

stitution, as adopted at the First National Congress in January 1924, might have been included so that an interested reader might observe the growth of the party between then and now.

Aside from the main body of fifty-four documents, this volume has several added features. An extended introduction provides a survey of the Party's history keyed to the documents that follow. The reader, of course, need not agree with the author's interpretation at every point, but the introduction does furnish a convenient framework that gives the reader of the documents a sense of their continuity. A thirty-four page chronology of the Kuomintang, listing all major events of the period 1894-1969, is a useful reference aid. An annotated glossary, containing 150 entries ranging from important personalities to such terms as "New Life Movement" and "Land-to-the-tiller," is another feature particularly helpful to Western readers. The appendixes also include organizational charts, dates of National Congresses and Plenums, and rosters of current Central Committee and Central Advisory Committee members of the Kuomintang.

Reviewed by TA-LING LEE

## *China's Cultural Chaos*

**China in the Throes of the Cultural Revolution**, by Louis Barcata, *New York: Hart Publishing Company, 1967.* 299 pp. \$8.95.

**Party Leadership and Revolutionary Power in China**, edited by John Wilson Lewis, *Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970.* 422 pp. \$9.50.

LOUIS BARCATA, as his publishers inform us on the jacket of his book, was born in

Austria, and is regarded as one of Europe's top correspondents. The book itself is an eye-witness account of his third visit to Communist China.

What we are offered is a work that reveals the essential developments of the so-called Cultural Revolution that threatened to tear Peking asunder. Always present in the reader's mind will be the knowledge of the painful and difficult conditions under which it was composed. "We must remember the difficulties," as Mr. Barcata puts it, "foreign correspondents encounter in Red China: for example, a single news report that displeases the rulers may lead to expulsion."

Mr. Barcata has energy. He delights in describing his interviews or arguments with the Red Guards. On the basis of his personal observation and research, he notes that the Cultural Revolution is more of intra-party struggle than anything else. In his words, "What the Cultural Revolution is concerned with is those Party managers whose minds have been 'poisoned,' those men who want to prepare the way for the 'black wind of the new capitalist economics.'" He makes it clear that the Cultural Revolution, for all its violence and destructive measures, has not brought any real change to the inner life of the Chinese people. It is even more difficult to deal with the people's religious life. In this regard, Mr. Barcata gives an account of his interview with a Catholic priest in Shanghai: "Are people fearful of calling for a Catholic priest?" To this, the priest answered, "When one is dying, one no longer fears the rulers of this world. I have experienced miracles of conversion right here in this little church, and I thank God that at the last moment He still graciously snatches many from eternal damnation."

In spite of all the disturbances, chaos and purges, the structure of the administration has not collapsed. On this the author comments: "Many people believe that it is only because of the State Police that the administration of the Chinese government polity is still functioning relatively well after so

many months of upheaval under the Cultural Revolution.”

The last section of the book consists of three chapters: “The Quarrel between Russia and China,” “The Effects of the Cultural Revolution,” and “The Future of China.” Mr. Barcata provides a number of documents and diplomatic notes exchanged between Peking and Moscow showing that the crisis is real and tensions are running higher and higher with the passage of time. On the effects of the Cultural Revolution, Mr. Barcata has this to say: “One thing is certain today: communism in China is there to stay. Whether the regime emerges with the totalitarian characteristics of the Maoist faction, or with the milder stripe of the Chairman’s revisionist, reform-minded opponents, communism will emerge from the Cultural Revolution only more red or less red, but communism it will be.” It seems to me that this statement must be qualified by Mr. Barcata’s other observation when he deals with the future of China. He says:

The Cultural Revolution produced a much more frightening situation than anyone had anticipated. It became more and more obvious that its basic tendency was to aggravate and disrupt, and that total success was out of the realm of possibility. . . . Mao knew also that the army no longer formed a homogeneous body which could be directed at will from a political center. Though the army was Communist, it was just as ideologically split as the Party hierarchy. . . . There are now three factions opposing each other in China: the Maoists; the so-called “Khurshchev revisionists,” or “realists,” as I prefer to call them, who are led by Lin Shao-chi; and the “legalists” who gravitate towards Prime Minister Chou En-lai and who are striving for a program of the impossible called “the middle path.”

With the top echelon so divided, how can the regime survive as such? Communism may stay in China in name, but its sub-

stance will certainly undergo a radical change, from red to pink, to grey, or even to white—who knows? As Mr. Barcata himself observes, “There is no longer any talk of that [opposition] today. If there are still anti-Communist activists in 1967, then they have burrowed so deeply underground that it has become impossible for a foreigner to disinter and question them.” Invisible opponents, it is often told, are more dangerous and formidable than visible ones!

Throughout this book, I kept asking myself “Why?” “Why the Cultural Revolution?” “Why should the Chinese Communists create so much trouble for themselves?” I found the answers in another volume, *Party Leadership and Revolutionary Power in China*, edited with an introduction by John Wilson Lewis. This volume consists of essays by twelve leading scholars from the United States and Britain, all of whom have concentrated their studies on the problems of contemporary China. The editor, in his introduction, throws light on the Communist leadership and power struggle, particularly as a result of the Cultural Revolution. “The revolutionaries,” he notes,

who as youths joined ranks with Mao Tse-tung were held together by common bonds of ideological inspiration, personal loyalty and professional or conspiratorial dedication. In the Cultural Revolution these bases of brotherhood and their common world vision were shattered. Party members, once closely united, clashed over practical policy issues and then over the legitimacy of their party adversaries to rule at all. . . . The Communist organization, whatever its ultimate fate, had lost its special identity and its stature as the price of nominal existence in a Maoist world.

This further leads Professor Lewis to conclude:

As a result [of the Cultural Revolution], it is no longer possible to hold

a simple view of power and leadership in which the actions at the top ramify neatly to the base. . . . While it is necessary to consider this power situation as transitional. . . . the transition to a fundamentally different political system will thus take years if not decades. Even the death of Mao Tse-tung will probably not change, basically, the fact that power resides in many hands and that doctrine has innumerable interpreters.

Both Mr. Barcata's and Dr. Lewis' works clearly are derived from meaningful study and research, and all students interested in Communist China and the impact of the Cultural Revolution on its future developments will want to read and ponder over them.

Reviewed by PAUL K. T. SIH