

tiates revolutionary groups during the Cultural Revolution but sets forth a basis for understanding the New Left in China. The argumentation is supported by the inclusion of a number of relevant documents.

Expanding from the analysis of the Hunan New Left group, the study describes the situation of similar groups in late 1967 and early 1968. It points out how increasing pressure from the "law and order" establishment forced the disbandment of radical groups and culminated in the disciplining of their membership by having individuals "sent down." The critical, even hostile, attitude of Chinese leadership towards intellectuals is also carefully delineated. The adverse treatment by the leadership of the ultra-left in China is contrasted with their more favourable attitude towards the New Left in non-communist countries.

The New Left is characterized as a spontaneous revolt of a portion of the young for a new style and structuring of life, free of manipulation, repression and inequality. Professor Mehnert concludes, "there was no New Left in China when the Cultural Revolution was started: there is one there today. Or at least . . . in 1968" (p. 71). However, one wants to know more about the development of New Left groups generally, what kind of milieu favours their organization, and how and why positions of high status and behaviour associated with them are singled out for attack regardless of the type of political system. We must also inquire whether the "youthful" and "spontaneous" aspects of New Left movements are *sui generis* or bear some relationship to a socialization process involving inter-generational transmission of values and behaviour patterns. In the search for an understanding of all such questions this stimulating study will deserve recognition.

RICHARD W. WILSON.

*Shanghai Journal: An Eyewitness Account of the Cultural Revolution.*

By NEALE HUNTER. [New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1969. 311 pp. \$7.95.]

NEALE HUNTER and I were fellow teachers in Shanghai during much of the Cultural Revolution, so it was with great interest that I read this book. Fading memories were revived, and once again I was caught up in the tumult of those hectic days. But for those who have not shared our common experience, the account will no doubt appear a mass of strange names and tangled events. Yet herein lies the real value of the book, for the author has fully captured the bewildering complexity of revolution in China's largest city.

His commentary, enriched by extensive quotation from contemporary

sources, has made Shanghai's revolutionary "masses" (and those not so revolutionary) come alive in all their variety. This rich documentation is probably the most important part of the book, for it is the stuff of which history is made. Nevertheless, it is of considerable interest to the non-historian as well, for it breathes a living personality into officials and rebels alike which has been lacking in most other accounts of the Cultural Revolution. Together with Mr. Hunter's painstaking analysis of the movement itself, this wealth of first-hand material can only impress.

Yet the book leaves us frustrated. For this the blame must lie with the nature of the documentation itself, not the author's handling of it. In the first place, we are only given glimpses of the intricate web of relationships which must have existed between the "conscious" Maoists in Shanghai and those at the centre of power in Peking. The author is undoubtedly correct in guessing that this relationship was very flexible, and that local groups in Shanghai had much initiative in their hands, but the question remains open. Naturally, this is not the type of information that would have received wide distribution, and our understanding of this crucial aspect of the Cultural Revolution suffers accordingly. Perhaps this kind of material will be forthcoming.

In the second place, the documentation brings us face to face with the protagonists in the battle, but does not permit us to peer into their hearts and minds. The successful Maoists claim that the Cultural Revolution "touched people to their very souls," but we cannot see it here. Yet people's souls certainly were touched, for a movement as tumultuous as the one here described cannot be brought about merely by manipulation. Surely it must have been generated by a consuming passion which we in less troubled cultures rarely feel? As the author points out, fingers were burned during these searing months, and hearts too, but we are unable to grasp the fervour locked within the souls of Shanghai's millions. Mr. Hunter's translations bring us to the edge of such understanding, but we cannot pass beyond. Hopefully he will grapple with this dilemma in another book, for he is well equipped to deal with it.

*Shanghai Journal* is an important book, not simply because of its analysis and documentation, but rather because it prompts us to ask questions which go beyond the day-to-day drama of the Cultural Revolution. While it is important to catalogue the immediate successes and failures of this gigantic upheaval we must seek its less tangible, and perhaps more important, dimensions. For example, what part will these past few years play in the formation of the *Weltanschauung* of hundreds of millions of people until recently illiterate and inarticulate; of millions of officials wielding hitherto unimpeachable power; of

## BOOK REVIEWS

those who live beyond the borders of China itself? Mr. Hunter does not have the answers, but certainly the questions are posed by the passionate figures who people his book. Ultimately, it will be they who provide the answers.

RAY WYLIE.

*Chinaköpfe: Kurzbiographien der Partei- und Staatsfunktionäre der Volksrepublik China.* By WOLFGANG BARTKE. [Hannover: Verlag für Literatur und Zeitgeschehen, 1966. 454 pp. DM 54.]

*China und die Barbaren.* By KUO HENG-YÜ. [Pfullingen: Verlag Günther Neske, 1967. 246 pp. DM 19.80.]

*Maos Kulturrevolution: Analyse einer Karikatur.* By KUO HENG-YÜ. [Pfullingen: Verlag Günther Neske, 1968. 92 pp. DM 7.80.]

WOLFGANG BARTKE'S collection of short biographies of Communist Party cadres is based upon a serious study of the available material. It is the first reference book of its kind in German. For sources preceding the proclamation of the People's Republic, he has relied mainly on the "Biographical Service" of the Union Research Institute, Hong Kong, while for information after 1949, Bartke examined systematically the *Jen-min jih-pao*, New China News Agency and other relevant communist and non-communist publications. The book is divided into three parts. The first part contains the personalia, titles and posts of the important functionaries of the Party and State. Though the biographical sketches are concise, they give all the important data on the person concerned. For instance, we read that Ling Feng, whom Associated Press described in 1965 as a "little known middle-rank" cadre, is a Manchu, was born in 1906 at Wangkuei, Heilungkiang, is married to Kuo Ming-ch'iu, and studied in Peking, Tokyo and Moscow. We are also informed of all the posts Lin has held, including that of the leadership of a delegation to Moscow in 1965. Bartke's painstaking conscientiousness is also exemplified by the fact that, after each biographical sketch, he adds when the person was last mentioned in the Chinese press.

Bartke's book contains not only short biographies. The second part deals with the structure—including a short history—and organization of the Chinese Communist Party, the government and the mass organizations. The third part gives the names of the personnel of the Party, government and mass organizations.

On the whole, Wolfgang Bartke's book would be a very useful handbook, had it not been outdated by the Cultural Revolution. All the biographical sketches reflect only the state of affairs up to July 1966 and the other two parts that up to October 1966. This is a pity,