non-Western nations. Among these weaknesses the author pinpoints the shortage of *associational sentiments* as the most serious one. This shortage is more fundamental than the dearth of learned technical skills which are usually associated with economic development. According to Prof. Pye, the adequate instillation of associational sentiments in the culture of emerging non-Western nations is to open the way for successful nation building and social development for each such people at home. It will further help build

a new, effective international system in which nations can find their shared as well as their separate interests.

In placing associational sentiments at the centre of his theoretization of national development and defining this concept as explained earlier, Prof. Pye consciously or unconsciously stresses the value which he gives to the Western (or more particularly American) ideal of democracy. In the closing pages of this book, he reveals this inseparable connection between his theoretical key foctor and his fundamental value more explicitly by emphasizing what he calls *the logic of competitive politics* which, as the reviewer sees it, must be deeply imbued with "associational sentiments." He holds: "The logic of competitive politics is possibly the most effective mechanism yet known for forcing people on a community-wide basis to discover their real values and to realize a fundamental coherence between ends and means in their social life....The logic of competitive politics also forces people to measure their own interests against those of others, and thus to discover their real individual interests and their shared interests." (p. 301)

This book is permeated throughout with the author's sincere desire to recognize the complexity of reactions and emotions on both sides of the process of cultural diffusion frankly and openly. Prof. Pye also wishes to overcome the uneasiness of the Americans as a developed nation about speaking across the gap in culture and technology between their society and the underdeveloped countries.

In that sense, this book has turned out to be the most beautifully, elaborately and sincerely constructed justification of such American foreign policy programmes towards underdeveloped countries as the Peace Corps. A social scientist would be subject to criticism if he failed to be constantly attentive to the relationships between his own value system and his theoretical frame of reference. In spite of that, the level of generalization at which Prof. Pye has pinpointed associational sentiments as the element which crucially affects the course of national development in transitional societies does not seem appropriate. Explaining transitional politics today it is easy to fall into the trap of excessive stress on one element of the political system, thereby tending to put less emphasis in inverse proportion, though unintended, on the other elements (theoretically of equal importance). Prof. Pye apparently recognizes and takes into account the theoretical relationships between personality and polity as well. He admits his theoretical indebtedness to Erik H. Erikson's theory in this regard but he did not work as hard in this book on the theoretical development of this aspect as on the relationships between personality and culture.

But, though he is supposed to have a long-range plan to study the total complex of interrelationships among polity, culture, and personality, the political system always exists. It works only in its totality of interrelationships among polity, culture, and personality, and is, therefore, accessible only through a simultaneous attack on its total complex. That approach, and that approach only, is theoretically relevant, adequate and meaningful, though it may turn

out to produce a much more shallow product of abstraction.

If a non-Western transitional political system can be grasped with theoretical adequacy only through simultaneously approaching its entirety, and granted that associational sentiments are an important element which affects the course of national development, this point should be made in terms of associational sentiments as between the specific social groups which are the basic components of the social structure of the social system of which the political system in question is a part. The level of generalization at which the shortage of associational sentiments is pointed out as a universal aspect of contemporary nation building does not seem relevant. The effort toward the fuller understanding of a transitional political system should start with the specification and relative ranking of dichotomized social groups in each political system in terms of the degree of seriousness and intensity of the contradictions between each pair of dichotomized social groups. An attempt should further be made to relate the specifically posited and ranked contradictions between dichotomized social groups to the characteristics of the political culture and to the traits of the crisis of identity of political actors.

Prof. Pye may be aiming at the same object from an end opposite to the reviewer's, for his particular choice of administrators and politicians implies his specification of dichotomized groups between which he considers the most important contradictions in the Burmese political system to exist. If so, the question to be asked further is in what terms and by what criteria a certain contradiction between a specific pair of dichotomized social groups is deemed the most serious one in a particular political system. For, in the author's view, the world culture is significant for the reason and to the extent of its diffusion from the West to non-Western areas to produce the contradiction between nationality and traditionality in the latter. As such, the concept of the world culture is not historical but is too broad and general to take due account of socialist thought in general (and Marxist thought in particular) as something which is derived from the womb of the Western civilization, and it therefore fails to take account of their impact on a significant part of the political *élite* in a sizeable number of underdeveloped countries who, rightly or wrongly, but actually in any case, seem to think that they are confronted with the choice between liberal democracy and "socialism." This does not necessarily mean that the fundamental contradiction in these transitional societies really exists as between classes in Marxist terms. But in the search for identity on the part of these political leaders the above-mentioned choice is psychologically real and therefore politically operative and significant in crucially affecting the social structure and polity of the emerging nation and its pattern of orientation to and behaviour in the international system now in the process of change.

If this psychological reality has such significance both for the emerging nation and the international system as a whole, it becomes all the more necessary to guard against inadvertently falling into the trap of taking the projection of one's own values (the logic of competitive politics) to be the

most important but missing key factor (associational sentiments) of contemporary relevance and peculiarity to the nation building of non-Western transitional societies and to the creation of a new world order.

Prof. Pye's associational sentiments as applied to international relations appear to have much in common, in the way of perception, with "accommodation" or "diplomacy" often emphasized by Western scholars of international politics.

As this reviewer once suggested in an article in the June, 1959 issue of *International Relations*, the quarterly journal of the Japan Association of International Relations, international politics as a discipline must make a breakthrough by making concrete, detailed studies of the characteristics of newly independent non-Western countries. These countries should be studied as national political systems and as sub-systems of the changing international system in point of their similarity to and or difference from the characteristics of what Prof. Frederick Schuman has termed "the Western State System."

Prof. Pye's imaginative and perceptive reflection and elaboration of the political system and more particularly of political culture is to be commended for its inspiration to those political scientists who find themselves faced with the task of relating the theoretization of comparative politics to the theoretical systematization of international politics. (*Shinichi Nagai*)