

## Watcher Along the Border

***Orbit of China***, by Harrison E. Salisbury (Harper & Row. 204 pp. \$4.95), records the insights and impressions gained by a veteran Communism-watcher during a 30,000-mile journey along the Chinese border. Marvin Kalb, diplomatic correspondent of CBS News, wrote "The Volga: A Political Journey Through Russia."

By MARVIN KALB

IT WAS not by chance that the first *New York Times* dateline from Hanoi since the Vietnam war bloomed into an international crisis belonged to Harrison E. Salisbury. Few American reporters have spent more time roaming through the hinterlands of Communist empires, or devoted more energy to explaining Communist policy to the American people. At a time when the Cold War is giving way to a hot war this is an assignment of immense significance.

Salisbury headed the Moscow bureau of the United Press during the wartime year of 1944. He returned to Moscow for *The New York Times* in 1949 and remained there until 1954, covering the end of the Stalinist era and the emergence of Nikita Khrushchev's easier brand of Bolshevism. In 1955 Salisbury was awarded the Pulitzer Prize. He was back in the Soviet Union in 1959, again in 1961, and, most recently, last summer, when he traveled with his wife along China's jagged border—a 30,000-mile journey in search of understanding about the world's most populous nation.

*Orbit of China* is his report on that trip. Like so many of his other books, it is perceptive, well-written, and informative, and worthwhile for anyone interested in China and her tortured relations with the "long-nosed barbarians" of the world beyond her still ill-defined boundaries, her ideological disputes with Russia, her snarling hostility towards America, her nuclear weapons, and the "great cultural revolution."

Salisbury returned from his journey convinced that "China and the United States were far advanced along a course which could lead only to nuclear war." Wherever he went—and he traveled far and wide, to Hong Kong, Cambodia, Laos, Thailand, Burma, India, Sikkim, Siberia, and Japan—he talked with experts and swapped impressions with ordinary people; and always he found fresh evidence to reinforce his somber conclusion. To Salisbury, the "night-

mare of population and food" explains much about Chinese economic and foreign policy. There is simply too little food for too many people. One day, he believes, China will be driven north or south—in any case, beyond her borders—in a desperate gamble for more land and therefore more food to feed her sharply accelerating population.

Like most American reporters, Salisbury could not get a visa to Peking. That is why he had to travel along China's periphery, peering near-sightedly, as we all must, across her ideological checkpoints in Hong Kong or Sikkim or Siberia. While frustrating as a journalistic device—perhaps even misleading, for the

shape of China's reality can be fuzzy and distorted when seen through the eyes of others—this kind of long-distance reporting is valuable. And it does provide revelations about life along China's borders; for example, the role of the Central Intelligence Agency in Laos; the six new American air bases in Thailand, two of which are capable of handling the strategic B-52 bombers; the company of Chinese Communist troops that reportedly guards Peking's mission in Laos; Burma's strong man Ne Win; the new pro-Western foreign policy of India, prompted by China's 1962 attack; the probable existence of Soviet missiles in Mongolia, trained, no doubt, on China; the squadrons of modern MIG jet fighters in Vladivostok; the surprising presence of more than a hundred West German, British, and Dutch specialists in Lanchow, China's big nuclear site.

There is much more, too—fascinating vignettes and important insights, amplified by a veteran Communism-watcher to whom we are all once again indebted.

## Look Through the Bamboo Curtain

***China After Mao***, by A. Doak Barnett (Princeton. 287 pp. Hardbound, \$6. Paperback, \$1.95), and ***China: The Other Communism***, by K. S. Karol (Hill & Wang. 480 pp. \$7.95), consider the background, current status, and future of a troubling land. Harry Schwartz wrote "China" and "Tsars, Mandarins, and Commissars."

By HARRY SCHWARTZ

THESE two volumes are representatives of some of the better fare now being offered those who would learn more about China. Ironically, though, A. Doak Barnett's book—based on lectures he gave at Princeton last year—is essentially high-level interpretive journalism, while that by K. S. Karol, a French newspaperman, is more academic in tone, the product as much of his extensive library study as of his travels for several months throughout China.

Professor Barnett is, of course, one of this country's best known and ablest academic China-watchers. His book—consisting of 117 pages of expository material and 167 pages of translated important Chinese documents—provides valuable information. His three chapters summarize very well much of China's history under Communist rule, as well as Mao's ideology and some of the key issues involved in the problem of succession to Mao.

Barnett's central thesis is that "change in China's leadership and policies is possible," which is hard to dispute. From this flows his advocacy of a flexible American approach, one capable of showing China's leaders that violent, extreme measures will be counterproductive, yet encouraging by positive responses any signs of reasonable and moderate policies in Peking. This recommendation is sound, but so general that both the Johnson Administration and many of its opponents could argue that they believe in such a course. It is the specific issues and choices that are difficult.

What will happen in China when Mao leaves the scene, we simply do not know, as Professor Barnett acknowledges. His view, however, is that "over the long run the central competition will be . . . between the radicals, extremists, hard-liners, Leftists, and ideologues, on the one hand, and the conservatives, moderates, soft-liners, rightists, and pragmatists on the other" or, more simply, between the supporters and opponents of Mao. In the long run, he thinks, the latter will win out. It is unclear how extended this long run will be.

Useful as this little book will be in current discussion, its brevity has inevitably forced Dr. Barnett to slight many important factors and to state his conclusions somewhat dogmatically. The range of possibilities before China is much broader than the pro-Mao and anti-Mao conflict he foresees, and after

the events of recent months even the stability of Communist rule in China is at least open to more question than Professor Barnett assumes. This reviewer wishes Princeton had asked him to give twice as many lectures as he did, thus providing Mr. Barnett greater opportunity to give us more adequately the benefit of his scholarship.

A much richer tapestry is woven in Mr. Karol's book. China travelogues are by now no novelty, but his towers above most of them on several counts. Though he knows no Chinese, Mr. Karol brought to that land the background of a veteran journalist dealing with Communist affairs as well as the personal experience of having lived as a citizen first of the Soviet Union and then of Communist Poland. He was thus able to make fruitful comparisons that Professor Barnett's much briefer volume for the most part eschews. And, though no China expert, Mr. Karol has apparently read widely in this field so that his perspective on China goes back a number of decades. Finally, he was granted interviews by Chou En-lai, Chen Yi, and other lesser though significant figures.

There are numerous important observations scattered through this book. Thus the author suggests that China has departed from the Marxist model by becoming the "remarkable incarnation of the egalitarian dream of impoverished peasants." And he makes another important point in noting that China "is compelled to repeat the experiment of 'socialism in a single country'—comparable to that of Russia under Stalin—and at the same time retains a revolutionary spirit which makes one think of certain of Trotsky's postulates rather than those of the former Soviet dictator." It is this Chinese fusion of Stalinism and Trotskyism that eludes much current comment.

Perhaps the most fascinating single section of the book is Mr. Karol's report on what Soviet attachés in Peking told him after Premier Kosygin's visit with Mao there in early 1965. The Soviet informants claimed that Mao speaks only the Hunan dialect, not Mandarin, which explains why he does not appear on television. If true, this may explain, too, why Mao kept silent at last year's great "cultural revolution" rallies.

The attachés also told Mr. Karol that Mao, in Chou En-lai's presence, said to Kosygin, who had just listened to a slashing anti-Soviet statement by Chou, that Chou En-lai was really Russia's friend and "has illusions about you."

There is an annoying anti-Americanism in this book, particularly regarding Vietnam, and a good deal of almost naïve sympathy for the Chinese Communists. But these defects aside, Mr. Karol's is one of the most important and informative books written by a Western reporter visiting China in many years.

## Eastern Eyes on the Western World

***The China Reader*, edited by Franz Schurmann and Orville Schell (Random House. Vol. I, 322 pp., hardbound, \$6.95, paperback, \$1.95; Vol. II, 394 pp., hardbound, \$6.95, paperback, \$1.95; Vol. III, 667 pp., hardbound, \$7.95, paperback, \$2.45), presents a selection of writings from both Chinese and Western sources since the eighteenth century. C. T. Hu is on the faculty of Columbia University Teachers College.**

By C. T. HU

SINCE last summer the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has gathered so much momentum and affected so profoundly all aspects of national life in China that the future of that nation now appears to be all the more problematic. In light of China's enormous capacity either to contribute to world stability or to cause disturbance, the present state of uncertainty has heightened interest in Chinese affairs on the part of peoples everywhere. The "little Red Book" of Mao has become a bestseller the world over; young men and women are holding Maoist parties, and the Red Guards' uniform has been adopted by some in England as the new sartorial fashion. While these may be dismissed as no more than fads, the turbulence in China does give rise to the demand for a more sophisticated interpretation of the Chinese phenomenon and a new key to understanding China, past and present.

*The China Reader*, in no fewer than three volumes, is designed precisely to provide such a key. The Chinese enigma has become increasingly baffling because of the absence of historical parallels. With the Sino-Soviet split now virtually complete, even the Soviet experience no longer has much to tell us about present Chinese development, still less about the future. The *Reader*, therefore, seeks to find explanations for the many pressing questions through a body of carefully selected published materials, historical

and contemporary, Chinese and Western. Each major section of the documents is preceded by an interpretive essay, while the individual pieces are introduced by brief and cogent remarks.

There is a simple but logical scheme for the organization of these volumes. Chronologically it begins with the eighteenth century, when the decline of the last imperial dynasty began to set in, and ends with the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, in the throes of which China finds herself today. The three volumes are titled, respectively, *The Decline of the Last Dynasty and the Origins of Modern China*; *Republican China: Nationalism, War, and the Rise of Communism*, and *Communist China: Revolutionary Reconstruction and International Confrontation*. These are exceedingly telling titles, because they pinpoint the theses of the volumes. Moreover, while each covers a specific period of time and develops the major themes peculiar to that period, it is obvious that the first two volumes are intended as background, against which the picture of China under Communism is brought into sharper focus. In view of this, the *Reader* is unquestionably the largest undertaking of its kind, contributing significantly to a systematic study of China under Mao Tse-tung; for it has not only succeeded in linking China's past with her present but also in combining the best tradition of Western Sinology with the modern social sciences.

After even a cursory examination of the contents one is impressed with the painstaking care that has gone into the selection of materials. The choices are guided by the fundamental consideration that China must be studied not so much as a cultural entity or an ancient civilization, but as a member of the family of nations. As a result, there is a balance between what is indigenous and what is foreign, between China looking out and the Western world looking in. The character of a China bound by tradition and the character of the challenge from the West are both rendered clear, and interaction between the two forms the central theme for the China in transition. After all, the real source of conflict between the China of today and the Western world at large lies in none other than the difference in their world-view in the ideological sense and the question of what position China should occupy in terms of *Realpolitik*. Therefore, to study China either in isolation or as others see

