

the work that still needs to be done in the field before these and other questions can be answered.

Besides its discussion of a region, this book is also a study of a particular relentless and brutal form of warlordism. Mr Kapp's descriptions of the mechanics of warlordism are excellent; he gives a detailed exposition of the structure of warlord control, of the relations between individual warlords and between themselves and their subordinates. Though the book relies rather heavily on the reports of foreigners (usually consular officials) from the province, and therefore may miss some grass roots flavour, the phenomenon of warlordism is revealed in its true sordidness: the cruel face of warlordism (depredations on the population, crippling taxation, taxes paid even fifty years in advance); the unscrupulous face of warlordism (Liu Hsiang's machinations in 1927, which ended with the slaughter of political activists at a rally sponsored by Liu himself); the callous face of warlordism (Liu embezzling in 1937 a miserly loan from Nanking for famine victims); and the pathetic face of warlordism (the sullen, frightened children's faces of Liu's boy soldiers). Szechwan's warlords belonged at the bottom of the noisome warlord pile, and there is nothing romantic or humorous (as there is with other warlords) about the "Stubby Melon," the "Two-headed Snake" or the "Rotten Pig" which might distract one from their veniality.

DIANA LARY

*Provincial Leadership in China: The Cultural Revolution and Its Aftermath.* By FREDERICK C. TEIWES. [Ithaca: Cornell University China-Japan Program, 1974. 165 pp. \$4.00.]

This monograph starts where the author's previous work on the provincial elite (*Provincial Party Personnel in Mainland China, 1956-66*) finished. Set against the background of general political trends, Teiwes discusses changes in the provincial elite from the formation of the first provincial-level Revolutionary Committees in January 1967 to the 10th Party Congress in August 1973. The period is considered in terms of four stages, the establishment of provincial-level Revolutionary Committees, the development of the provincial elite from the Ninth Party Congress to the end of 1970, the formation of new provincial-level Party Committees, and from the fall of Lin Piao in September 1971 to the convening of the 10th Party Congress. The analysis of each of these stages in the development of the provincial elite is arranged in an identical manner thus facilitating comparison. In addition, Teiwes compares the post-Cultural Revolution provincial elite with that preceding 1966.

Teiwes's discussion concentrates on the related themes of the fear of a resurgence of provincial localism (on the part of central leaders) and the working out of the difficult Party/military relationship in the post-

Cultural Revolution period. He concludes, that, despite the arguments to the contrary, political power has not become decentralized in the last seven years, although this is a possibility that has not escaped the attention of central leaders, who have consequently acted to prevent it in the traditional ways of balancing "insiders" with "outsiders" within, and regularly circulating part of, the provincial elite. In fact, as Teiwes points out, the proportion of members of the total provincial elite working in their native provinces, or in the same provinces for a considerable period, is smaller than ever before. However, the problem for the central leadership remains one of utilizing administrative ability (with an implicit element of local experience) whilst at the same time combating any sectarian attitudes on the part of the provincial elite.

Elite studies of contemporary Chinese politics tend to suffer from both a major deficiency and a major disease. The deficiency is the obvious lack of adequate data, and the disease is the seeming inability to express such aggregate data as can be gleaned in an intelligible way. In part the disease follows the deficiency. Lack of rigour in analysis and clarity of expression are used to conceal shortcomings in the available information, as in the mechanical application of statistical formula to provide "unquestionable" conclusions. Teiwes's work stands out because he is clearly aware of these pitfalls, and consequently avoids them. Where adequate information is not available he says so, whilst at the same time presenting the available data. His information, analysis, and conclusions are clearly and unpretentiously presented. As Teiwes himself emphasizes, quantitative statements about Chinese elites are limited and are not identical to qualitative statements about Chinese politics in general. The result is a study which is both penetrating and intelligible.

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*La Voie chinoise: la longue marche de l'économie (1949-74).* By GILBERT ETIENNE. [Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1974. 357 pp. NF.59.]

Gilbert Etienne, who is professor of economics at the University of Geneva, is an ardent traveller in, and a prolific writer about, Asia. He published his first *Voie chinoise* in 1962. The 25th anniversary of the Chinese revolution this year has provided him with the welcome opportunity to return to his subject, to bring up to date his account of the Chinese economy and to add his observations during recent travels in Hopei, Honan, Hupeh, Hunan and Kwangtung, on which he reported extensively early last year in a series of articles in *Neue Zuercher Zeitung*.

After a brief historical résumé, the author deals with such well-covered subjects as the population, the plan, the industrial infra-structure, the agrarian scene and the role of foreign trade. The approach is strictly descriptive, and global data are taken from western analytical sources.