

THOMAS SCHARPING: Umsiedlungsprogramme für Chinas Jugend, 1955-1980. Probleme der Stadt-Land-Beziehungen in der chinesischen Entwicklungspolitik. (Mitteilungen des Instituts für Asienkunde, Bd. 120). Hamburg 1981. XIV + 575 pages

On the title page of T. Scharping's study on the relocation programs für China's youth, the reader meets the smiling faces of a work group, shovels on their shoulders, on their way to the fields. The "message" of this photograph, however, stands in sharp contrast to the contents and results of the investigation. The optimistic picture is no doubt part of the propaganda arsenal of the planners, who through carefully directed campaigns, tried to imbue China's youth with enthusiasm for the official relocation programs and to present these as a success to the public. But that which succeeded in the past 25 years in some respects, hardly seems possible in the future. S.'s analysis leads to the conclusion that the course of developments has eroded both the capacity of the youth for enthusiasm and its commitment to active involvement. If the Chinese leadership deems new, large-scale relocation programs necessary, then it will meet widespread indifference and even rejection. "New appeals for relocation programs apart from the use of brute force will find little resonance."

"Sending down to the countryside" is the key concept for understanding both the goals of the planners and the manifold problems in implementing them. China's relocation programs are an "historical novelty" inasmuch as they consciously attempted to reserve the usual migration pattern from the country to the city. This attempt, however, did not take place within the frame of a single all-encompassing program over the period from 1955 to 1980, but was subject to contradictory influences stemming from the changing political scene. In order to present the realities of the Chinese relocation drives, S. organizes his investigation into ten chapters. In the first chapter, the tasks of the study are derived from the context of the problems of developing countries in general. From this starting point, S. approaches the specifically Chinese situation. The subsequent chapters elucidate the development of the economic and political conditions, the "visions" of the planners, and finally the conflict-ridden process of realization. S. devotes special attention to an aspect which one would call the "subjective factor": the reactions of those affected and the tensions in their attitudes toward certain role-expectations are not merely abstractly summarized, but are illustrated through six selected individual case histories. A summary, together with the author's general reflections, and an outlook to the future are reserved for the last two chapters.

The main result of this fact-filled analysis is its refutation of a still widely held view according to which the relocation programs in China are nothing more than so-called *hsia-fang*-operations which aim to re-educate the urban intellectuals through work programs in the countryside. Instead, S. presents a nuanced description of the different relocation programs organized by the authorities, which were either "city-country" or "country-country" in

character. It is shown how each of these different programs was marred by specific inner tensions and problems. As far as the results go, there are certain positive aspects, for example, the development of educational and health organizations in the countryside. For the most, however, the official goals - above all the drastic modernization and mechanization in the area of agriculture - were not achieved.

As a result of S.'s study, the "Maoist" vision (or what was made out of it) of the conquest of the city as a one-sided center of economic and social development vanishes. Even in the socialist developing country China, a self-declared model for the third world, the cities represent the natural point of attraction for the flow of immigration. Here the problems multiply. The most important one is the growing unemployment among the youth. From here come important impulses on the restructuring of the countryside. Not one of the large-scale projects has been able to reverse this trend: the goal of most of those sent to the countryside is to return to the city. And the younger generations apparently persist in refusing to leave the cities. S.'s study proves that the solution to the city-country problem is as far away as ever.

Peter M. Kuhfus

THEODOR BERGMANN, BARBARA P. HAZARD, DIETER SENGHAAS (Edts.):
Wiedersehen mit China nach zwei Jahren. (Bielefelder
Studien zur Entwicklungssoziologie, 12). Saarbrücken,
Fort Lauderdale: Breitenbach, 1981. 328 pages, DM 33.-

China-traveling still attracts in a special way. Nevertheless the literature describing these travels indicates many changes in the opinions about the country as well as in the manner looking at it. The views on China have become more poignant, and this book is a very good example of this.

It is a collection of protocols, facts and their analysis as well as of essays and individual reflections. It describes a "Meeting-Again With China After Two Years", in other words, the group, a part of which had travelled in China before, now was in a position to review the changes which had occurred in the meantime. Among the members are specialists and China-experts as well as people whose interests in China are not necessarily professional, so that their report on the whole has a scientific approach whilst always referring to the landscapes behind the focussed topics.

The central topic, the agricultural development, has been probed into in almost all of the visited units: in 7 communes, brigades and state-farms, in 5 industrial units, of which 3 are immediately agriculture-related, and in 5 talks with experts