

man. If it is choked off and denied on the deepest and religious levels of existence, as indeed it has been, it will concentrate the whole of itself on the most superficial levels of life, the immediately social, and will end in becoming an absolute, a parody of itself and of its own dignity." Rather than go chasing after Mr. Blau, pursuing some vague Yes down the countless avenues of revolt, I think it best to stand with Henry David Thoreau who said he wouldn't walk around the corner to watch the world blow up. We'll simply have to sit this century out, and wait for the parodies to stop.

Reviewed by KENNETH PAUL SHOREY

China: A Political Anatomy

The Political Institutions of Modern China, by William L. Tung. *The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1964. xviii, 408 pp. + appendix and bibliography. \$10.00.*

MANY WORKS about modern China have appeared in the Western world; few, however, are concerned with her political structure and institutions. *Far Eastern Governments and Politics* by Paul M. A. Linebarger, Djang Chu and Ardath Burks, and *The Government and Politics of China* by Ch'ien Tuan-sheng are generally considered as valuable references for specialized studies. There has been a long felt need for a work aimed at the general reader. Dr. Tung's book fulfills this need. "This work," as the author puts it in his Introduction, "is not intended to be exhaustive, but is rather a brief description and discussion of each topic under consideration."

Dr. Tung, now Professor of Political Science at Queens College of the City University of New York, is well prepared to write this study of a crucial period in China's political history. He has had a long career of teaching. Also he has served in the Chinese government as legislator, administrator, ambassador, and adviser. In addition, he has made an extensive study of the publications of the period. As a result, his book is a happy combination of documentation and insight gained at first hand.

The first four chapters describe the constitutional movement and governmental structure from the latter part of Ch'ing dynasty to 1928, when the Nationalist Party came to power. The other eight analyze the political ideologies, institutions, and

programs of the National and Communist governments. Tung presents the material with lucidity and fairness. From his description of the formation and development of Communist organizations in China, the reader can readily understand that the Chinese Communists are genuine Communists of Soviet origin, that it was absurd for anyone to believe they were "agrarian reformers." In discussing the fundamental reasons for the Nationalist defeat on the mainland, the author cites the six factors acknowledged by President Chiang Kai-shek himself in his *Soviet Russia in China*.

Concerning the vital political issues of the present, the work contains some significant remarks which bear noting. For example, on post-war American mediation of the Nationalist-Communist dispute, Professor Tung writes: "The prolonged period of intermittent truce and war considerably affected the morale and fighting spirit of the Nationalist forces, which might have been able to control the situation with resolute action after the victory over Japan." With regard to current thought about "Two Chinas" as a solution to the Chinese dilemma, he warns: "The restoration of Taiwan and Penghu (Pescadores) to China was clearly stated in the Cairo Declaration of December 1, 1943, and reassured by the Potsdam Declaration of July 25, 1945. While the Nationalists and Communists have been irrevocably antagonistic to each other, they do agree that *Taiwan is an integral part of China and that there should never be two Chinas.*" (Italics added.)

What emerges most clearly from Dr. Tung's study is that for all its display of strength and elaborate use of propaganda, the Communist regime is confronted with serious difficulties and that the Communist system simply does not work.

Popular confidence in a government cannot long be maintained through high-sounding slogans and vague promises only to be fulfilled in the remote future. In spite of arguments for and against Communism, the present status of the economic situation on the mainland is far from satisfactory. Whatever the cause for the current calamities and however promising the future may be, the supply of basic necessities to the people for a decent living is the responsibility of any government in power, Communist or otherwise.

Among his general conclusions, the most impressive is related to the Sino-Soviet rift.

In spite of the much-discussed differences on the conception of co-existence and the decrease in aid and trade volume between the two coun-

tries, there will be no armed conflict for the simple reason that neither China nor Soviet Russia can afford to fight against the other under the prevailing international circumstances.

Because of his own extensive acquaintance with the subject, the author tends to take some of the specific terms and expressions for granted without giving sufficient explanations. For instance, the designation of "the Western Hills Faction of the Nationalist Party" sounds *unfamiliar to the general reader* and needs a note. There is another technical point: References to the Yalta Conference, for instance, occur three times in the study (p. 168, p. 171, p. 172). However, a general description of the Conference does not appear until the third section. Hence a cross reference in the two previous cases (p. 168 and p. 171) would be highly desirable.

The book is well written and well organized, has abundant footnotes, contains a useful appendix of 63 pages, and provides a good bibliography. A valuable contribution to the study of modern Chinese political thought and formation, this volume should encourage a reappraisal of attitudes toward the contemporary scene of China. It is a necessary addition to any bookshelf on China in the twentieth century.

Reviewed by PAUL K. T. SIH