

tries, there will be no armed conflict for the simple reason that neither China nor Soviet Russia can afford to fight against the other under the prevailing international circumstances.

Because of his own extensive acquaintance with the subject, the author tends to take some of the specific terms and expressions for granted without giving sufficient explanations. For instance, the designation of "the Western Hills Faction of the Nationalist Party" sounds unfamiliar to the general reader and needs a note. There is another technical point: References to the Yalta Conference, for instance, occur three times in the study (p. 168, p. 171, p. 172). However, a general description of the Conference does not appear until the third section. Hence a cross reference in the two previous cases (p. 168 and p. 171) would be highly desirable.

The book is well written and well organized, has abundant footnotes, contains a useful appendix of 63 pages, and provides a good bibliography. A valuable contribution to the study of modern Chinese political thought and formation, this volume should encourage a reappraisal of attitudes toward the contemporary scene of China. It is a necessary addition to any bookshelf on China in the twentieth century.

Reviewed by PAUL K. T. SIH

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## *Patterns of Emergence*

***Nigerian Political Parties: Power in an Emergent African Nation***, by Richard L. Sklar. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963. xii + 578 pp. \$12.50.

***One-Party Government in the Ivory Coast***, by Aristide R. Zolberg. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964. xvi + 374 pp. \$7.50.

THE RAPID transformation of African tribal societies, often speaking different languages and bearing different cultural traditions, into nations with highly centralized political structures is one of the important phenomena of our times. The Messrs. Zolberg and Sklar have added considerably to our understanding of the party structures in two of these nations, the Ivory Coast and Nigeria, the former having a one-party system and the latter

(at the time of publication of the book) a three-party system. The structure of the political parties has turned out to be of paramount importance in the governments of the new nations; the parties provide a large share of the leadership, and because of their strategic situations may gain a monopoly of the positions of power and extend their influence through all groups in society. This has happened in the Ivory Coast, where authority has become centered in the Parti Démocratique de la Côte d'Ivoire (PDCI), "a single, all-encompassing, mass political party."

The Ivory Coast, Mr. Zolberg explains, has no traditional coherence and thus derives no unity from tradition. Before the French occupation, the country was an agglomerate of sixty disparate ethnic groups, many of which had greater affinity with tribes living outside the country than with one another. In comparison with other West African countries, European contact with the Ivory Coast came relatively late; the first school was established in 1886, and military pacification was not completed until 1917. Mr. Zolberg notes that the time gap "between the beginning of intensive Westernization and the emergence of the nationalist movement spanned but one generation."

The major figure in the political development of the Ivory Coast has been Felix Houphouët-Boigny, whose remarkable career included a period in 1957 when he was simultaneously a member and president of the Territorial Assembly of the Ivory Coast; a member of the municipal council and mayor of Abidjan; a member and president of the Grand Council of French West Africa; a member of the French National Assembly; and a Minister of the French Government—the first African to hold full ministerial rank.

Houphouët-Boigny's political acumen in organizing the various tribes into "a sort of federation of ethnic groups," and in selecting popular election issues, was reinforced by his position in Ivory Coast society. Trained as a doctor, he served for a period in the colonial medical service, and through his marriage to a woman of royal Agni lineage he acquired valuable kinship ties. From his maternal uncle he inherited large landholdings and became one of the richest farmers in the country.

The Ivory Coast became a nation reluctantly. Houphouët-Boigny hoped to extend the period of French assistance and to see the French Union transformed into a Franco-African federation, with the elimination of all intervening levels of government between the territories and the metropole. In the de Gaulle plebiscite of 1958, the Ivory Coast led all the French Community in voting for con-

tinued adherence to France. However, the trend toward nationalism and independence, stimulated by Guinea's insurgency, grew too strong to be resisted, and in 1960 the Ivory Coast was admitted as an independent member of the United Nations.

In the meantime, the PDCI established the pre-eminent position which has continued through independence. It has now become institutionalized, with its control extended over many aspects of associational life, and it has transformed "some of the most important organizations in the modern sector into ancillary bodies of the PDCI." Electoral procedures discourage competition at elections, although there is competition in recruitment, and the basis of public support has been broadened by increasing the number of public offices controlled by the party and by a judicious selection of candidates. In order to legitimate its position, the party strives to make sure of a larger turnout of voters on election days.

The Ivory Coast leaders view their regime as a tutelary democracy," directed by a set of benevolent and paternalistic managers, and Mr. Zolberg finds it very much like the old colonial administration. An evolution toward genuine political democracy is not impossible but quite unlikely; if an opposition were allowed to develop, the leaders would be obliged to admit that a dissatisfaction with their rule existed and the legitimacy of the regime would be endangered. Among potential successors to power in the younger generation, Mr. Zolberg was disquieted to learn, "there is probably even less attachment to democratic values and greater devotion to non-democratic ideologies that hold the promise of rapid modernization."

## II

MR. SKLAR'S STUDY of Nigerian political parties is placed in a broad frame. Nigeria is large, diffuse, and complex, and Mr. Sklar, showing an extraordinary grasp of detail, skillfully fills in the grand mosaic. His study, like that of Mr. Zolberg, reflects the results of diligent research, carried on through interviews under difficult field conditions as well as through the examination of obscure documents. The historical differences between the Ivory Coast and Nigeria explain in part their differences of political development. In contrast to the one-party "tutelary democracy" of the former, Nigeria has a constitutional edifice supported by vigorous political competition. The cultural contacts of Nigeria with the West are much more extensive than those of the Ivory Coast; there is a larger proportion of educated voters; and the various regions have

produced a group of political leaders of remarkable ability and sagacity. However, Nigeria, like the Ivory Coast, is an artificial creation, and the history of its many peoples and cultures has not always been harmonious. Mr. Sklar shows how several social forces have converged to create the political pattern of Nigeria: these forces are nationalism, which has a general appeal throughout the country; the cultural particularism found among the various regions and peoples; and the new class interests of professionals, workers, business men, and other groups.

The penetration of Western political ideas into the traditional cultures has resulted in various types of accommodation by the various peoples. One striking fact of Nigerian political life is the extent to which the traditional societies have been able to modify their tribal structures without losing their tribal identities. This is exemplified, for example, in the Northern Region, where the Prime Minister is the Sardauna of Sokoto, one of the traditional chieftains who have entered actively into Nigerian politics, and also in the West, where the picturesque Yoruba culture retains its vitality.

Out of the *mélange* of peoples and cultures a three-party system has developed, each party having its basis of strength in one of the Regions: the National Council of Nigerian Citizens (with Ibo support) in the East; the Action Group (with Yoruba support) in the West; the Peoples' Congress (with Hausa-Fulani support) in the North. Mr. Sklar examines the backgrounds of these parties, showing the influence of personalities and traditions in their development and also in the frequent intra-party frictions and schisms. He illumines his work with several case studies that show the complex nature of party rivalry and competition, the claims of culture and tribe, and how political, financial, and economic interests are interwoven.

Since the publication of Mr. Sklar's book several important events have occurred in Nigeria, including the collapse of the government of the Western Region, the treason trials, and a political realignment that seems to point in the direction of a two-party system. Nevertheless, with all their difficulties, the Nigerian parties have demonstrated a degree of sophistication and tolerance that bodes well for the survival of constitutional government.

Each of these books is the first by its author, yet each is a thoughtful, perceptive and informative work, and each is an example of the high level of scholarly study that is being devoted to political and social evolution in post-colonial Africa.

Reviewed by ROLAND YOUNG