

evidence of substantial research. (None is based on field research. One hopes that the recent amelioration in Chinese–Indian relations will open up opportunities in that direction.)

Two of the papers in the first half of the book touch upon, but do not sufficiently develop, the perennially interesting comparison between China's and India's developmental experience—a subject which has been too much neglected since the early 1960s. On the whole, the chapters on foreign policy are better done and of greater interest. Deserving mention are Niramala Joshi's very competent survey, "Soviet policy towards China in the eighties", T. Karki Hussain's interesting "China's calculus in South Asia", and Mira Sinha Bhattacharjea's excellent "China's strategy for the determination and consolidation of its territorial boundaries". A theme which emerges is China's considerable success in achieving a position of influence in the regional politics of South Asia despite its status as an outsider. The absence of a paper on Tibet from the perspective of internal and or foreign policy is surprising since this subject has been of considerable interest in India. Interested readers can consult the July–September 1988 issue of the Indian journal *China Report*, which was devoted in its entirety to various aspects of the Tibet question.

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The Tragedy of Tibet. By EVA M. NETEROWICZ. [Washington, D.C.: The Council for Social and Economic Studies, 1989. 96 pp. US\$15.00.]

A History of Modern Tibet, 1913–1951. The Demise of the Lamaist State. By MELVYN C. GOLDSTEIN. [Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1989. 898 pp. US\$85.00.]

Writing a book on 20th-century Tibet is fraught with difficulties due to the explosive mixture of religion and politics, to Tibet's having been a pawn in the cold war and to the current state of hostility between the government of China and the Tibetans in exile. Eva M. Neterowicz seems unaware of the pitfalls.

Beginning with a brief historical sketch, Neterowicz devotes the bulk of her monograph to Tibet since 1951. She details a litany of terrible events such as food shortages, massive destruction of religious buildings and attempted cultural genocide during the Cultural Revolution, all leading to a state of seemingly perpetual hostility between the Chinese and the Tibetans.

The details, now acknowledged by the Chinese, are dreadful enough, but not for Ms Neterowicz who resorts to polemics in order to condemn Chinese government actions while "...alert[ing] the American public to what is really happening in Tibet" (p. 5). Relying on tourist guidebooks as well as secondary and tertiary sources, it is not even good polemics.

This monograph is replete with factual errors (the Dalai Lama "fled the country" in 1950 (p. 31), the Panchen Lama "held no secular authority" (p. 35)); selected omissions (the Central Intelligence Agency's guerrilla war); misrepresentation of her sources (the Panchen Lama assumed more power after the Dalai Lama fled in 1959,

she writes (p. 36), citing a source which says nothing of the kind) and editing flaws (parts of sentences and paragraphs missing (pp. 31, 32, 59)).

Her language is a throwback to another era ("Maoist Empire" (p. 30), "Free Chinese" (p. 46)). Neterowicz presents the Kuomintang as champions of the Tibetan cause having "formally installed the Fourteenth Dalai Lama" (p. 25), which they did not. She seems unaware that, like their communist counterparts, the Kuomintang believe Tibet to be a part of China and oppose Tibetan independence.

To understand how badly researched, written and produced *The Tragedy of Tibet* is, one has only to compare Melvyn C. Goldstein's masterful tome.

Goldstein examines, in the most intricate detail, the politics of the period when Tibet had *de facto* independence. The research alone is stunning: extensive use of the British and American diplomatic archives, holding over 50 interviews with the principal participants, consulting recently published histories in Tibet and looking into political street songs – a major form of public information in a place with no newspapers, periodicals or radio.

Unlike Neterowicz, Goldstein understands that historical events are complex and often ambiguous and his descriptions offer considerable insight and understanding. He provides extraordinary details of the 13th Dalai Lama's attempt to create a modern army, the political travails of the aristocrat Lungshar, the attempts by the Kuomintang to re-establish relations with Lhasa, the complexities of the Reting Affair and, finally, the circumstances surrounding the signing of the "Seventeen Point Agreement" and the Dalai Lama's decision to work with the Chinese government.

One of Goldstein's major themes is the struggle between Tibetan aristocrats who favoured modernizing Tibet and the clerical elite who felt those changes were threatening. It is the victory of the latter in this, the most crucial struggle for Tibetans in this century, Goldstein believes, that doomed Tibetan independence.

Because he relies so heavily on British colonial sources, I think he paints the motivations and actions of the British government and its employees, especially Hugh Richardson, in too favourable a light. Goldstein does not discuss Britain's surreptitious manipulation of the Simla Conference, nor does he question the activities of Sir Charles Bell and Richardson as important, albeit casual, advisers to the Tibetan government while serving as British colonial officials. He also fails to catalogue all of the activities of the American government in the late 1940s which aroused Chinese suspicions of "imperialist" intervention.

But these are minor faults in this careful, thoughtful and authoritative study that will be essential reading (despite the unconscionable price) for all specialists for a long time to come.

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