

Rainer Hoffmann, *Entmaoisierung in China: Zur Vorgeschichte der Kulturrevolution* (Arnold-Bergstraesser-Institut. Studien zu Entwicklung und Politik). München: Weltforum-Verlag, 1973. 239 pages, DM 38,—.

Studies in German on recent developments in the People's Republic of China based on the extensive use of so far untranslated primary sources in Chinese are rare. The few publications of this kind are mainly documentations or studies on minor subjects. All the more the book under review has to be appreciated as it deals with the fundamental ideological questions of the Cultural Revolution. The author's basic sources are about 140 periodicals and other publications by Maoist red-guards during the years 1966 through 1968 available at the Harvard-Yenching Library at Harvard University. In the light of these sources the author analyses ideology and politics of the two opposite lines within the Chinese CP which he labels "Maoist" and "Liuist". He understands, however, these labels not personally as short designations for two alternatives of society building. Thus Entmaoisierung is equal to the liquidation of the Maoist perspective of a completely egalitarian pattern of society as practiced in particular during the days of the revolutionary struggle in favour of the Liuist pattern of efficiency. According to this pattern experts may be encouraged for the sake of technical and economic efficiency; thereby the division of labour is increased and eventually the emergence of new elites is initiated — even if this is not the aim of Liuist thinking. Entmaoisierung is almost the same as revisionism.

After an introduction dealing with the sources, the terminology, and with socialism and anti-bureaucratic revolutions in general the author analyzes Entmaoisierung in politics, administration and economy, and finally in education and the cultural field. He presents a convincing picture of the Liuist pattern of society as reflected in the red-guards' publications. Apparently the red-guards had access to party and government files and thereby reliable informations on many details of the preceding time so far not generally known. An occasional comparison with other sources gives evidence of the accuracy of these informations. The rectification campaign, the great leap, the socialist education movement and the cultural revolution were the large-scale Maoist attacks against the inevitable Liuist evolution. The author gives several reasons for the power of these repeated attacks, such as the tradition of the egalitarian pattern deeply rooted in the Chinese peasant rebellions, the high quality of the Maoist kan-pu of the Yen-an period, and the general backwardness of Chinese peasant economy. But eventually the author considers the Maoist line deemed to failure, "since in the long run no people is able to persist at the giddy height of political extremity". (p. 184)

Perhaps it may be added that the traditional Chinese antagonism between (Confucianist) ideological purity and (Legalist) pragmatic requirements has now taken a new shape in accordance with the conditions of the present time. Tension and balance of these two elements have largely contributed to the vitality and persistence of China's traditional political system. Will they also have the same effects in their new shape?

The appendix contains a detailed bibliography including the titles of the red-guard publications used and biographical data of almost 150 people mentioned.

Hoffmann's way of writing is clear and easy to understand, his statements are always documented, his argumentation is convincing even if the reader may not follow the author's conclusions in every detail. Moreover the author proves that he is well versed in Marxist literature and thinking. The work under review is a very important contribution towards a better understanding of present-day China.

Wolfgang Franke

Werner Jensch: *Die afghanischen Entwicklungspläne vom ersten bis zum dritten Plan* (Afghanische Studien Bd. 8), Meisenheim am Glan: Anton Hain 1973. 378 pages, paper DM 72,—.

In 1953/54, after a long period of a free enterprise system, the concept of 'guided economy' was introduced in Afghanistan. Responsibility for regulation and stimulation of the country's economic activities was delegated to the government, and preparing and launching development plans became one of its essential duties. Against this background Jensch has taken two questions as objectives for his study: What are the results of more than fifteen years of development planning in Afghanistan with respect to the social and economic

progress of the country? What are the general conclusions drawn from the special case of Afghanistan that should be observed in the further process of formulating and implementing development plans?

After a brief survey of the main social, institutional, and economic difficulties that development planning in Afghanistan was (and is) faced with, Jensch offers in the second part of his study a comprehensive analysis of the first three Five Years Plans (1956–62, 62–67, 67–72). He first examines the sectoral investment and the financing structure of each plan (i.e. the planned allocation of capital among agriculture, industry, and infrastructure, and the way it should be financed out of public revenues, private capital and foreign assistance) and then contrasts these 'targets' with the projects realized in the different sectors and their actual financing at the end of the plan periods.

His main results drawn from this inquiry are summarized in the third part: (1) Contrary to the initially balanced sectoral approach of the plans the actual development policy of the first two plans at least was characterized by a one-sided promotion of social overhead investment. (2) As more than 70 per cent of the total investment of the three plans was financed by foreign aid, the development of the Afghan economy became extensively dependent on the loan-giving countries, mainly Russia and the United States. (3) As a result of the neglect of short-term productive projects and of accelerated inflation there was neither a considerable rise in real per capita income nor an improvement in equalizing its distribution.

The conclusions for further development planning which Jensch finally derives from the special Afghan case are mainly the following: Countries with a comparatively low state of development such as Afghanistan should (1) concentrate their available resources on promoting direct productive investment and ascribe a merely secondary function to the infrastructure. They should (2) focus their planning activities more on micro-oriented project planning than on macro-oriented aggregate planning. (3) Instead of relying on foreign aid, developing countries should give priority to the mobilization of domestic resources, especially by increasing the effectiveness of their tax administration. Aid donors themselves (4) should give up the practice of project-binding their aid and change over to a system of non-project-bound plan-assistance.

Jensch's study offers the widest ranging basis of information available today to anyone desiring a comprehensive picture of the development of the Afghan economy in the past decades. Besides, it can be recommended to those who want to study basic problems of development planning and the difficulties which have to be overcome in the process of preparing and realizing successful development plans. Jan-Peter Wülbern

Heinrich Seemann, *Nepal 2029, gestern noch verbotenes Land*. Stuttgart: Verlag Bandell AG, 1973. 196 pages, DM 98,50.

Nepal, which, according to its own calendar is 57 years ahead of our time, represents one of the few well preserved socio-cultural systems on the threshold of the Middle Ages and Modernity. It is, therefore, easy to write a picturesque book on the country's so far unspoiled scenery. Yet, even so, Heinrich Seemann's book remains a remarkable souvenir for all those who know the country, and a most fascinating guide for others who are interested in visiting it.

The author served at the Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany in Kathmandu from 1967 to 1971. In separate chapters he describes the geography, flora and fauna, climate, population and social structure, religion, art and culture, and infrastructure of the country as well as Nepal's early relations with China and the West. Separate chapters and three detailed maps are dedicated to the famous capitals Kathmandu, Patan and Bhatgaon. Emphasis is also laid on the ethnic and religious structure of Indo-Arian Hindus, Buddhist Newaris and other groups of Tibet an origin who live together in an extremely tolerant way. Hints for trekking and mountaineering conclude the text-part of the book.

A well selected bibliography allows for more detailed studies of the various aspects described. Of special value are the 107 photos, 45 of which are coloured. Most of them were taken by the author himself, others by the well-known German artist Hilmar Pabel.

Hans Roschmann