
whom he for years had criticized, to take over as the sole leader of the Chinese Communist movement. The reversal was vintage Zhou: Consistently boosting others to the top of the party bureaucracy, he did almost nothing to advance his own position. Yet he alone, among all of Mao's former superiors, "survived as a continuous member of Mao's team." Wilson, former editor of the *China Quarterly*, serves up a full life: Zhou's early years in an impoverished mandarin family; his brilliance as a student, leading to studies in France, where, in 1922, he joined the Communist Party; his role in the Red Army's struggle against, variously, the feudal warlords of Canton, Japanese invaders, and Chiang Kai-shek's Guomindang; his installation as premier of the State Council and minister of foreign affairs when the People's Republic of China was formally created by the triumphant Communists in 1949. Serving ably until his death at age 78, Zhou mixed pragmatism, intelligence, administrative acumen, and a disarming candor to survive in China's shifting political climate. "Zhou never committed the mistake of elevating policies into principles," Wilson writes, "or condemning himself to going into opposition or disgrace, when confessing 'errors' would enable him to hold down his job."

**THE HAYMARKET
TRAGEDY**

by Paul Avrich
Princeton, 1984
535 pp. \$29.50

Among the offshoots of what Richard Hofstadter once described as the "paranoid style" of American politics have been periodic "Red scare" episodes. In this detailed narrative, Queens College historian Avrich investigates the first such scare. It grew out of a workers' protest meeting, organized by anarchists in Chicago's Haymarket Square on May 4, 1886. Near the end of the peaceful gathering, the police inexplicably arrived. When someone hurled a bomb into their ranks, wounding several (of whom seven later died), the police responded by firing blindly into the crowd. The civilian toll: some 40 dead or wounded. Though the bomb thrower was never identified, eight local radicals were



charged with conspiracy. And despite the prosecution's failure to produce any hard evidence linking them to the crime, four of the "Chicago anarchists" were eventually hanged, a fifth committed suicide in prison, and the other three received long prison terms. Behind this miscarriage of justice, Avrich finds, was a widespread fear of nefarious "continental" influences—both of radical European ideas and of the immigrants who brought them to America (five of the defendants were German-born). Anarchism not only challenged Americans' right to property ownership; it called forth the specter of the Paris Commune of 1871, a bloody uprising that briefly threatened France's bourgeois order. Some prominent Americans supported the anarchists, including novelist William Dean Howells, who called the execution "civic murder." Too late for most of the eight men, they were officially exonerated by Illinois governor John Peter Altgeld in 1893.

Arts & Letters

HEROES ARE GRAZING IN MY GARDEN

by Heberto Padilla
Farrar, 1984
250 pp. \$16.95

Fidel Castro's Cuba has not been kind to the artists and writers it once courted. The career of poet Heberto Padilla is a case in point. Recipient of an award from the Cuban Writers Union in 1969, he was jailed two years later, forced to recant his liberal political views, and put under house arrest. Padilla's disenchantment comes through strongly in this novel about two Cuban intellectuals, Julio and Gregorio, both victims of the revolution they once supported. The daily betrayals of the revolutionary ideal by Castro and his inner circle have embittered Gregorio, a writer of great promise; he has taken to the bottle to forget his failing marriage and his inability to write the great Cuban novel. Julio's outspoken criticism of Castro has left him in reduced circumstances: Once a respected intellectual in the Communist Party, he now works as a tour guide and translator. The heart of the novel is the imaginary escapes the