

Zhou's taking so risky a step at so late a juncture (May 1949) leave its validity in doubt.

Fortunately, memoirs recently appearing on the mainland, such as those of Wu Xiuquan, offer promise of authoritative revelations on such matters as the nature of Sino-Soviet relations and negotiations between Moscow and Beijing that in turn determined Chinese Communist postures towards Washington. This may eventually encourage a matching of perceptions and misperceptions for both ends of the Sino-American relationship, as has been so brilliantly achieved by Professor Michael Hunt in his works on the pre-1915 years. In the meantime, Professor Tucker's work will remain the indispensable reference for understanding the American dilemma of how to transfer recognition from a rump refugee regime on Taiwan to the People's Republic of China, a dilemma which was not finally resolved for nearly 30 years.

ALLEN S. WHITING

The Role of Sent-Down Youth in the Chinese Cultural Revolution: The Case of Guangzhou. By STANLEY ROSEN. [Berkeley: University of California, Berkeley Center for Chinese Studies. China Research Monograph, No. 19. 1981. 100 pp. \$8.00.]

This slim monograph is a useful addition to the growing literature on the rustication programmes for China's youth. Basing himself on earlier studies of John Gardner, Gordon White, Hong Yung Lee and Thomas Bernstein, the author sets out to describe the general background of Chinese labour and resettlement policies after the Great Leap Forward. Special attention is paid to the situation in Guangdong province which, as it turns out, differed rather markedly from the rustication campaigns in other parts of China: from 1961 to 1963 Guangzhou officials issued certificates that guaranteed voluntary participants in the programme a return to the city after some four years. These broken promises fuelled the widespread protest movement among Guangzhou rusticans in the Cultural Revolution period later on.

The most important finding of the study is the inner fragmentation of the movement back to the cities during the years 1966–68. Guangzhou rusticans split into five different cohort groups which all argued a special case and based their demands on the changing criteria for mobilizing various segments of the youth population for resettlement or exempting them from it. The lack of unity among rusticated youths prevented them from becoming a powerful pressure group and led to the failure of their activities. Rosen finds the same mechanism at work, when he discusses the protest movement of forced rusticans during the late 1970s in the epilogue of his study.

This epilogue, which attempts to sum up resettlement policy from 1968 to 1980, is the weakest part of the book. The author fails to note the extent to which the 17 million rusticans returned to the cities: Various provincial data add up to 20–30 per cent of them back by 1975; in January 1978 *Renmin ribao* reported some six million returnees, and in November 1979 their number had grown to 11 million. The latest figure is of only two million remaining in the countryside by July 1980.

It is this mass exodus that calls into question the conclusions of the

author: true – deficiency of interaction between different interest groups and structural constraints in the Chinese political system have frustrated co-ordinated mass movements against the government. But the return of the sent-down youth and the winding down of the campaign after 1979 also prove that government had to bow before the almost universal unpopularity of its resettlement policies: crushed protest which endures by way of apathy, lack of co-operation and passive resistance, and discontent which spreads to wide parts of the population with severe social and economic consequences does not seem to be that ineffectual after all.

THOMAS SCHARPING

Northeast Asian Security after Vietnam. Edited by MARTIN E. WEINSTEIN. [Urbana, Chicago and London: University of Illinois Press, 1982. 182 pp. £13.15.]

This book consists of a number of essays which deal from differing points of view with various aspects of North-east Asian security, and addresses itself to American readers with a general interest in foreign policy. Regional surveys by Akira Iriye (who traces mainly historical developments since the Second World War) and Masataka Kosaka are followed by essays on national policies. Makoto Momoi shows himself able to describe the main elements and problems of the North-east Asian strategic environment in a clear and succinct manner. Donald Zagoria focuses on Soviet policy towards the region. Lee Chae-jin looks back on the history of Japan's relations with China since 1949, while Daniel I. Okimoto deals in detail with the implications of Japan's non-nuclear policy and discusses the chances for a change in this policy. The book concludes with an essay by Bae-Ho Hahn on Korean-American security relations in the 1970s.

The quality of the contributions is rather uneven. Iriye's historical introduction contains too many omissions and rather debatable points of view to serve as a reliable introduction for the general reader, as shown in his treatment of the role of the Yalta agreement, the Vietnam war, and the importance of events on the Korean peninsula. Kosaka pays too little attention to differences in the defence needs of the Republic of Korea, Japan and the United States, but his essay is generally well written, although one may take issue with several statements such as the following: "The influence of the DRV in Southeast Asia is limited, and the Soviet or the Chinese influence on the DRV is very limited" (page 28). Momoi's treatment of strategic problems is one of the best, succinct analyses published in English so far. He differs from Zagoria in particular in his predictions concerning the growth of the Soviet Union as a powerful actor in the region, although Zagoria is also aware of developments that might weaken the present equilibrium, such as the worsening of the American position in East Asia. Although valuable in itself, Lee's survey of Japan's relations with China contains too many details which the general reader will find confusing and often not directly relevant to the topic under discussion. Okimoto presents the case for a continuation of Japan's non-nuclear policy in an interesting way, and his partisanship does not prevent him from dealing with the arguments involved in a sober