

aim of planning of production lies in the adjustment of production to the demand while considering price movements.

In the second place problems arise related to the coefficients  $A$  and  $B$ , for they cannot be considered to be constant in the versatile socio-economic structures of developing countries. There they may even be said to change with every process of production.

The authors of this book, of course, are aware of these problems, and endeavour to solve them or to improve such basic equations as much as possible without losing their operationability. Thus such efforts can be found, for example, in the method of disaggregation, the treatment of changes of capital coefficients or other technical coefficients, the treatment of shadow prices, and so on. However simple or undecided those methods may still be, these efforts must be most highly appreciated among the many contributions made to this book. (*Nagatoshi Suzuki*)

MANFRED HALPERN, *The Politics of Social Changes in the Middle East and North Africa*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1963, xxv+431 p.

In this book Professor Halpern tries to give "a perspective which policy-makers have often neglected at great cost" of the development of social change in the Middle East, including North Africa. The complex problems of this region are treated within the wide scope of political modernization, and he aims at constructing the theory of *new middle class* movements in general form. His attention has been concentrated on the political role of a military élite in the social transformation of the Middle East. Previously his study of Middle Eastern armies in *The Role of the Military in Underdeveloped Countries*, edited by John J. Johnson, had aroused the interest of Japanese readers as an interesting case study well fitted for the comprehensive discussion of comparative politics. Professor Halpern has arrived at the concept of a *new middle class* from his analysis of military elements in the whole sphere of social movements. The book being reviewed here may be regarded as the first-fruits of his labours in this field.

He takes the standpoint that a decisive social change in the Middle East must be acknowledged as a historical inevitability and that the stabilizing force in the chaos of a changing society will be provided by the new middle class, the principal revolutionary. The *traditional élite* of kings, landowners and bourgeoisie, or the *status quo élite* is on the wane, whilst the tides of social change leave the masses of poor peasants and urban workers unmoved. In the circumstances, the growing new middle class and "would-be" salaried middle class in general take the initiative through the leadership of nationalists, most of whom are moderates. These are the forces of change as described in this book (Part II).

Professor Halpern's conception of a *new middle class*, despite the all encom-

passing and non-parochial definition given chiefly in Chapter 4, seems yet to have an empirical and tentative character. But his conception of a *new middle class* would be entertained by the sociologists studying the underdeveloped areas. His persistent use of the expression *new middle class* in preference to any other sociological term, although his collaborators in the preceding joint research very often employed the term "urban middle groups" or "urban middle sector," has clearly revealed his intention to "relate changes in social structure to changes in political power" (p. 55).

It may be said fairly that Professor Halpern realizes the necessity of following dynamically and comprehensively the development of social classes and the complication of interests among them from the structural viewpoint. As far as his aims and objects are concerned, he seems to represent the discerning minority among U.S. scholars of the political and social sciences. Nevertheless, as a matter of fact, he confines himself to the observation of the functions of the "class." The reason why the *new middle class* can be taken as a separate and independent force are explained not by integrated interests of its own, but merely by some features in its social functions. He pays little attention to the processes and conditions of the formation of that class.

Professor Halpern gives special emphasis to radical alterations in the Islamic community, which has endured for over a millennium. And certainly he succeeds in describing the contrast between the endurance of the system in the past and the free choice in the crisis of the present (Part I). However, he does not confine himself to the motives and mechanism behind this upheaval. That is to say, the social change is a self-evident premise for him. His viewpoint is far from being a historical one. He never attempts to trace the process of social change by periods. It might be explained that the present situation itself represents a transition in turmoil from a long-enduring traditional community to the stabilized, prosperous society of the future. But what this book fails to do is to show how the traditional communities have adjusted themselves to become part of the capitalist world order, and to trace this process of change as a decisive one for the Middle East, and one which is much more important than what is generally called the impact of the West. In other words, this book lacks the viewpoint of the capitalization of the Middle Eastern society. The term "capitalization" mentioned by the reviewer here means a process in which the traditional community has been woven into the network of the capitalist world as an integral part. This process is the most decisive for social change in the Middle East, and is far beyond the reach of what is commonly conceived as the Western impact, or what is contemplated in this book as "the Challenge of the Modern Age." A distinction between the social classes should be made in the course of tracing this phase. This is the key to determining the process by which the most active social and political stratum has been created, and assessing its aims and expectations while neglecting this point, Professor Halpern identifies the disintegration of the so-called *status quo elite* with the collapse of the

traditional community and ignores the correlation between the so-called bourgeoisie and the new middle class. Consequently, the new middle class group is regarded by him as merely being a phenomenon and not a stage of social evolution.

Professor Halpern confines his aim to the problems of political modernization and has a premise that "a modern age" is just emerging in the underdeveloped countries and a modern society is now a noble objective for them. This reflects a defect in the prevailing theory of modernization. According to the reviewer's opinion, it is in the modern age of those countries that the rule of the traditional élite was reorganized in subordination to the "imperialistic powers." Here a modern prosperous economy on one hand is balanced with a backward economy on the other in international relations, and this prosperity of one member has frequently retarded the development of the other. In fact, Middle Easterners themselves often mention "modernization" in relation to values and orientation, but they now feel that they have been misguided with the promises of modernization and object to the fixing of targets for national growth within that frame. Though Professor Halpern advocates validly a regard to change of meaning and the rejection of stereotyped patterns, his study of the political modernization of the underdeveloped areas is haunted by parochial limitations. Modernity in this area can be no longer examined by reference to model changes applicable to Eastern Europe and Japan.

The spectrum of alternatives for the new middle class (Part III) shows the range of possibilities of policy decision. But the mere enumeration of directions is almost of no use in existing conditions, because practical political determinatives are never made on such a plane. Important are interactions and combinations among these possibilities, which are not necessarily exclusive of each other. Professor Halpern omits the element of traditional attitude and emphasizes the free choice facing the leaders of the new middle class. But this may be doubted. For instance, the actions of the Moslem Brotherhood, a neo-Islamic totalitarianism, chosen as an alternative course, shows at the same time a political awareness of the lower masses tightly bound to tradition. Thus the would-be middle class enlarges. Viewing the collapse of traditional Islam chiefly from its institutional side, Professor Halpern lays too much stress upon the breach. If Professor Halpern's "concern with the Islamic past is only with the problems it poses for a changing present," more importance should be attached to the continuity of political culture in connection with the "folk Islam."

As for the instruments of political modernization (Part IV), the neglected problems of family, schools, and mass communication media and their competition with tradition are of great significance. It is to be noted that their omission fortuitously coincides with the exclusion of being traditional from modern political choices. In consequence, little attention is paid to the declining expansion of the would-be middle class. This leads to the danger of the static view that the author strenuously insists on avoiding.

It is a merit of this book that it encompasses the whole of the changing Middle East from Pakistan to Morocco as an integral unit, and much of its value lies in its examples, which generalize the different situations obtaining in these areas. The purport of the argument is clear-cut and the examples cited are apt enough. The reviewer wishes that something had been said about the method employed in choosing examples with which to generalize the different situations among those areas. The significance of this method lies not so much in its originality as in the fine regularization of the facts already known.

Discussing the conflicting and unstable factor in the domestic transformation and in the regional or international relations (Part V), Professor Halpern concludes that the cost of change runs high in the Middle East, and that the main threats to stability and peace in the area today stem from domestic and regional conflicts produced by the uprooting of the entire structure and from covert foreign intervention in internal political warfare initiated by the Middle Easterners. His perspective of future development in the Middle Eastern politics is pessimistic. Therefore, Professor Halpern arrives at the point that, because the Middle Eastern states still lack the strength and skill to solve the problems of stability, the West must help the Middle East fit itself to the solution, abandoning the traditional policy of defending the *status quo*.

Professor Halpern's work is to be characterized as a sort of social technology and a practical essay in policy-making. His ten years in the Department of State as a Middle East specialist are presumed to have strengthened the "policy-oriented" character of this study. The end of policy-making, for the author, consists in how the "political institutions resilient enough to overcome the present crisis of uncontrolled change and capable of transforming the further changes into evolutionary, stabilizing development" (p. 37) will be formed efficiently.

This book is not written for Middle Easterners but for policy makers and the public in the West. As an outsider, it excites some admiration that a United States scholar assumes such a grave responsibility for the conditions in the Middle East. The reviewer is afraid to add the superfluous comment that the solution to those problems should eventually be produced by Middle Easterners, for probably they would not agree with the author and criticize his policy changes as "neo-colonialistic" tactics and intervention.

Proposals and criticism developed in this book are by now working to shape policy in the West. It must be noted that this book is a RAND Corporation research study. Thus, this book will remain as a valuable document indicating the background of change in the West's policy towards the Middle East since the middle 1950's. It deserves careful examination for the light it throws on the American approach to the Middle East at the Mid-Century. (*Yūzō Itagaki*)