

the official class labels. Unlike Shirk, he finds that the majority of his subjects accepted the official class line because it created an “honored status” (p. 140) that they accepted until the decollectivization of the 1980s eliminated its economic and political utility. In Chapter 7, Lynn White gives a parallel account of how CCP policy created a new class of urban managers that then took on a life of its own, further complicating official class interpretations of the CCP.

The key to editor James Watson’s success is neither the freshness of the data nor the newness of the authors’ analyses. In fact seven of the authors have recently published books on the themes discussed here, and their views are already in wide circulation. Rather the volume works well because it accomplishes what all edited volumes attempt but rarely achieve – a strong juxtaposition of competing ideas that draws the solitary reader into a stimulating dialogue with a topic of major importance.

DEBORAH DAVIS-FRIEDMANN

*Red Guard Factionalism and the Cultural Revolution in Guangzhou.* By STANLEY ROSEN. [Boulder, Colorado; Westview Press, 1982. 320 pp. £28.25.]

According to the current official line the Cultural Revolution brought “10 years of calamity” to China, largely because Lin Biao and the “gang of four” manipulated for their own political gains the mass movement that Mao initiated on the basis of his “mistaken estimate” of socio-economic and political problems at the time. However, Mao’s present successor deems it necessary to “thoroughly repudiate ‘the Cultural Revolution’” at this time – 16 years after the demobilization of the masses and eight years after Mao’s death. This indicates, among other things, how resiliently the legacy of the Cultural Revolution lingers on. One reason why China finds it difficult to leave the memory of the Cultural Revolution behind as a historical accident is because all the officially sanctioned writings in the past few years fail to address some crucial questions; namely, how could a few Maoist leaders at the top throw all of China into chaos for 10 years; why did the polarized Chinese masses fight against each other; and what interests were at stake? Without answering these questions, no verdict on the Cultural Revolution can eliminate the possibility of reopening the controversy over the past event.

Stanley Rosen’s impressively researched book sharply focuses on the questions that the official discussions evade: why was the Red Guard movement factionalized, and what were the socio-economic bases of the factionalism? He argues convincingly that the socio-economic tensions that the educational system in pre-Cultural Revolution China had created found opportunity to manifest themselves in the mass movement. If the top leaders used the mass movement for their political purposes, the Red Guards – from Canton middle and senior high schools, and colleges – had their own contradictions to resolve and interests to defend. The basic cleavage that ran through most of the Red Guard organizations was based on “class line.” The children of cadres and army officers, and the children of middle class intellectuals found themselves pitted against each other in competition for the scarce goods and opportunities that new China could offer.

This argument appears to be simple, but a careful look at it reveals

far-reaching implications. First of all, it demonstrates the need to look at deeper causes of the upheaval, going beyond the simple thesis of the power struggle at the top. Although the Maoist radicals obviously stretched out the meaning of "class" by politicizing its criteria and applying the notion to the Cultural Revolution, the movement undoubtedly brought the complicated contradictions among the various social groups to the surface. The children of high ranking cadres, the beneficiaries of the new communist order, defended their vested interests unashamedly, sometimes advancing such simplistic slogan as "if one's father is revolutionary, his son is a hero; if one's father is reactionary, his son is a bad egg." In contrast, the children of intellectuals, despite Mao's anti-intellectual stand, found in the call to attack the "power-holders taking the capitalist road" an opportunity to vent their resentments. This conflict, to a large extent, symbolized the split of the social group that had benefited most from the pre-Cultural Revolution education system at the expense of the offsprings of the working class. The diminishing educational opportunities before 1966, according to Rosen, foresaw the forthcoming conflict between the two groups. If so, the present educational system will offer the greatest advantages to these two groups, forging them into a new elite.

Rosen's book, full of data and compact arguments, consists of two parts: the first part deals with China's educational system in the 1960s; and the second part traces the factional cleavage to the "class line." Most of the data were obtained from interviews that he conducted in Hong Kong, but it is supplemented by the Red Guard publications and secondary sources. It is an excellent book, whose main contribution is correcting the one-sided official history of the Cultural Revolution.

If one is to find any faults, they lie with the lack of any systematic inquiry into the social and political implications of the book's findings. Given the detailed data presented, the inevitable conclusions drawn from them, and the profound changes taking place in China today, Stanley Rosen could have ventured into some theoretical speculation on, for example, the fate of the Chinese revolution as a whole.

HONG YUNG LEE

*Groups and Politics in the People's Republic of China.* Edited by DAVID S. G. GOODMAN. [Cardiff: University College Cardiff Press, 1984. 218 pp. £12.50.]

Students of contemporary mainland Chinese politics both in Europe and North America, sensitized by the revelations and exposés in the Cultural Revolution and events thereafter, have begun a "remapping" of the Chinese Communist political system. This volume, using the group approach, represents this new direction in Chinese studies.

Consisting of 11 chapters, this book grew out of a workshop of the ECPR (European Consortium for Political Research) Standing Group on China and East Asia on "Groups and the political process in the PRC" during 1981. David Goodman and Peter Ferdinand each provide an introductory chapter on the group approach to Chinese politics. Michael Waller writes an insightful concluding chapter in which he makes a preliminary inventory of groups in the Chinese political process and presents some important observations on the differences in group politics between communist and liberal-democratic systems. In between are chapters on