

The Politics of the Chinese Cultural Revolution: A Case Study. By HONG YUNG LEE. [Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press. 1978. 369 pp. \$15.00.]

China: The Impact of the Cultural Revolution. Edited by BILL BRUGGER. [New York: Barnes and Noble. 1978. 300 pp. £9.95.]

As of February 1978, all indications are that the Cultural Revolution and its products are being re-evaluated by the Chinese themselves. The message of this evaluation is loud and clear: the revolution has delayed China's modernization by at least a decade. Hence, the new leadership under Hua Kuo-feng and Teng Hsiao-p'ing is carrying out decisive readjustments in the institutions and policies adopted during and after the Cultural Revolution in the name of the "four modernizations."

The pace of this urgent endeavour is so fast moving that one cannot keep track of what is really happening in China these days. As a result, our academic study of China is always behind the events.

Nevertheless, the two books under review are raising quite relevant questions about the causes and the effects of the Cultural Revolution. The book by Hong Yung Lee is an attempt to explain both the causes and the dynamics of the revolution, and the book edited by Bill Brugger an attempt to evaluate the effects of the revolution. Mr Lee addressed himself to the question of factional alignments among Red Guard and rebel groups; in so doing he makes the perceptive point that once the formal rules and procedures of the Party were put aside, new groups rose and fell according to the informal rules and procedures of Chinese society, and acted to defend their private interests in the name of public causes. Mr Brugger *et al.* set out to explain what kinds of changes took place between 1969 and 1973 in the Party and the army as well as in such policy areas as education, development strategy, agriculture, industrial management and foreign policy. As a collection of essays, this book lacks a coherent theme but points out that the "residual view of class" gained currency at the early stage of the Cultural Revolution, but it slowly yielded to the "generative view of class" as radical groups and the faction, later designated as the "gang of four" after Mao's death, enhanced their influence in the political process. This is an interesting observation also shared by Lee. Both of these volumes add some new facts and analyses to our understanding of the revolution.

Lee's case study of the Red Guard Movement sheds considerable light on the process through which the elite and mass organizations were formed. In describing the vicissitudes of the conflicts revealed in the process, Lee finds that by and large the radical organizations came from socially underprivileged sectors and sought to challenge the status quo whereas the conservative groups came from socially privileged sectors and thus defended the status quo. Initially, the cleavages occurred among the elite itself and then spilled over into the masses, giving rise to various Red Guard groups. Once Mao denied the Party of its legitimacy, these groups sought to seize power. In so

doing, however, these groups were able to make their latent discontents manifest; as a result, factional strives ensued among the newly formed groups themselves. By analysing the intricate relationships evolved among Mao, the Cultural Revolution Small Group, the Party Organization, the PLA, the Government, the radical mass organizations and the conservative organizations, the author succeeds in providing a lively history of the revolution.

The book edited by Brugger consists of seven chapters plus Introduction and Conclusion, each focused on the ideological and policy implications of the Cultural Revolution. One can hardly do justice to each chapter by this summary review, for each piece dwells on the subtle changes in both the tone and the substance of policy that resulted from the revolution. In the Introduction Bill Brugger makes an historical overview of Chinese politics from 1949 through the 1970s. In Chapter 1 Graham Young documents the problem of Party building raised especially after the Lin Piao incident; he notes that in the search for unity the leadership attempted to restore the Party organization through a different format called "open door" Party building. In Chapter 2 Dennis Woodward traces the changing role of the PLA from that of administering society to one of rebuilding Party authority. In Chapter 3 Sylvia Chan analyses revolution in higher education where the impact of the Cultural Revolution was most severe, highlighting the practice of "open door" education as an attempt to prevent the return to an elitist education. In Chapter 4 Joseph Cheng examines whether or not China's development strategy was affected by the revolution and says that it was not. In Chapter 5, again, Dennis Woodward tries to decode the meaning of "two-line struggle" in agriculture; even though there were instances of "ultra-leftist" policies in 1969–70, he states that the period from 1969 on was one of consolidation. In Chapter 6 Andrew Watson explains the reforms introduced in industrial management to see whether the stress on mass participation was institutionalized. In Chapter 7 Greg O'Leary documents the shift from "anti-imperialism" to "anti-hegemonism" in Chinese foreign policy. Finally, in conclusion Bill Brugger attempts to put the political development from the Lin Piao incident to the fall of Chiang Ch'ing into perspective, raising some fundamental contradictions that face the new leadership.

In several aspects these two works complement each other. It should be noted, however, that many drastic changes have occurred since 1977 that the authors of the Brugger volume were unable to foresee. Yet scholars and people interested in China can benefit a great deal from these two books, especially for understanding the background of China's current drive for modernization at home and for a broad united front against the Soviet Union abroad.

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