

special personal viewpoints to the larger interpretive task.

David, Tillet, Kelley, and Key write essentially from the perspective of academic scholarship; Thomson and Hightower from the viewpoint of communications impact; Alexander, Henry, McCarthy, and Morton from activist interests. The quality of the dozen essays is uneven, as is inevitable with so many contributors.

The subject is approached from three principal directions—nomination, election, and transition. Naturally there is considerable overlapping of treatment among the various essays. For instance, the selection of the first Catholic president of the United States interests each of the contributors, as indeed it should, but there is little attempt to evaluate its importance in future party alignment in the United States. There is no convincing evaluation of religion as a factor in the election decision.

The essays of Laurin Henry dealing with the transition from Republican to Democratic control of the presidency are well done, but of far less importance to the politics of America than are the precedents established in the nomination and election campaigns. The Alexander essay on "Financing the Parties and Campaigns" reveals again the public callousness to the almost immoral use of money in the campaigns. Is the communications system too powerful to permit effective control of electoral expenditures? Are future presidents to be recruited exclusively from millionaire families or from the errand boys of the plutocracy? These are questions of a much more basic character than those relating to the attitude of the outgoing president on the actual transfer of the executive apparatus to the incoming administration. In this regard, it is the reviewer's opinion that Senator Mansfield is making a monumental contribution to American democracy by asking the citizenry to re-evaluate the whole electoral system. Do we not need a new emphasis upon party programs? Would it not clarify the present political confusion on the formulation of public policy?

Paul David and Brookings are to be congratulated for making these excellent

essays available to the public at this time. This is education for democracy at its very best.

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ASIA AND AFRICA

CLAUDE A. BUSS. *The Arc of Crisis*. Pp. 479. Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday & Company, 1961. \$5.95.

The author writes from the perspective of many years of study, travel, and personal contact in the Far East. He has had an opportunity to view its problems both as a government official and as a private scholar. *The Arc of Crisis* reflects the conclusions of an individual whose judgments are carefully weighed. The reader may not agree with all of them, but he must take them into consideration in forming his own opinions. It is significant that the author has added as a subtitle "nationalism and neutralism in Asia today." By so doing he has given emphasis to two major phenomena in the arc—defined in the study as extending from Japan and Korea westward to India and Pakistan and southward to Indonesia. Professor Buss has defined the purpose of his book in terms of giving "the American public whatever enlightenment comes from an appreciation of the way we and our policies look in Asia—and why." Thus he believes that a foundation can be erected for better rapport and sounder relations between Americans and Asians. With the general reader rather than the specialist as the basic audience, he covers his topic in broad terms. For instance, the eighteen chapters contain four dealing with "Communist Strategy for World Revolution," "Asian Communists in Action," "Russia in Asia," and "Communist China." At the same time the book is well organized and exhibits a commendable style. There is no bibliography, and quotations are carefully woven into the text in place of footnotes.

The author in his recommendations for effective American policy raises three basic

criteria for judgment: how does it meet Asian food requirements? how does it fit into the pattern of social change? and how does it cope with Asian political demands? The criteria are valid in and of themselves, but the range may be broader. Programs to implement policy cut across a wide spectrum of activity, as the author clearly indicates in this book. In the future, as now, a large number of imponderable factors will affect American policy both in its short-term and long-term aspects in the "arc of crisis." Although the book under review is up to date on current issues its focus on basic problems should render it timely for several years ahead. The study should be widely read not only because of the author's qualifications and presentation, but also because of the importance of the subject in the foreign policy of the United States.

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LEA E. WILLIAMS. *Overseas Chinese Nationalism: The Genesis of the Pan-Chinese Movement in Indonesia, 1900-1916*. Pp. xiv, 235. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1960. \$4.50.

Students of nationalism should welcome the fact that in the last few years the number of careful monographic studies on the origin and growth of nationalism in non-Western areas is rapidly increasing. As the facts come to be known with greater accuracy the construction of better theoretical formulations may not lag far behind. Scholarly case studies require considerable linguistic and disciplinary training, especially when they deal with phenomena in parts of the world where access to source materials is not easy.

One such study, which required knowledge of Chinese, Indonesian, and Dutch, as well as access to materials in Indonesia and in the Netherlands, is Professor Williams' inquiry into the origins of Chinese nationalism in the—then—Netherlands East Indies in the early part of the twentieth century. There were in 1900 over half a million Chinese in the Dutch colony, at a time when the total population of the

Indonesian archipelago was roughly thirty-five million. An urbanized, trading people, the Chinese minorities experienced a number of pressures and threats setting them apart from the Indonesian environment. Then "the passive feeling of separateness of the Indies Chinese was transformed into vigorous nationalism in the space of a decade and a half" (p. 19). How this came about is the central problem that Professor Williams investigates in this volume.

At first the leaders of the Indonesian Chinese sought not a national but a spiritual awakening, by a Confucian revival. But the society for the promotion of Confucianist thought and conduct—Tiong Hoa Hwe Koan (THHK)—established on March 17, 1900, marks the beginning of overseas Chinese nationalism as an organized movement in Indonesia. It was the first pan-Chinese association, bringing together *Peranakans* (Indies-born Chinese) and *Singkehs* (recent immigrants) of different regional-linguistic backgrounds such as Fukienese, Cantonese, and Hakkas. Within a few years the Chinese minorities were able to speak with one voice on matters of importance to all of them. Soon the THHK and similar groups promoted educational reform for the Chinese throughout the archipelago, following the example of the modern schools of China and Japan. Primary emphasis was put upon the teaching of Mandarin, now known as *Kuo-yü*, the national language. Within a few years school inspectors representing the Peking government appeared in the archipelago, bearing credentials which upset the Dutch by their "failure to indicate that Java was a Netherlands rather than a Chinese colony" (p. 89). Then boys from the Indies received facilities for studying in China, "drawing the overseas Chinese more closely into the affairs of the homeland" (p. 92).

Professor Williams notes that "the record does not establish that revolution and republicanism were the ideals of all the associations. Clearly the primary concern was the improvement of the lot of the local Chinese" (p. 112). He stresses that "it has long been a matter of course for students of the Chinese Revolution to