

is that the analysis of the traditional "regional market-sphere" and "distant commerce" has not been given due attention nor fully studied.

There is an abundance of casual references to the qualitative change of the market-place itself resulting from the development of the market-principle, as is the case of selling and buying labour and property as well as offering credit and capital-investment. Their minute examination will raise some very interesting issues such as the comparison of different forms of "capital" (for instance, between "commercial capital" and "usury capital") and the definition of the characteristics of each form of "capital" in the tribal economy.

Nevertheless, the comparative studies and analyses of the African "market" brought out in this book must highly be appreciated. It is comparable to M. Fortes and E. E. Evans-Pritchard eds., *African Political Systems* (London, Oxford University Press, 1940), a pioneer work in the comparative study of the political systems in the African tribal societies; A. R. Radcliffe-Brown and D. Forde eds., *African Systems of Kinship and Marriage* (London, Oxford University Press, 1950), and to D. Forde, *African World* (London, Oxford University Press, 1954) which treated the cosmological ideas and social values among the African tribes. (*Seiichi Muratake*)

STEPHEN H. ROBERTS, *The History of French Colonial Policy 1870-1925*, London, Frank Cass, 1963, xvi+741 p.

It is indeed astonishing to find that the *History of French Colonial Policy 1870-1925* written in 1929 (new impression 1963) has lost none of its *raison d'être* after thirty-five years. The colonial history of the three republics between the book's first date of publication and the present is contained in a short appendix, which is not really essential for a reader who has already discovered *in statu nascendi* in the work all that has occurred in the French Empire from 1929 down to the period of decolonization we are witnessing today. This is why we are even better situated to evaluate the worth of this study, the first edition of which was called by M. M. Knight in *The Journal of Modern History* (March, 1930) "the first serious academic work on the second French colonial empire as a whole in the English language."

Although the author insists that he had "no preconceived ideas to warp his facts," it is of great interest to glimpse between the lines of his analysis the tradition of British Imperialism which enabled him to discern the positive side of French colonial administration from its apparent unrealistic aspect.

In this respect, we are more attracted by the chapters in which general principles are discussed and conclusions drawn. Nevertheless, we hasten to say that the regional surveys containing all kinds of raw material from which the author draws his conclusions constitute a precious repository of data.

Let us begin with the chapters on regional surveys. These chapters, contained in the second part of the book, entitled "French Colonial Theory

in Practice," cover all the French colonies, namely, Algeria (Chap. VI), Tunisia (Chap. VII), French West Africa (Chap. VIII), French Equatorial Africa (The Congo) (Chap. IX), Madagascar (Chap. X), Indo-China (Chap. XI), the *Anciennes Colonies* (Chap. XII), France in the Pacific (Chap. XIII), Morocco (Chap. XIV) and Syria (Chap. XV).

The author follows the same pattern of description for all of the colonies. He starts by giving a historical survey of their conquest and subsequent growth. In his description of the French colonial venture, the author displays his talent as a historian as well as his depth of sociological and economic knowledge of the colonized societies.

Following the historical aspect, the author analyses the structure and organization of the colonies. He discusses some of the main characteristics of the colonization which are embodied in great figures of French colonial history such as Galliéni and Lyautey. He then turns to evaluating the particular problems of each colony, concentrating mainly upon economic development.

In his concluding chapters, we find such lapidary remarks as "Indo-China is the most conspicuous triumph of French colonization, just as it was the most obvious failure in the years before 1897" (p. 496). Or again, "Algeria occupied a peculiar place in the French colonial system: . . . that of a central training-school in an educational system, in connection with which it would be absurd to judge the success of the school in question simply by the scholarship of the pupils" (p. 254). In this way, the author ponders the pros and cons, the success and the failure of French colonization in the respective territories. It is interesting to meditate about the vanity of colonial glory, by tracing the consequences of what the author terms "French success." The most conspicuous triumph of French colonization in Indo-China ended in the disaster of Dien-Bien-Phu! Despite "the present French difficulties" (p. 300), Tunisia was a French success in 1929, and yet France could not resist the Tunisian will to independence. Nevertheless it is of greater interest to find that among the three Maghreb countries the author is most optimistic about Tunisia and most pessimistic about Algeria which "all in all . . . can not be taken as a successful instance of French colonization" (p. 258). As to Morocco, the author expresses his uncertainty in the following way: "It is as yet too early to sum up the experience of the French in Morocco" (p. 587). In this way, it appears that there exists a parallelism between the success of the three as colonies and the peacefulness of their transition from colony to independent state. In this connection we may also mention the fact that French West Africa, which is now on good terms with France after a relatively smooth process of decolonization, is evaluated by the author in very high terms. According to him, "in every way, it ranks high in the list of French colonial successes, especially for its native policy and its programmes of agricultural specialization" (p. 337).

Of course, the author is not a prophet. His merits lie more in the variety of the data he is taking into account as he evaluates French colonies of his

own time, rather than in his predictive powers. We can use the index as a tangible proof of the variety of subjects. For example, we find in the index that he treats 53 different topics concerning Indo-China, 47 on Tunisia, 45 on Algeria, 34 on West Africa, 32 each on Madagascar and the French Congo, and 28 on Morocco. There are less topics mentioned for the other colonies, but this may give a general idea of the variety and the order of interest concerning each colony. As for the great colonial figures, we find that Jules Ferry, Marshal Lyautey and Albert Sarraut are most often referred to, within a list of about fifty names. Another interesting feature of the book reflected in the index is the number of items related to colonial administration such as colonial budgets, centralization, councils in colonies, functionaries, indirect rule, legislation for colonies, representation in Parliament, etc., etc.

This leads us to the second part of the work, i.e., the chapters in which general principles and conclusions are treated. The first part of the book: "French colonial policy in theory," and the last chapter of the second part: "A comparative study" (Chap. XVII) are, in a way, self-explanatory. We find in them a detailed analysis of the French colonial, economic political and native policies, plus an especially interesting description of the central organization. These are used later as basic information from which the author goes into the comparative study of French colonization crowning the whole book.

The later chapters contain a detailed history of French colonial theories and ideas. In connection with these theories, we find a description of the rise and fall of colonial institutions and systems which were experimented with more or less successfully.

To sum up the author's verdict on French colonialism, we may say that a fundamental quality which he finds in the French system, in contrast to the British, is the fact that "the French come more into contact with native life," while the English "stand aloof" (p. 653). This remark seems to be of great importance to the author, who mentions it in various contexts time and again. For example, the author's sympathy for Lyautey is based on the fact that he was "imbued with a deep respect for the ordered plan and rapid execution of British colonial methods" (p. 558). But, "on the other hand, he noticed that the English method implies an aloofness from the native and left only a very narrow scope for native co-operation" (p. 558). On the other hand, Roberts' most serious condemnation of French colonial methods is directed toward the ideological and rationalistic trend underlying its colonial theory, as in the idea of *assimilation* or, again, in the artificiality of French colonial legislation.

It is impossible to summarize here all of the various topics and trends of the intricate cross-currents of French colonial policies disentangled by the author. But we should at least mention here his expertness in explaining how different ideas and special experiences in colonial matters were combined to make a particular figure play a determined role in a given situation. In

this respect it is an exciting experience to read the author's narration of the deeds of such great colonials as Marshal Lyautey or such great political figures as Jules Ferry. But the author does not limit himself to a mere historical account of French colonial theories and institutions. He proceeds to an analysis of the dynamics underlying the views and actions taken by those historical figures. Thus, the opposition between *assimilation* and *association* which is mentioned in every book on French colonialism takes on a particularly vivid outlook in this work. We learn, for example, that this opposition is not self-contained and that historically there was another pair of contradictory concepts preceding it: that of *cantonnement* and *refoulement*. It is also helpful for the reader's understanding of these dynamics to trace the various anthropological and sociological theories, such as Bastian's theory of *Elementargedanken* and Le Bon's *Lois psychologiques de l'évolution des peuples*. It is interesting to encounter the problem of the French attitude towards the natives. We read that "French native policy has thus crystallized in the direction of *association* or 'protectorate' policy, tendencies assisted by the 'human' spirit in that policy, and by a certain curious sympathy with the native soul,—at least for the negroes, if not so noticeably for the Mohammedans" (p. 121). This remark is particularly suggestive to a contemporary reader who is interested in finding out some clues to the fact that at present, as we mentioned before, African-French relations seem to be very friendly. Over and above the other traits, whether economic or political, this one seems to continue to work even at the present stage of decolonization.

Among the various conclusions we might have drawn from the book, we quite arbitrarily chose to mention the problem of the attitude toward the natives. There are other interesting conclusion contained in the book, such as the author's evaluation of French economic policy. But we were attracted by the problem of French native policy for the simple reason that the development of mutual understanding between the ex-colonizing peoples and the ex-colonized peoples constitutes one of the most crucial problems of our time. In this sense, it is profitable for everyone on both sides, whether in the *North* or in the *South*, to try to understand the reasons which lead the French colonial Empire to take the shape it took and to follow the course it followed. (*Kinhide Mushakōji*)

YOICHI ITAGAKI, *Ajia no Minzoku-shugi to Keizai Hatten—Tōnan Ajia Kindaika no Kiten* (Asian Nationalism and Economic Development—The Starting-Point for Modernization in Southeast Asia), Tokyo, Tōyō Keizai Shimpō-sha, 1962, xii+328 p.

Since the war, studies of international affairs in Japan have developed to a marked degree, but it must be admitted that as far as systematic studies of international relations (considered as a field of study in the social sciences) are concerned, this department of study is one in which methodology is still