

his analysis to capital formation and go into the region of capital financing. But this would be another story.

As the reviewer stressed already, this book is a great contribution to those who are interested in the quantitative analysis of economic development in general. It is excellent, not only in its qualitative analyses, but also in quantitative measurement; 358 pages full of useful statistics. However, let the reviewer take this opportunity to point out two minor careless errors: 1) Sometimes, the author's computation of "rate of increase or growth" is not correct (e. g., p. 12 and p. 39). The rise of prices by 1.94 times for 36 years does not stand for about 5 per cent increase per year, but 1.86 per cent (p. 12). 2) Graph 5 in p. 49 erroneously represents the investment in producers' durable equipment in Table V-1. These two are very minor but should be corrected in the new edition. (*Miyohai Shinohara*)

BRUCE H. MILLEN, *The Political Role of Labor in Developing Countries*, Washington, D. C., The Brookings Institution, 1963, x+148 p.

Recently the developing countries have widely been studied in the United States, as a reappraisal of America's international policies in the past. As a result, a comparative study of the labour movements in these countries has been a quite popular academic subject in that country. For instance, the project of the "Inter-University Study of Labor Problems in Economic Development," which was formed by C. Kerr, J. T. Dunlop, F. H. Harbison, and C. A. Meyers, has produced a good many works in this field. One of them, *Industrialism and Industrial Man* (1960), suggests that there exists more than one way to industrialism, and asserts in regard to the labour union (after showing that "job control" unionism, which is the American traditional concept, is by no means a universal one), that "'free trade unions' under some conditions become no more than Communist unions sabotaging efforts at economic development," (pp. 9-10) and that the "political strike" is, in the developing countries, "not only inherent in the situation, but the only effective manner of attaining" their purposes. (p. 10)

Bruce H. Millen, in the book under review, takes the same standpoint concerning the labour union. According to him, the American concept of the labour union—that its only purpose is to improve the economic conditions of its members through collective bargainings—helps little in understanding properly the labour movements in the developing countries, and "the *political unionism* which at present typifies labor organization in Asia and Africa is a product of the milieu in which they (the unions) operate." (p. 53) For, in developing countries where political changes are indispensable conditions for economic development, those labour movements which are indifferent to politics cannot be successful in improving the economic welfare of the labourer. The author finds in the *political unionism* the very key to elucidating the labour movements in the developing countries and devotes all his

pages to its analysis. The reviewer thinks that this approach is quite reasonable, and actually the author succeeds in his attempt to a satisfactory degree. Herein lies the significance of this book.

From the traditional standpoint, the author observes in Chapter II that the labour union in the developing countries is in general a very feeble instrument, and he attributes this fact to various factors such as organizational fragmentation, lack of structure, financial difficulties, poor leadership, and rarity of collective contracts. He admits, however, that in the developing countries the labour union has played no less important a role than in the advanced countries, since their political situations are fundamentally different. He analyses in the following three chapters how *political unionism* in the developing countries is inevitably related to the political, social, and labour situations in such areas.

Chapter VI, the most interesting part of all, is devoted to a study of how these labour unions with many feeblenesses fulfil their important role. Here, the author enumerates some very important characteristics of the labour movements in the developing countries.

First, that the unions in those areas are "mass organizations." "Far from being exclusive, they (the unions) embrace all who will show active interest in their propaganda message..... In other words, they conceive it to be their function to stir the masses and indoctrinate them with the spirit of change." (p. 81) The reviewer has a little doubt whether this kind of organization could be included in the category of the labour union, and yet it must be admitted that this approach is no doubt a clue to the proper understanding of the labour organizations in the developing countries.

Secondly, that the function of the labour unions in these countries takes the form of "collective demanding" instead of "collective bargaining." Lacking in the conditions for bargaining, labour unions there must usually gain political and social support.

In the third place, that the unions play a very important role in new nation building. They are "capable of representing the millions of people who are emerging from the controls exerted by traditional value systems," and therefore, "a union is enabled to assume authority to speak for people far outside the confines of its own presumed membership." (p. 90) In corresponding to such functions, "political figures seeking mass support have responded to the generally leftward pressures generated by or emanating from the unions." (p. 95) In this connection, such sympathy and insight of the author with the leftism of the union movements in the developing countries seems to be interesting, especially when we recall that he is a staff member of the U.S. Department of State.

Through these observations, the author scrutinizes the 'freedom and independence'—the main criteria in American studies—of the labour union, analysing how the labour unions are related to the political parties (Chapter VII) and to nation building (Chapter VIII), and lastly gives some "implications" which come out of the preceding analyses. To this reviewer,

both the analyses and opinions of the author seem to be quite persuasive, and may well be said to be satisfactorily successful if allowance is made for the difficulty and complexity of the problem. The book deserves a high appraisal especially in that the author has given a workable meaning to the concept of the labour union by so enlarging it that it may meet the present situation.

However, there is still something to be desired. The most important point to be noted is that the author has not thoroughly nor accurately analysed the political functions of the labour union in the developing countries by trying to grasp the concept of *political unionism* only morphologically.

In Europe—in Italy and France, for instance—the labour unions are often very political. Much weight being given to their political activities, the unions in Italy and France and the unions in India and Ceylon are eventually dealt with in the same category by the author. (p. 12)

This kind of methodological weakness shows itself more apparently when Asia and Africa are treated on the same level, simply because these are both developing areas. In Asia, however, labour unions are not always “mass organizations” as defined by the author. Instead, they are not infrequently very feeble beings under difficult political and labour situations. For, in Asia, such vested interests as capitalists and landowners are quite powerful, and in many cases there do not exist the circumstances where “the bulk of the population is still largely undifferentiated into social or economic levels.” (p. 43) What is more, the conditions of the labour market in Southeast Asia are very different from those in Africa.

It is no doubt a fruitful approach to try to elucidate the problems of the labour unions in the developing countries from the ‘political’ standpoint; yet, when we reconsider their organizations and functions, the concept of “political unionism” will not be satisfactory as a tool for their analysis. It seems to be necessary that a proper classification of political unionism in connection with the social and economic situations in which the unions are placed should be given.

Reading the book more carefully, readers will find that when the author refers to actual instances he cites African countries and Asian countries as the case may require. But, even through the analytical data of this book, we can perceive, to some extent, the differences in organization and functions which exist among the “political unions” according to the conditions and stages of industrial development in each developing country. Therefore, it will be one of our tasks to rearrange his references more reasonably so that the analytical study of *political unionism* may be carried out in concrete terms.

(Mikio Sumiya)