education worked against its own intention and objectives, resulting in alienation rather than understanding. However, the fundamentalists' adherence to the doctrine of separation of church and state also has its positive effect. It has preserved some measure of neutrality and goodwill amidst political upheavals for that brand of protestantism which has been shown to be beneficial in future years. In this respect Rubinstein's paper on the Southern Baptists and Wiests' paper on the American Catholics shed contrasting lights for interesting comparisons.

Lutz's article on Gutzlaff is most illuminating in unfolding the intrinsic problem in the church's promotion of missions. In order to raise support, missionaries tend to paint the darkest picture of the field or exaggerate successes. The judgment is not only of Gutzlaff in his weaving of the grand illusion, but also of his supporters whose fundamentalist fervour and naive expectations pushed him even further. Perhaps more significantly, it shows how Gutzlaff's sense of superiority blinded him to political and cultural realities, thus contributing to his complete failure. It is an article to be read again and again for critical self-reflection, not only by missionaries but also by all those involved in inter-cultural relations. But perhaps the high point of this part is the articles on the personal pilgrimages of Frank Rawlinson and Ida Pruitt in their struggle to transcend the fundamentalist and pietistic mode of perception and come to grips with the real situation in China.

For students interested in the political development of China immediately after the Second World War, the articles on John Leighton Stuart and his role in the Marshall Mission are most intriguing. The availability of first-hand materials such as the minutes of meetings and memos between the major political players has given life to both the macro and the micro historical events which later shaped the destiny of China and affected the Sino-American relationship. Without being explicit, the authors (including Tony Tadd who did the study on Walter H. Judd) seem to have detected a link between the Christian conviction of their subjects and their inclination to support the leaders of the KMT, presumably because the latter professed the same faith. It would be more revealing if an in-depth analysis of the Christian (missionary) background of Stuart had been included, and some historical sketch of the Christian experience of the KMT leaders given.

As a whole, the papers contained in this book do serve a very important purpose, namely, whetting the appetite of students of modern China to dig deeper into this very rich and rewarding field of research.

CARVER T. YU, C. L. HUANG and DANIEL C. W. TSE

Peasant Society and Marxist Intellectuals in China: Fang Zhimin and the Origin of a Revolutionary Movement in the Xinjiang Region. By KAMAL SHEEL. [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989. 265 pp. $35.00.]

This book analyses the origins of the Chinese communists' Xinjiang base, better known as Gandongbei, according to James Scott's theory

of moral economy. Around the turn of the century, says Sheel, China's new symbiosis between state and landlords plus its opening to the world market plunged "small rural cultivators" into crisis. Earlier, paternalism and deference had kept rural society cemented; now the consensus broke and peasants shaken by the booms and busts of distant markets began to rise in revolt. Enter Fang Zhimin, who articulates rural discontent by mixing Marxism with "traditional folk cultural values." So peasants are history's makers, not its objects; and the communists – often misrepresented as conquerors of the countryside – were themselves "conquered by the peasants," who in and after the Chinese revolution "emerged as winners."

Sheel's book is welcome as one of a growing number of local histories of the revolution that saves from oblivion an important regional leader of early Chinese communism. My doubts concern Sheel's data. Where he lacks strong sources on Gandongbei, he fills the gaps with circumstantial evidence, general data, "examples from neighbouring regions," and information from novels and folksongs. For example, on p. 38 he infers from evidence on other regions that permanent tenancy was probably widespread in Gandongbei after the Taiping Rebellion. Then on p. 93 he quietly commutes this unsubstantiated inference – crucial for his general thesis – to the status of hard fact. Data on Republican China's rural economy is notoriously hard to interpret, but this does not prevent Sheel from generalizing on the basis of scant information about violently contested issues, such as what he presumes to be the advantages from the peasant's point of view of share-cropping over fixed rent. So though this book has strong theoretical pretensions, the evidence that it adduces to back them up is patchy.

In line with his general theory, Sheel argues that old China did not form a "community of ideas," for peasants had their own "robust popular culture." But this contention is contradicted even by Fang Zhimin, for whom the "parasitic class" rules through its "newspapers, books, schools, opera houses, churches, temples, lecture halls, public reading places, and the like.... Employing this poisonous spiritual opiate, it has doped the minds of us – the workers and the peasants."

Fang Zhimin's achievement, we are told, was to synthesize peasant counter-culture with Marxist theory. It is hard to take seriously Sheel's view of Fang as one of China's "most remarkable Marxist intellectuals," moved by Gramscian anxiety and Fanonian wrath. Nor is it true that Fang belonged to "the class of exploited rural cultivators that traditionally rose in rebellion." His grandfather was a wealthy landlord, and even his father inherited a rather large farm. Fang's spur – like that of many Chinese communist leaders – was not poverty but the threat of it. His family was sliding down the social pile: probably this explains his radicalism. Even so, he attended elite schools and colleges.

Any study, concludes Sheel, that "seeks the root of the Chinese revolution solely in either the manipulative or the coercive strategy" of Marxist intellectuals is in error. Put like that, who could disagree? But Sheel himself provides interesting evidence to show that Fang did manipulate peasant loyalties, particularly lineage loyalties. Sheel sees

this as an example of the "coalescence" of peasants and revolutionary intellectuals "within a traditional framework." But he forgets that the lineage frame was dropped as soon as it had done its job. Sheel does not like to talk of "poor, middle, and rich peasants" and prefers the term "small cultivators" – odd, given the effort that Fang put into differentiating rural classes. By 1934 what remained in Red Gandongbei of this "coalescence" within tradition? Precious little, which is one reason why Fang's base collapsed so utterly in 1935. Neighbouring Red strongholds like Mindong where the assimilation of village to Party had had less time to run its course held out under the counter-revolution, which goes to show that radical depth is not the same as deep roots.

GREGOR BENTON

Remaking Peasant China: Problems of Rural Development and Institutions at the Start of the 1990s. Edited by JØRGEN DELMAN, CLEMENS STUBBE ØSTERGAARD and FLEMMING CHRISTIANSEN. [Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 1990. 226 pp. DKK 162, $27.00.]

Remaking Peasant China, an anthology of research works on rural China, accurately represents the maturing state of socio-economic research on rural China in the early 1990s. During the past decade of economic and political reform, foreign researchers have steadily gained better access to all levels of Chinese society; this book reflects those conditions and provides a broad and sometimes in-depth portrait of today's rural sector. The contributions mainly come from European political scientists, economists, sociologists and historians, most of whom specialize in Chinese and East Asian studies. From an inter-disciplinary perspective, traditional issues and subjects (such as population control, crop management and health care) are supplemented by introductory analyses of the environment, poverty alleviation and decision-making in labour markets, rural industries and agricultural service units. Additionally, parts of the book portray the field's deepening understanding of the complexities in the relationship between state and society; the tensions between the urban and rural economies; and the contradictions that continue to appear between China's drive for modernization and its continued concern for social welfare.

As in any series of articles, there are a few pieces which stand out. In particular, the essays by Vivienne Shue and Claude Aubert deserve close reading. In "Emerging state and society relations," Shue (the only non-European author) extends her work from recent years to a comparative analysis of the political economies of two very different local governments: Guanghan county in Sichuan and Shulu county in Shandong. This compelling work shows how differing initial conditions in the development process can lead local government down two paths – one that leads to increasing state power through complicated power-sharing agreements between local governments and central