

implied that opponents were racist at worst, unfeeling reactionaries at best, intensified dismay. Whatever good in the reforms — and certainly the attempt to widen the Canadian mosaic, recognize contributions of Native culture, and address ecological questions should be applauded — was obscured by their dictatorial implementation and the lack of practical preparation. It is too early to judge the eventual outcome of the initiatives, but every high school teacher to whom I have spoken has described destreaming as chaotic and demanding — teachers conduct a series of mini-classes for which they lack resources. Neither were costs properly addressed. School boards were merely directed to “redirect existing funds.”

Although the authors are polemical, they address important points and levy legitimate criticisms of the NDP initiative. They are less convincing in proposing alternatives. They wish a return to liberal education, “freeing students from the opinions and fashions of the day by exposing them to the deepest and broadest human possibilities.” That, they claim, is impossible “if there is no agreement that education’s task is to shape and sublimate a student’s longings in the service of a thoughtful civic decency.”(27) But shaping students for civic decency implies an ideological purpose, merely one different from the one they condemn.

In a survey of philosophical thought from Plato to Hegel and Nietzsche, they applaud the Hegelian synthesis but decry post-Hegelian modernism and deconstruction. In the Hegelian attempts at synthesis, however, lay the anti-liberal collectivism of Marxism and fascism. Their historical sense is weak. I have no idea what is meant either historically or logically by “the bourgeoisie-to-be was

waiting for it [theories of contractual government].”(130) In the Canadian context, *Inventing Secondary Education: The Rise of the High School in Nineteenth-Century Ontario* (Montreal 1992) by Robert Gidney and Wyn Millar vividly demonstrates how the Ontario system evolved rather than was imposed by the enlightened leaders whom Emberley and Newell imagine. But Gidney and Millar emphasize a point with which Emberley and Newell might welcome. That is the cooperation of school boards, parents, teachers, and the provincial ministry in developing an effective system of schooling during the nineteenth century. More cooperation might be a worthy aim today, and a means to improve the system.

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Marilyn A. Levine, *The Found Generation: Chinese Communists in Europe during the Twenties* (Seattle: University of Washington Press 1993).

This book brings to light a significant yet little known feature of the early history of the Chinese communist movement. A striking number of the Chinese Communist Party’s most senior first-generation leaders trace their involvement in radical politics to their student experience in France during the early 1920s. They include Deng Xiaoping, Zhou Enlai, Zhu De, Nie Rongzhen, Li Lisan, Chen Yi, Li Fuchun, Cai Hesen, Li Weihan and others. While historians have long noted this “French connec-

tion," it has never before been systematically investigated nor its long-term intellectual and political significance assessed. Professor Levine's meticulously researched study thus fills an important gap in our historical knowledge and understanding of the Chinese communist movement.

Between 1919 and 1921 over 1,600 Chinese students were sent to France as part of a work-study movement. They belonged to a transitional generation, born between 1895-1905, imbued with both classical and modern western education, and infused with the sense of having a unique mission to rejuvenate China. Levine seeks to illuminate not only the ideological, but also the personal journeys of a small number of these students as they "graduated from their youth revolt to an adult commitment to ideology and revolution" (203-4). This kind of multifaceted approach to the subject, based on Chinese and French written sources as well as personal interviews with some of those involved, is highly commendable. The result is a well-crafted study that successfully weaves together such diverse themes as generational conflict, cultural adaptation and political commitment.

The greater part of the book is devoted to an exploration of the work-study experience. The work-study concept (*gingong jianxue*) grew out of the New Culture Movement of the 1910s, a period of intense intellectual ferment in China. Consequently, the work-study movement embodied many New Culture themes such as rebelling against traditional societal and cultural norms, youth as national saviour, and learning from more advanced countries. In addition, work-study also incorporated the anarchist views of its leading promoters, which added a strong element of social

concern to the movement. Anarchist ideals of mutual aid (*huzhu*) and the sanctity of labour lay at the philosophical heart of work-study. With an appealing feel for irony, Levine reveals how these ideals soon collided with the day-to-day realities of life in France. Students were supposed to finance their studies and educate their minds by working part-time in French factories, accumulating the technological knowledge and practical experience needed to transform China. In reality, education and factory work proved equally difficult to find. Moreover, the majority of students, who came from privileged backgrounds and were therefore unused to physical labour, found it impossible to manage both at once. Language and cultural barriers often isolated the students from French society, while poverty forced many to live in tents and decrepit rooming houses, thereby reinforcing their sense of marginalization. Levine shows how it was in this atmosphere of alienation and increasing material deprivation that a small number of work-study students began to turn to Marxism and political activism for answers.

The final two chapters document the emergence from 1922 of what the author collectively refers to as the European branches of the Chinese Communist Organizations (ECCO). We learn of the details surrounding the ideological conversion of such future communist leaders as Zhou Enlai, Cai Hesen and Zhao Shiyan, as well as the full range of ECCO activities, from propaganda work and theoretical study to defending the rights of Chinese labourers in France and relations with the Comintern. At its height in 1925 the ECCO claimed nearly 600 members, and was becoming increasingly focussed on politics in China. Most returned to China by the late

1920s, where they continued to engage in activist politics. While some ECCO members, such as Cai Hesen and Zhao Shiyan, were executed by the Guomindang shortly after their return to China, others went on to play major roles in the communist revolution both before and after 1949. Regarding the critical question of what long-term impact, if any, the European experience imparted upon the individuals concerned or the Chinese communist movement in general, Levine offers several interesting conjectures. She suggests, for example, that ECCO members' greater exposure to European communist parties led them to place greater emphasis upon the role of propaganda and Party discipline and organization in the revolutionary project. She also speculates that overseas experience may have lent ECCO members "a less parochial, broader view of the Chinese scene" (205) than communists — like Mao — who came to power without ever having left China. This reviewer was left with only one regret: since the book ends with the return of ECCO members to China in the late 1920s, it is unable to provide an answer to one of the most intriguing questions to arise from the study, which concerns the role of ECCO personal networks and the possible existence of an "ECCO cohort" in subsequent CCP politics. Levine is aware of this problem, and one hopes that she may take up the question in a future study.

The book contains a full bibliography, complete index, and two valuable appendices, one of biographies of leading Chinese communists, the other a description of major student and political organizations in France and China. In summary, Levine has written a well-researched, cogent study of an important yet neglected aspect of the history of

Chinese communism. China specialists and students of comparative communism alike will benefit from reading this book.

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Susan Herbst, *Numbered Voices: How Opinion Polling has Shaped American Politics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press 1993).

Few can deny the ubiquity of opinion polling in contemporary politics. Political parties conduct polls to "position" themselves on issues, plan electoral strategies, and select leaders. Governments consult pollsters to "test the waters" when adopting new policies. Lobbyists, trade unions, and the media, to list only a few examples, maintain close ties to the polling profession. The technologies of random sampling, survey research, and tele-communications are now indelibly etched onto the fabric of public life, and, consequently, polling and pollsters wield significant influence in civic affairs. For all its modern-day pervasiveness, however, polling has received only haphazard treatment by historians, who typically turn to past polls only to cull opinion figures on topics of inquiry. Similarly, survey researchers when analyzing prior polling generally do so to acquire time-series attitudinal data on contemporary issues, such as defence spending. Compounding this undeveloped historical perspective is the paucity of theoretical work on polling's social and political functions in North American society.

Susan Herbst's book endeavours to advance such a historical and theoretical