

modern China, which he says even today are still not cleanly separated.

Richard Kraus's article, in a depressingly cynical and patronizing attack on the dissident astrophysicist Fang Lizhi, denounces Fang for "bragging about his past bravery," for being interested not in democracy but in privileges for intellectuals like himself, for having demanded "wholesale westernization" (though Fang denies this), and for entertaining a "charmingly" romantic notion of America that has earned him the gratitude of liberal scholars in the west. (Kraus: "If only all Third World intellectuals were so respectful.") Moreover, says Kraus (quoting Chinese state propaganda, and writing of course before 4 June 1989), Fang wasn't even persecuted. Kraus derides western intellectuals' support of Fang as an exercise in "save-the-dissident": here he is echoing his editors, who dismiss as "voyeuristic" a "preoccupation with the sufferings of individuals, especially intellectuals," in China. But although we are easily seduced by the likes of Fang, according to Kraus we largely failed to protest against the show-trial of the "gang of four," who were "anti-imperialists" and so (he implies) a threat to our bourgeois values. He goes on to brand as "book-burners" those Beijing students who threw copies of the Party propaganda-sheet *Beijing ribao* onto a bonfire, and as muddle-heads and (by implication) hypocrites those of us who cheered them on as "protesters for pluralist democracy."

A few of the contributions – including the editors' introduction – are written in an unnecessarily complicated style, heavy with jargon and long-winded "ideological" expostulation. The least one could ask of a book dedicated to "the masses" and to the "necessity of revolution as the historical expression of the human aspiration for liberation" is plain English.

GREGOR BENTON

*China Rising: The Meaning of Tiananmen.* By LEE FEIGON. [Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 1990. 269 pp. \$19.95.]

This is a closely packed, forthright, and clearly written denunciation of the Bonapartist clique that murdered many of its own people in Beijing, Chengdu, and other places in June 1989. It is also a highly convincing explanation of the social and economic roots of the political crisis that produced this gang of autocrats. It is based largely on first-hand observation, for its author spent the spring of 1989 on the campus of the People's University in Beijing, where he has numerous close friends. Its most interesting and important finding is that the protests that culminated in the massacre were launched not by "pro-western democrats," as many foreign journalists believed, but by politically well-connected democratic dissidents of the sort that have been active in the Chinese Communist Party ever since its founding. Their goal was not capitalism but an end to corruption and bureaucracy, and they "opposed a slavish fascination with foreign goods." (It was only later that the style and aims of the movement changed, and the more familiar media figures like Wuer Kaixi emerged into the limelight.) Feigon also spotted another aspect of the

protests that other more superficial observers missed: disgruntled students of the 1980s sympathized actively with many of the aims of the Cultural Revolution, and in particular with those radical Red Guards who concluded that China was ruled by a new class of bureaucrats whose overthrow was a precondition for greater freedom and national revival. *China Rising* is written for the general public, but specialists too will appreciate its thoughtful analysis of the political dilemmas facing Deng and his supporters, who as a result of ten years of irreversible change in the ethos and structure of Chinese society have been left stranded on a weakened base of institutions with few social supports left in the towns.

GREGOR BENTON

*SCPS Yearbook on PLA Affairs 1988/89*. Chief Editor RICHARD H. YANG. [Kaohsiung, Taiwan: SCPS, December 1989. 192 pp.]

This is the second PLA Yearbook published by the Sun Yat-Sen Center for Policy Studies. The initial idea was to cover every aspect of defence and military policy of the People's Republic of China during the year 1988. The Tiananmen incident and its first consequences occurred in the process of preparing this volume. This partly changed the perspective and underlined new questions such as that of the People's Liberation Army's political role in the post-Deng period.

The book consists of 11 chapters, most of them written by excellent although western specialists. In the first one June T. Dreyer gives an overview of the PLA during the year 1988. Then Robert G. Sutter tries to define China's international security policy at the end of this century and the implications for the United States.

Chinese strategy to the year 2000, how China will defend itself and how it will seek to expand its power is the subject analysed by Gerald G. Segal. Harlon W. Jenks, of California, describes the emerging structures of the PLA and its administrative aspects. He joins four interesting figures, representing what the organization of the new Combined Group Armies (CGAs) and of the strategic missile force is intended to be in a few years. In chapter 5, Ellis Joffe discusses the basic decisions and choices through which the Beijing leaders are modernizing their military forces.

Richard J. Latham explains the current reform of China's defence industry, the links between civilian and military productions, the place of arms exports and the PLA's low-cost equipment policy. Chwen-chi Liu of Taiwan enlarges this field of reflection to the evolution of the defence economy of the country. In complement, Harry G. Gelber of Australia examines China's actual economic and strategic uncertainties. Arthur S. Ding of Taiwan gives an assessment of the PRC's nuclear forces and space programmes. David G. Muller shows that by the year 2000 China's navy will play a much more significant role. And, in the last chapter, William R. Heaton studies the uneven, slow but real improvement of military education and training.

Attached to the main text, five appendices show the organization structure of the PLA and of its 24 Combined Group Armies, the