

such as the Bouyei, Yi and Muslims, as well as the Han majority and heterodox religious sects. Although it did contain this element, it was not fundamentally an ethnic conflict for in many instances Jenks shows that minority rebels fought alongside Han rebels against the Manchu state. Nor was this a single rebellion, but rather a series of separate, and usually unco-ordinated, revolts lasting from 1854 to 1873.

If the rebellion was not fundamentally an ethnic conflict, what was it? According to Jenks, there were actually many deep-rooted socio-economic causes for the uprisings, which he elaborates in the first four chapters. All the groups involved in the disturbances found common cause in several grievances: excessive taxation, poverty, land scarcity and official maladministration. When Jenks finally discusses the revolts (chapters 5 to 7), however, he seems to abandon any strong analysis of his thesis in preference for narrative military history. Also his use of theoretical constructs, namely the "moral economy" and "solidarity" theories of social conflict, appears cosmetic and adds little to his overall arguments.

While the author rightly points out that this was not a purely Miao uprising and that there were important socioeconomic motivations, he unfortunately minimizes the ethnic dimensions. His discussion of Guizhou ethnic groups focuses on the Miao, with only a few pages devoted to the other minorities. A lot more can be made of the role of the Bouyei, Yi and Muslims in the revolts. Also somewhat confusing, Jenks equates Qing discrimination toward minorities with Han Chinese attitudes (pp. 43–47). But are not the Qing rulers themselves an ethnic minority? Jenks does not even consider the question of Manchu ethnicity in dealing with "other" minority groups who were involved in the Guizhou revolts.

These criticisms aside, the book is still a useful introduction, suitable more for college students than China specialists. It will not be the final word on the subject.

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The Making of Modern Tibet (revised ed.). By A. TOM GRUNFELD. [Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1996. xvi + 352 pp. Hard cover, \$68.95, ISBN 1-56324-713-5; paperback \$24.95, ISBN 1-56324-714-3.]

This is a revision of the first edition of 1987. In his preface the author states that despite the appearance of many more published sources in the meantime, the general outline he originally laid out has not changed substantially. An extra chapter deals with events between 1985 and 1995.

About 70 pages are devoted to "Tibet as used to be" and events from the beginnings of history to the First World War; 100 pages follow the political history from the First World War to 1959; and the remaining 80

take us from 1959 to 1995. Thus it is the four decades or so between the First World War and the 1950s which get the most detailed consideration, approximately the same period as that covered by M.C. Goldstein's *A History of Modern Tibet 1913–1951*. A comparison of the two books shows the difference between their working methods: Goldstein's was based on a large body of interview material and written sources all in the Tibetan language, as well as detailed archival work in London and elsewhere. While Grunfeld has mined the American archives and cites India Office and Public Record Office documents from time to time, there is no indication that he can handle either the Tibetan or the Chinese languages: the very extensive bibliography seems to include not a single Tibetan-language source, and as far as I can make out, no Chinese-language source either (indeed, nothing that is not in English). What it does include is a vast range of books, articles and government and other documents whose number and scope is impressive as long as one remembers that many of them are at one, two or more removes from the events in question.

Out of this diverse and uneven mass of largely secondary material Grunfeld weaves his chronological account with skill. He seems to have no particular axe to grind or thesis to defend and is at pains to distance himself from the apologists for both Tibet and China, particularly the former. The narrative is readable and the book should certainly be on the standard list for both the academic and the general reader interested in its subject. On a subjective note: this is a pessimistic book. We get the impression that if life in Tibet was grim before 1959, it has been grimmer since, and almost as grim in exile. As for the future: "A decade ago I completed this book with a slim hope for the future While much has happened since then, the difficulties for Tibetans both inside and outside their homeland remain, and the future looks to me, at the moment, bleaker than a decade ago" (p. 247).

For all his frequently expressed hopes for a reconciliation between Tibetans and Chinese, the author cannot seem to work up much empathy with either nationality. The Tibetans come across as backward and incompetent; the Chinese, although given an easier ride than by many commentators, as largely responsible for an "unspeakable tragedy" (p. 247) in terms of loss of life and liberty. Nor do other countries – Britain, America, India, Bhutan – emerge with much credit. The actual people involved – Tibetans, Chinese and others – seem hardly recognizable behind the detachment and objectivity so desirable in a scholar and well in evidence here. There is no reference to the recent "Renaissance of Tibetan Civilization" as written about by Von Fuehrer-Haimendorf (whose works are not in the bibliography) and which is certainly taking place in Tibet as well as in exile. American Buddhist converts are dismissed as part of the "mass alienation among the young people in the United States" (p. 209). One does rather wonder what it was that attracted the author to Tibet in the first place.

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