discussed being poetic ones, and the only citation of translation scholarship occurring in the last section, and then sparsely. Nevertheless it will make a substantial contribution to improving recognition of the perplexities that translators have to grapple with. It is just a pity that it has taken such a long time to come out. The work in progress discussed in some papers must have moved on considerably since they were given, and other things published in the meantime have changed the situation then in force. For instance the Six Dynasties "colloquialisms" that Richard Mather correctly interpreted in his elegant essay have since been adequately accounted for in the *Zhonggu xuci yufa lishi* handbook published by Jilin jiaoyu chubanshe in 1994.

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Resistance and Reform in Tibet. Edited by ROBERT BARNETT and SHIRIN AKINER. [London: Hurst & Co., 1994. 314 pp. £12.95. ISBN 1-85065-161-2.]

Circle of Protest: Political Ritual in the Tibetan Uprisings. By RONALD D. SCHWART [London: Hurst & Co., 1994. 263 pp. £19.95. ISBN 1-85065-202-3.]

The Tibet Question and the Hong Kong Experience. By BARRY SAUTMAN and SHIU-HING LO. [Baltimore: School of Law, University of Maryland, Occasional Papers/Reprints Series in Contemporary Asian Studies, No. 2, 1995. 82 pp. $10.00. ISBN 0-925153-39-7.]

When the Chinese Communist Party took over the mainland in 1949 one of its main missions was to "reunite the sacred Motherland." Besides the long-term goals of regaining Hong Kong, Taiwan and Macau, this meant reconsolidating such minority border regions as Xinjiang and Tibet that had drifted into states of ambiguous relations with the Nationalist government during the first part of this century. Having carried on virtually as an independent country since Qing officials and troops were expelled in 1912 just a year after the downfall of Qing Dynasty, Tibet proved to be one of the most resistant areas in Beijing's grand design for reunification. Nevertheless, despite substantial anti-Chinese sentiment, when the Seventeen Point Agreement promising cultural and political autonomy was signed in May 1951 between Mao's government and a representative of the Dalai Lama, Ngapo Ngawang Jigme, there was still some promise of accommodation. By the mid-1950s, however, as China began destroying monasteries and imposing collectivization on Tibetans as part of their "reform" programme, separatist sentiment grew. When in 1959 Tibetan advocates of independence rose up in armed rebellion against Chinese military occupation in Lhasa and the Dalai Lama fled to India, accommodation became virtually impossible. Thereafter, the "Tibetan question" had become so super-charged with political emotions that it was almost impossible for anyone – inside China or out – to look at it dispassionately.

What made objective study of the situation even more difficult was the fact that overseas scholars of contemporary Sino-Tibetan relations were

few, and those who did exist found themselves frustrated by a lack of reliable materials and an inability to do any first-hand research because Tibet was off-limits. Besides the highly propagandistic accounts put out by Beijing, the very polemical first person accounts of refugees who managed to escape, and older books from the pre-1949 era that described traditional Tibet culture and society before the fall, there was little else available on the subject. For almost three decades Tibet became the province of polemicists – supporters of the Dalai Lama's government-in-exile in Dharamsala, India, on the one hand and Chinese apologists in Beijing on the other. "On first visiting Tibet some five years ago I was vaguely aware that what I was seeing did not fit the pictures familiar from the writings of the two parties in the political debate," Robert Barnett notes in his preface to *Resistance and Reform In Tibet*. "There was little I could find in Western academic literature which sought to describe that society as it was then developing."

When Party General Secretary Hu Yaobang visited Tibet in 1980 and initiated a bold new policy of liberalization that allowed for a modest recrudescence of religious activity, the de-collectivization of agriculture and the entrance of a limited number of foreign travellers into Tibet, this situation began to change. With the publication of works by Tibetologists such as Melvyn C. Goldstein (see *A History of Modern Tibet, 1913–1951: The Demise of the Lamaist State*, 1989; *Nomads of Western Tibet: The Survival of A Way of Life* (co-authored with Cynthia M. Beall), 1990; and *Tibet, China and the United States: Reflections on the Tibet Question*, 1995) and other such works as Victor Chan's amazingly detailed *Tibet Handbook: A Pilgrimage Guide*, 1994) this situation began to change.

Although studies on Beijing's policies and their implementation in the Tibetan Autonomous Region after 1949 are still fraught with all sorts of political pitfalls, a body of new works has managed to build on this tradition of balance and objectivity. Even though Robert Barnett is founder and director of the Tibet Information Network in London which has chronicled China's human rights abuses in Tibet, he and his co-author Shirin Akiner have put together an informative, well documented and reassuringly non-partisan collection of essays about contemporary Tibet. Included are works by an impressive bouquet of reputable scholars, including Melvyn Goldstein, Samten Karmay, Per Kvaerne, Jamyang Norbu, Ronald Schwartz, Tsering Wangyal, Warren Smith and Heather Stoddard. Although the book covers relations between China and Tibet since 1959, especially the extremely sensitive period of overt dissent against Beijing that began in 1987, it also offers solid pieces on such subjects as the evolution of Tibetan identity, nomadic pastoral culture and Tibetan art.

Circle of Protest provides a comprehensive and informative description of the Chinese Communist Party's policies and the apparatus it has used to rule Tibet and suppress dissent. It begins in September 1987, when Buddhist monks in Lhasa first started demonstrating for independence and ends in 1992 when a hard-line policy of repression was back firmly in command. Unabashedly, Schwartz proclaims that "this is a book about

demonstrations." It is also a book about Tibetan nationalism and the way in which the recent protest movement has unwittingly helped shape a new sense of Tibetan identity. Although Beijing's policy of "ruthless suppression" has succeeded in keeping a superficial appearance of order, Schwartz asserts bluntly, "clearly the policy has not worked." In fact, he believes that even as China's suppression has destroyed much of traditional Tibetan culture, in a paradoxical way it has also been responsible for its revitalization into a non-violent movement of protest with enormous world-wide cachet. "This process of revitalization is to a considerable extent sustained and reinforced by the instruments of political control designed to suppress it," argues Schwartz. He also notes the irony that the new "rituals of national protest are sustained by the conditions of Chinese rule in Tibet" and have compounded China's problems by offering Tibetans "a model for the expression of resistance."

In an atmosphere so super-charged with totalism, neither of these two books has much to suggest by way of a solution. Barry Sautman and Shiu-hing Lo's *The Tibet Question and the Hong Kong Experience* confronts this question head-on. It explores the proposition that Hong Kong's 1 July 1997 reversion with the promise of a "high degree of autonomy" to Chinese sovereignty may present a model for resolving to the Tibet problem. The essay "looks anew" at the way in which Britain and China reached agreement on the future of Hong Kong in the hope that it "can be applied creatively to solve the Tibet dispute." Although the authors acknowledge that "PRC leaders argue that the Hong Kong experience is inapplicable to Tibet because Hong Kong has yet to be reunited with the Mainland and unlike Tibet has not experienced socialist transformation," they nevertheless look to "third parties more free of internal pressure than either the Tibetan exiles or PRC leaders" who may be able to "lead the disputants to the conviction that they must make concessions in order to reach the agreements they need to lay to rest the Tibet question." While Sautman and Lo's treatise is interesting and the information they marshal in the monograph is helpful, its final relevance to Tibet will be determined more by how China deports itself in relation to Hong Kong over the next year or so than by the language of the accords between London and Beijing.

If none of these books sheds much illumination on the future, they do begin to fill in some of the blanks in the tableau of the past. At very least, we begin to get a clearer and much more factual sense of how the tragedy of China's relations with Tibet reached this parlous state of affairs. This in itself is no small accomplishment.

ORVILLE SCHELL

Die Volksrepublik China in Deutschland, Wahrnehmungen, Wissenschaftskonzeptionen und Wirklichkeiten. By MARIE-LUISE NÄTH. [Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1995. 394 pp. £40.00. ISBN 3-631-47646-9.]

This is a difficult book to review, because it is actually three books in one, and two, if not all of them, are ideological minefields. The title is