

Book Reviews

Patrolling the Revolution: Worker Militias, Citizenship, and the Modern Chinese State. By ELIZABETH J. PERRY. [Lanham, Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield, 2006. xi + 361 pp. \$39.95. ISBN 0-7425-3918-0.]

The heart of *Patrolling the Revolution* is a comprehensive, exquisitely wrought history of a wide range of institutions in 20th-century China that Elizabeth Perry groups under the umbrella term “militia.” Despite the title, not all of the outfits discussed here actually were even comprised of workers – rural militias and armed groups involving a range of other urban classes also put in their appearances. *Patrolling* covers the full range: armed bands organized, commanded or regulated by political authorities and by citizens opposing them; formal organizations and informal groupings; uniformed and ragtag units; the disciplined and the anarchic; the ephemeral and the ongoing. About the only thing they all have in common, it seems, is that they bear arms but are not in the armed forces. Such catholicity has advantages and disadvantages.

For Perry, militias are a window into several questions that are current in comparative politics: institutional development and change (especially, in this case, from revolutionary to state power); the social bases of social movements (class, community, or what she calls creed); “citizenship,” in this case in the revolution (i.e. who legitimately belongs to the revolutionary movement and the state that issues from it); the wider question, of which the former is a part, of state-society relations; and, finally, the most welcome rise of direct comparison between China and other countries.

With so broad a definition and set of analytical and historical fields, *Patrolling* weaves a rich and varied tapestry. In the 1910s and early 1920s, “worker pickets” (*gongren jiuchadui*) promoted strikes, monitored crowds, and served as bodyguards and jailers. Often self-organized at first, they were soon co-opted variously by Guomindang and Communist leaders, with whom they developed complex relations that Perry fleshes out in fascinating detail. Her discussion of the 1927 Three Armed Uprisings in Shanghai reminds us once again of the Communist Party’s penchant for flexibility – in this case, in mixing class- and community-based approaches to what she calls “revolutionary citizenship,” or what the Party defined as “the people.” The years 1927 to 1949 saw cross-fertilization between the Nationalists’ and Communists’ approaches to arming the people: not only did some militias switch loyalties between the parties, but both parties struggled in similar ways with the dialectic of mobilization by armed supporters and the struggle to control them. Perry also underscores the significant fact that rural militias tended to be state-organized and -led, whereas

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urban ones were more spontaneous in their origins and unruly in their activities.

Militias are also one more lens through which to flesh out the well-known fact that in China there was no simple or sharp distinction between revolutionary politics before 1949 and the politics of state-building thereafter. During the early days of “New Democracy,” just as in previous decades the party organized militias to hunt down spies and various un-co-operative classes and groups, but then soon found itself having to control them. During the strike wave of 1956, workers organized their own armed groups to press their demands and defend their protests, which the government in turn suppressed. Once again the government organized rural militias in the run-up to the Great Leap Forward, which drew criticism from Peng Dehuai when they took up activities such as storming local government offices, but approbation from Mao, who wanted to make “everyone a soldier” (*quanmin jiebing*). During the Leap, the People’s Liberation Army took control of the worker militias. Their protean character, the growing disagreements within the government about their proper role, and the shifting conceptions of “revolutionary citizenship” – from a class-based approach in the early 1950s to a community-based one (“everyone a soldier”) and back again to a class-based approach – all point toward the Cultural Revolution.

Much has been written about armed Red Guard groups of course, but thanks to Perry we now know much more about the role of armed militias as well. Both conservative and rebel sides organized them, with some of those on the left engaging in vigilantism and even terrorism. In Shanghai, the major focus of *Patrolling*, many militia (wo)men were neither party members nor even workers. Militias remained at the centre of the fateful events of 1976: the suppression of the April 5 demonstration in Beijing, and, when he feared their mobilization in Shanghai, Hua Guofeng’s October arrest of the “Gang of Four.”

Readers may be surprised to learn that militias have remained important since 1978. The PLA organized them under its own command, and they were involved in rearguard work during the 1979 fighting with Vietnam, various “strike hard” campaigns, and, more constructively, in public works projects. The labour federation developed its own “worker pickets” to help control urban crime and political protest. And ordinary citizens have gotten in the act too: urbanites organized *ad hoc* militias during the 1989 protests, and workers have formed their own pickets during some protests against factory closures. In light of Perry’s strictly documentary work, interview research on all this could now prove fruitful.

A concluding chapter sketches broad comparisons with militias in the United States, France, Russia and Iran, focusing on revolutionary citizenship and state-society relations. The approach is inductive, drawing out middle-level comparisons rather than broad-gauged theories or models. The results are stimulating, though when all is said

and done they may leave some readers wondering what exactly is gained analytically by lumping together fleeting popular improvisations with official, state-run groups of armed citizens.

Perry's characteristic focus on state-society relations leads her to elide a potentially key question concerning the state itself. The phantom haunting *Patrolling*, who gets nary a mention, is Max Weber. His renowned defining feature of the state is its monopoly on the legitimate use of force. What, then, are militias – at least those not organized by or under the direct control of the state – if not a challenge to the state's very essence? There are serious implications here for legitimacy, institutions, and politics within the state as well as state-society politics. *Patrolling* begins to crack open a door or two to all this – when, for example, Perry discusses the disagreement between Peng Dehuai and Mao. Does the existence of militias undermine the state? (Of course it does.) How does this corrosive effect vary under changing conditions or state forms (e.g. Maoist totalitarianism vs. post-Maoist authoritarianism)? How does the state's response vary accordingly? Of course no author can be faulted for not writing a different book. But good books should raise good questions, and Perry is to be credited with doing just that.

MARC BLECHER

Governing China's Population: From Leninist to Neoliberal Biopolitics.

By SUSAN GREENHALGH and EDWIN A. WINKLER. [Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2005. xiv + 394 pp. \$24.95. ISBN 0-8047-4880-2.]

As the generation of young men and women raised under the single-child family policy reach their child-bearing years it is useful to review the realities of population that brought China's leadership to adopt regulations and penalties that are now part of family planning. In a hefty volume of 394 pages including notes and sources, Greenhalgh and Winkler have provided us with a major analysis.

The co-authors are a duo particularly appropriate to undertake this analysis. They are China scholars who have had experience researching population problems in China. They are well connected with academic, research and governmental personnel in China and the United States. From time to time one of the authors seems to have had responsibility for a portion of the text or for a specific viewpoint. This reviewer did not find such a situation distracting nor was the book's theme compromised. The primary focus and emphasis of this volume is on the "Governing" of population, essentially a domestic Chinese issue. That said, there are a number of occasions where domestic policy has become very controversial for the Chinese and is also the object of strong criticism from the international community.

In the final pages readers will find thoughtful policy recommendations that take account of changes set forth in China and outlined in the volume. They are addressed to the American audience and are hopeful in their content.

The book has two major sections: Part one deals with policy formulation and implementation, and Part two is devoted to social and political consequences. It opens with an introduction, "Population as Politics" (Chapter one), followed by "Problematic: Governmentalization of Population" (Chapter two). These two segments set the goals and general parameters of the work. The second chapter is especially important. It establishes a tone and analytic framework for the co-authors. A careful reading is essential to grasp the relevance of the subtitles in the chapters that follow. There are only eight Tables in the book, but they are important and worth reviewing carefully.

Part one makes very interesting reading. Each one of Chapters three through six draws its title from the post-1949 Chinese leaders, from Mao Zedong to Hu Jintao. The various topic headings from Chapter two are used to link together the population data emerging from census studies coupled with political choices that confronted the major political leader. The authors say the data has become increasingly more accurate (this is not footnoted nor discussed) and hence more powerful in shaping alternatives for the micro and macro policy changes of the post-1949 years. Of course there are references to leadership struggles but they are in the context of "governing population." Emphasis is upon birth control, rewards, penalties, progress in policy implementation and reversals – all set forth with deference to rural-urban experiences, the flow of reward and penalty, moderation and harshness within the context of a specific leader's exercise of power. These chapters are well written, the judgments of the authors are clear and the detail, particularly with respect to Mao and his immediate successors, engrossing. A graduate student will find this section particularly valuable.

The second portion of the book, Chapters seven through nine, in contrast to Part one, is problem-focused. The same historical period covered in Part one is the backdrop for the analysis. The role of leaders in initiating, supporting and weakening a policy is outlined but the emphasis is on population governance itself and the groups, institutions and general themes such as "science" related to governance. The topics covered in the three chapter topics are: "The Shifting Local Politics of Population;" "Restratifying Chinese Society" and "Remaking China's Politics and Global Position." Political scientists will be especially interested in these matters. Chapter eight is a powerful indictment of the Chinese birth policy for its harsh treatment of women; a harshness that the author acknowledges has moderated slightly in recent years. The evidence of moderation is the fact that more attention is now paid to women's

health and education as part of the effort to raise the quality of the Chinese citizenry.

Readers will have some criticism of the volume. Some will find the references to Foucault unnecessary or perhaps undeveloped in the text itself. The foreign policy discussion in the final segment, though understandable, seems slightly out of place with the thrust of the book. A brief discussion of the important though limited statistical data would have been welcome.

Despite these few quarrels, this is an admirable piece of work, very informative and well organized, especially in light of the complicated history of the matter. It is strong in analysis and this reviewer found it even-handed despite some obviously provocative data. The sophistication of the discussion with respect to ethical matters adds to the overall value of the work.

JOYCE K. KALLGREN

Fertility, Family Planning, and Population Policy in China. Edited by DUDLEY L. POSTEN, JR, CHE-FU LEE, CHIUNG-FANG CHANG, SHERRY L. MCKIBBEN and CAROL S. WALTHER. [London and New York: Routledge, 2006. xvi + 192 pp. £65.00. ISBN 0-415-32330-4.]

Published in the very fine series on Asia's Transformations edited by Mark Selden, this book is a comprehensive compendium on China's population policies, family planning programmes and the determinants of fertility reduction over the past 30 years. The volume's papers were first presented at a meeting of the North American Chinese Sociologists Association in 2001 and now, further developed, are here published in this informative and suggestive book. In the first substantive chapter, Qiusheng Liang and Che-Fu Lee systematically review the evolution of government policies over the past five decades in order to investigate the relation between policy formulation and implementation at different points in time since the 1950s and to frame the ensuing 11 discussions of China's more contemporary fertility policies and trends.

Part one of this book examines family planning policy and contraceptive use over recent decades with special emphasis given to patterns of induced abortion (Juan Wu and Carol Walther) and sterilisation (Can Liu and Chiung-Fang Chang). These papers suggest that induced abortion became the primary form of birth control for some women and that sterilization contributed significantly to China's fertility decline. Both chapters also point to the importance of contraceptive knowledge and to improved communication between clients and providers in achieving more of an "informed choice." Part two turns to family and marriage patterns with particular reference to

family structure (Feinian Chen), marriage patterns of minority nationality women (Chiung-Fang Chang), premarital conception (Carol Walther) and desired number of children and gender preference (Li Zhang, Xiaotian Fang and Qingsong Zhang). Some of the interesting findings of these chapters suggest that, in addition to co-residence of the different generations, “quasi” forms of co-residence made up of separate households with the generations living in close proximity also have a clear impact on the transition to first-birth; that minority nationality women who marry exogamously have lower levels of fertility than those who marry within the same ethnic group; that there is a positive correlation between both sex education and the “new” behaviour of peers and high rates of pre-marital conception; and that there has been a decline in desired number of children and in son preference from the 1970s to the 1990s in both rural and urban areas.

Part three moves to a consideration of a number of biological and sociological determinants of fertility with Sherry McKibben’s paper suggesting that the age of menarche has a consistently significant and positive effect on the timing of first births among both Han and high-fertility minority nationality women. In terms of the relationships between migration and fertility, Xiuhong You and Dudley Posten show that, after controlling for relevant factors, rural to urban floating migrants have lower fertility than those left behind. The final paper in this section suggests that language dialect and access to the mass media appear to affect fertility for Xiaodong Wang and Xiuhong You find that Mandarin-speaking populations have fewer births and that there is a significant negative relationship between the percentage of households with television sets and fertility levels.

Finally, the papers in Part four evaluate the effects of birth control policies in the past and project trends into the future. Che-Fu Lee and Qiusheng Liang calculate that China’s population today is at least 500 million less than it might have been and suggest that birth control policies over the past three decades account for more than half of the reduced population growth. For the future, Dudley Poston and Karen Glover examine the likely effect of China’s present sex ratios at birth on the marriage market and estimate that there is a surplus of some 23 million boys who will not be able to find brides when they reach marriageable age. They go on to suggest that such an excess of bachelors is likely to have several social and political repercussions for China in future decades. In this vein, perhaps a chapter on the dependency ratios ensuing from the fall of fertility and their implications for China’s ageing society and elder care might have been added here.

This book brings together a wealth of data on policy implementation, fertility trends and relations between fertility and a wide variety of variables thereby raising a number of interesting demographic, socio-economic and political issues. Many of the authors are young doctoral students or faculty staff residing in the United States, hence

many of the papers have the detailed documentation and data analysis associated with doctoral theses while others are more discursive and conjectural. All are suggestive in their findings and interpretations and whether or not the reader agrees with some of the interpretations in this book, the data and findings will be welcomed by a wide variety of students, researchers and policy makers who have an interest in demographic and social trends in contemporary China.

ELISABETH J. CROLL

China's Rise, Taiwan's Dilemmas and International Peace. Edited by EDWARD FRIEDMAN. [London and New York: Routledge, 2006. xxv + 252 pp. £70.00. ISBN 0-415-70185-6.]

This edited volume addresses the dilemmas facing Taiwan as a consequence of the economic and military rise of China and Chinese nationalism. The editor, Edward Friedman, should be commended for gathering together some of the world's leading Taiwan scholars to produce a valuable addition to the literature on cross-Straits relations.

The book is far more than just a collection of revised academic conference papers. It sets out a highly admirable and ambitious goal, to contribute towards cross-Straits peace and understanding. Many of the chapters challenge the Beijing version of cross-Straits tensions, which lays the blame on the provocative actions of Taiwan's last two presidents. By looking at the issue from the angle of Taiwanese politicians and voters, the authors show how China's tough policies towards Taiwan have been counter-productive. Not only have these policies alienated the Taiwanese, but also damaged China's security and US-China relations. The authors also make concrete suggestions for how both the People's Republic of China (PRC) and Taiwan can reduce tensions and promote long-term peace. Therefore, in addition to sinologists the book should be required reading for journalists covering East Asian affairs and policy makers in Washington and China.

The volume is especially strong at debunking the Beijing narrative on Taiwan. In the first substantive chapter, Masahiro Wakabayashi reveals how the growth of Taiwanese identity was not simply the product of the machinations of Lee Teng-hui. Instead he explains how Taiwanese nationalism has developed in the island's modern history in relation to "the unforgettable others," Japan and China. Many of the authors are also convincing in their argument of the high costs of Beijing's "nasty nationalism," military threats and isolation of Taiwan. Denis Hickey's chapter reveals how the PRC has blocked Taiwan from joining the World Health Organization (WHO) and how this damaged the Taiwanese government's ability to tackle the SARS epidemic. According to Hickey, Beijing's stance "is making it far more

difficult for China to win the trust and respect of the Taiwanese people” (p. 80). In a similar vein, Jean-Pierre Cabestan shows the price the PRC has paid for its attempts to marginalize and militarily threaten Taiwan into submission. Not only has this united the Taiwanese public against China’s “one country, two systems” formula and made effective government to government communication between Taiwan and China almost impossible, but it has also weakened the PRC’s security. As Cabestan explains, “China’s growing military pressure has forced the United States ... [to] replace strategic ambiguity with a growing support for Taiwan’s external security and separate (but not formally independent) existence” (p. 228).

Many of the authors make practical suggestions for both the Taiwanese and Chinese governments over how to reduce tensions. For instance, Vincent Wang proposes finding a compromise that would offer Taiwan greater international space by decoupling Taiwan’s admission to international government organizations from diplomatic recognition. As Wang argues, the isolationist policy actually damages the prospects for peaceful reunification, as it “stokes Taiwanese nationalism” (p. 169). Nevertheless, the authors agree that Taiwan also needs to make a contribution to any future compromises. For instance, Cabestan suggests that the Pan Green leaders should be discouraged from “stimulating Taiwanese nationalism and concentrating their efforts on an illusionary reintegration of Taiwan as an independent state in the international community” (p. 244). For the sake of cross-Straits peace, it can only be hoped that the volume does reach the attention of policy makers in the Taiwan–China–US triangle.

Many academic edited volumes are just loose collections of papers that may or may not address a vague theme. In contrast, in this volume the contributors have kept focused on the core theme and there is valuable cross-referencing between chapters. Almost all the chapters examine cross-Straits relations from a long-term historical perspective, something which should also add to the book’s shelf life. Also a number of chapters address areas of cross-Straits relations that have received less attention in the past. Thus the five chapters on Taiwan’s involvement with international organizations distinguish this collection from rival publications on cross-Straits relations. Another strong point of this volume is that a number of the chapters employ new and previously unpublished material. For instance, Denis Hickey uses extensive interview data from fieldwork in Taiwan to show the dilemmas created by Taiwan’s exclusion from the WHO.

In spite of the many merits of this volume, there are a number of aspects that could have been improved. There was too much overlap and repeating of material, particularly in the five chapters on Taiwan’s involvement in international organizations. The one chapter that did not fit in well was Hu Wei-xing’s contribution, “The political-economic paradox and Beijing’s strategic options.” The tone of much

of Hu's chapter appears to reinforce the Beijing narrative on cross-Strait relations, thus is out of synch with the other chapters. The distinction between Part two (Taiwan's dilemmas) and Part three (China's rise and international peace) is not clear. Chapters eight to nine could also have fitted in well to Part three. A number of important aspects on cross-Strait relations received little attention. The massive Taiwanese migration to the Shanghai region and phenomenon of Mainland Brides in Taiwan receive only passing mention. Thus a chapter on the impact of the population migration (in both directions) across the Strait would have been useful.

There have been significant developments in cross-Strait relations since the final draft of the volume was completed, in particular the passage of the Anti-Succession Law and the visits of Taiwan's main opposition party leaders to the PRC in 2005 and 2006. Recent developments do cast some doubt on some of the authors' conclusions. In chapter two, Hu Wei-xing argues that, "the attachment to the 'One China' framework for cross-Strait relations is disappearing, and Taipei, no matter which party is in power, will eventually turn its *de facto* independence into a *de jure* one" (pp. 32–33). However, since 2005, the policy pronouncements by both Lien Chan and Ma Ying-jeou reveal the KMT has forsaken policy ambiguity and returned to an acceptance of "One China" (the ROC definition) and clear opposition to Taiwan independence. Nevertheless, the long-term and historical approach taken by the authors of *China's Rise, Taiwan's Dilemmas and International Peace* should ensure that this volume remains a valuable source for understanding the dynamics of cross-Strait relations long after its publication.

DAFYDD FELL

Technological Superpower China. By JON SIGURDSON, JIANG JIANG, KONG XINXIN, WANG YONGZHONG and TANG YULI. [Cheltenham, Glos. and Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar, 2005. xviii + 347 pp. £75.00. ISBN 1-84542-376-3.]

In January 2006, China convened a national conference to announce the initiation of a 15-year plan for the development of science and technology. The plan is intended to make China a world leader in scientific research and technological innovation by the year 2020. The plan follows a decade of rapidly improving scientific and technological capabilities which follow China's economic growth and support the transformation of the country's economy towards one of increasing complexity and sophistication. Developments such as these have led observers around the world to ask whether the early 21st century will mark the emergence of China as a technological

superpower. Jon Sigurdson, a long-time observer of technological trends in China, and his collaborators, conclude – with important qualifications – that it is reasonable to expect that China will assume this role in the coming 15 years.

After an initial overview chapter, Sigurdson *et al.* take us through the conditions that have helped create these emerging new capabilities. In two chapters, they review the importance of the reforms in the science and technology system which began in the mid-1980s, the initiation of national research and development programmes and programmes for human resource development over the past 20 years, and the critical contributions to technological development from international technology transfers via foreign direct investment and other mechanisms. Subsequent chapters deal with the growing importance of research and innovation activities in the Chinese industry, successes in the information and communications technology (ICT) fields, a review of trends in other technologies, including biotechnology, and an assessment of the science and technology supporting China's space programme and defence industries. The authors devote a chapter to the emergence of regional innovation systems in south China, the lower Changjiang region, and along the Beijing–Tianjin axis, and present a separate chapter on Shanghai's future as a “knowledge city.” The study draws both on documentary materials and on a large number of interviews and site visits made by the principal author.

Readers are likely to conclude at various points in the text that the book manuscript would have profited from another round of revisions, and tighter editing, before going to press. There are a number of frustrating organizational problems in the presentation of the author's arguments and supporting evidence, including unnecessary repetitions, and a logic-defying tendency to jump from topic to topic within chapters. Nevertheless, this is a valuable study, in no small part because of the principal author's extensive experience in observing technological development in China over many years, and the comparative perspectives he brings to the study from important work he has done on technological trends in Japan and elsewhere. Among the more important contributions are the case studies the authors present of individual companies, and of particular reform experiences in the ICT area, and the ways in which policy, entrepreneurship, human resource development, higher education and knowledge creation come together in virtuous cycles in particular locations, such as their interesting account of developments in the city of Ningbo. These case materials – by providing concrete examples of industrial innovation – are especially useful in helping us interpret the often puzzling official statistical data on trends in research and innovation activities in Chinese industry. Their discussions of regional innovation systems are also useful in reminding us that studies of Chinese science and technology policies which focus only on national trends may obscure what may be more important and complex

realities at the sub-national level. Throughout, the enduring problems China faces in realizing its technological aspirations – the protection of intellectual property, the cultivation of high-quality technical manpower, the building of managerial capabilities in Chinese enterprises, etc. – are not overlooked. A bit more might have been said about the global implications of China's becoming a technological superpower.

Studies of Chinese science and technology, once confined to an obscure corner of the China studies field, are beginning to appear with greater frequency; the subject is one which is being discovered by China specialists and non-China specialists alike. Not surprisingly, analyses of it range from the highly sophisticated to the largely uninformed. This knowledgeable book by Sigurdson and his collaborators is a solid contribution to this emerging corpus of work, and clearly belongs at the former end of the spectrum.

RICHARD P. SUTTMEIER

Historicizing Online Politics: Telegraphy, the Internet and Political Participation in China. By ZHOU YONGMING. [Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2006. xi + 290 pp. \$24.95. ISBN 0-8047-5128-5.]

While the Great Firewall of China routinely makes the headlines, Zhou Yongming's essay comes in a timely manner to remind us of the breadth and scope of Internet studies in China. The book examines the relationship between information technology and politics in modern China. The author's avowed aim is to historicize and contextualize the study of Internet in China. Zhou proposes a counter-analysis to the prevalent technological deterministic view of the medium (i.e. that a society's technology determines its cultural values, social structure or history). Instead, he offers a socio-technological angle (technology does not determine human action, but human action shapes technology). Zhou thinks that Internet research on China must be viewed as a historically specific phenomenon (hence the comparison between similar technologies in different historical contexts).

The study is concerned both with how citizens use technology to participate in politics and how the government tries to regulate and control technology.

The structure of the book runs along the two technologies. The first half is devoted to the history and use of telegraphy in politics. Whereas adoption of telegraphy lagged by three decades its introduction in China, it is interesting to notice the parallel between telegraphy and telecommunication when it comes to policy implementation at the central and local level. The book then proceeds to

describe the impact of telegraphy on the press (political news dissemination) and the role of telegraphy in politics (circular telegram). The telegraph provided a new means both of governance and of political participation. To make his point, Zhou makes use of two case studies (Chinese exclusion treaty with the ensuing Anti-American Mobilization and the Railway-Rights Recovery Movement), concluding that the public telegram must be seen as a means of political communication.

The second half deals with the Internet. Zhou first reviews the early development of the Internet in China, which can be summarized by the government's proactive development and control. Zhou correctly points out that the control mechanism does not differ from other media, such as newspapers, radio or TV. It is also ironic to note the measures taken by the Qing court to regulate telegraphy at the level of infrastructure, service and content. In other words, if history does not repeat itself, one gets a sense of *déjà vu*. Zhou then goes into three detailed case-studies: intellectual websites (Realm of Ideas, Formalization of Ideas and Century China), private online writers (*minjian*) and military websites.

The author mixes Chinese and Western sources, historical accounts, sociological influence (Habermas and Geertz), and newspapers (*Shanghai Xinbao*, *Shenbao*). In addition, the author makes ample use of detailed case studies. The survey of Bulletin Board Systems (BBS) and online forums as well as face-to-face interviews with well-known cyber-activists (like Michael Anti or Ji An) offers an interesting angle to the study of the role of the Internet in China's political participation. The choice of those niche forums (e.g. military communities) almost automatically leads to the idea that online political participation circles around nationalism. Unfortunately, one is left wondering what the advent of the Internet means for the other 90 million users when it comes to voicing and/or forming their political views. This question is by no means easy to answer and future researchers will have to devise complementary tools to capture the phenomenon.

At times, the reader may feel overwhelmed by the details of the case studies. Though presenting an interest, the detailed historical facts tend to obscure the central thesis of the book: it is politics that determines how a technology is used, not the other way around.

Both technologies undoubtedly have a lot in common. One is nonetheless left with a number of questions: can one really compare the Internet and telegraphy since both have a different architecture (distributed vs. centralized)? Does the speed of dissemination really matter when it comes to political participation? Does the Internet play the role of both telegraph and newspaper?

An interesting point is raised through the statement that the Chinese adopted the circular telegram as a form of political participation "when telegraphy and modern newspapers were harnessed in tandem." This leaves the reader wondering whether

such a moment will come for the Internet: for example, by linking the Internet and mobile telephony.

Zhou acknowledges that the newspapers made the communication-decision structure more open and recognizes that the public telegram was an effective way – but by no means decisive – of conveying political information.

The book suffers from a number of problems. First, there is a slight imbalance in the treatment of technologies and the avowed aim to use telegraphy as the basis to study the Internet turns into a lengthy discussion of the former. Given the book's aim to discuss the role of the Internet in political participation, one can regret the lengthy section on telegraphy in spite of such interesting discussions as public telegraphy as a new *genre* in the press or how and by whom telegraphy was used. Secondly, a number of “controversial” assertions (e.g. p. 86 issuing public circular telegrams thus seems to have become the most important way of expressing public opinion at this time) weaken the overall argument. Perhaps the most surprising facet of the book stems from the addition of a discussion on Chinese nationalism throughout the book. While not devoid of interest, the theoretical section would have better served the book if placed earlier in the text. Finally, one could regret that the blogging phenomenon has not been more explicitly included in the essay. That said, Zhou's essay remains a very detailed and valuable piece of research on the history of information technologies in China.

MARC LAPERROUZA

Interfirm Relations under Late Industrialization in China: The Supplier System in the Motorcycle Industry. By MORIKI OHARA. [Chiba: Institute of Developing Economies/Japan External Trade Organization; Tokyo: Institute of Developing Economies, 2006. 154 pp. ¥2,900. ISBN 4-258-52040-3.]

Moriki Ohara's account of the Chinese motorcycle industry reaffirms a widespread observation: the Chinese economy may be strong, but Chinese firms remain weak. Chinese motorcycle companies produce half of global motorcycle output and lead the world in export volumes, but their products are shoddy knockoffs of small, old Japanese bikes. Ohara explains this weakness by contrasting two ideal-typical types. *Unified* assemblers, exemplified by Honda and three other Japanese motorcycle giants, invest in upgrading the capacities of their suppliers and absorb some of the risk of investing in new engines, models and technologies. In contrast, the Chinese industry is characterized by hundreds of *isolated* producers with little capacity or inclination to engage with suppliers in quality control or joint development of new products.

Interfirm Relations supports this thesis with a succinct but informed overview of theories of assembler-supplier relations and two rounds of surveys covering three major Chinese assemblers and dozens of their suppliers. It is short, clearly written (if a bit dry), with careful definitions and numerous clear diagrams to elucidate the relevant economic theory, the technology of motorcycles and the structure of the Chinese industry. It should provide excellent materials for a variety of graduate or upper-division courses in economics, business, sociology and political economy.

As a description, the book is excellent. Perhaps inevitably, the logic of the argument is open to greater debate. On the one hand, the author claims that Japanese firms have a decisive advantage in “major change” innovation. Yet he also emphasizes that decades of incremental efforts by Japanese makers have raised motorcycles to a high state of perfection, leaving Chinese firms little room to innovate on such a mature product. But if even designing new engines is largely incremental, the gap between the Japanese and Chinese producers may not be as great as he suggests. Second, the author is vague about when the logic of unification leads to close ties with suppliers, and when it results in actual vertical integration. Korea’s leading auto producer Hyundai, for example, repeatedly tried and failed to imitate Japan by building co-operative relations with external suppliers, but it has improved quality and developed key technologies by relying on itself and a handful of closely-held suppliers, especially Hyundai Mobis. Japan’s is not the only road to success in industries characterized by incremental innovation, and the Korean approach may be more viable for many Chinese producers.

Particularly important for the study of China is vagueness about why Chinese firms have remained stuck in an inferior “isolated” mode. The author focuses mainly on demand. Low income levels in China and major export markets such as Nigeria make price-cutting a dominant strategy, while the rapid but unstable growth of demand has made it difficult to establish co-operative relations: in good times, one or both sides fails to expand capacity rapidly enough, opening a space for competitors or new entrants, while downturns strain or break formerly close relations. He also notes, however, problems specific to transitional economies, such as the cavalier behaviour of many state-owned enterprises toward their suppliers, as well as the weakness of the rule of law in China. He devotes only two lines (pp. 27, 91) to a crucial reason for the predominance of price-cutting over quality and innovation: starting in the mid-1990s, a growing number of Chinese cities (170 at last count) banned or restricted use of motorcycles, ensuring that the bulk of demand issued from China’s poorest areas.

A second area of concern is the failure to explore thoroughly the broader applicability of the thesis across time, industries, and countries. Especially striking is ambiguity about change over time. The author’s initial round of interviews focused on the most

important parts of the industry in the late 1990s, especially state-owned enterprises in Chongqing and Shandong. He admits, however, that by 2003 private firms led the industry, and Guangdong and Jiangsu-Zhejiang surpassed Shandong and rivalled Chongqing as production bases. On the next to last page (p. 132) he notes the emergence of a clear industry leader (Guangdong's Grand River) which looks quite Japanese in its emphasis on product quality and co-operation with suppliers. The author clings to a stark contrast between the unified and isolated models even though his own evidence suggests that the gap has narrowed considerably.

Despite the acuity of Ohara's observations, recent developments suggest that both diagnosis and prognosis are off the mark. The biggest problem with Chinese motorcycles is not production methods, whether unified or isolated, for quality is improving and the dearth of major changes does not matter to most consumers, but weak marketing and unreliable after-sales service, especially for exports. Moreover, both firms and government are taking action to improve the level of the industry. Further tightening of emissions, safety and export standards, and stricter implementation of intellectual property laws, has resulted in the elimination of dozens of low-end assemblers. The biggest increases in China's booming export of motorcycles come from Europe and North America, where requirements for quality, design and brands are far stiffer than in Nigeria. Chinese producers, led by private firms, are increasing R&D and moving upstream. Zongshen, the only private firm among the three assemblers studied by Ohara, has increased in-house parts production, enticed suppliers to its industrial park, and formed a joint venture with Italy's Piaggio, maker of the Vespa brand. Zhejiang's Qianjiang has purchased Benelli, a storied Italian maker of big motorcycles. Loncin (Longxin), a private maker from Chongqing, is exporting 650cc engines to Germany's BMW, and has formed an alliance with Taiwan's leading motorcycle firm Kymco (Guangyang). Lifan, the third major private motorcycle firm in Chongqing, has made an impressive entry into automobile production. Powerful independent suppliers are also emerging. Contra Ohara, Chinese motorcycle firms are indeed moving upstream. Honda's leadership will probably remain safe for the foreseeable future, but Yamaha, Suzuki, and Kawasaki may not loom as large in a decade.

With its meticulous fieldwork and careful, if narrow, application of economic theory, *Interfirm Relations* constitutes a welcome contribution to the study of Chinese industry and political economy. At the same time, in its insistence on the unique superiority of Japanese approaches and its reluctance to acknowledge fully the diversity and dynamism of Chinese industry, this volume from the Japan External Trade Organization may provide an unintended insight into Sino-Japanese relations.

GREGORY W. NOBLE

Discovering Environmentalism: Globalization and Environmental Culture in China and Taiwan. By ROBERT P. WELLER. [New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006. viii + 189 pp. £15.99. ISBN 0-521-54841-1.]

It has become a truism that the environment's loss is environmentalism's gain. Robert P. Weller's slim but dense study seeks to explain the emergence of environmentalism on the two sides of the Taiwan Straits during the 1980s. With little reference to such "objective" factors as industrialization, damaging technologies or population pressure, he uses an anthropologist's lens to investigate how the forces of globalization have influenced traditional concepts of nature, the environment and human-nature relations. The book is as much a theoretical argument about the dynamics of globalization as it is an empirical study of changed understandings of nature in China and Taiwan.

Weller began his research hoping to find "an alternative Chinese environmentalism, a variation on the theme of local resistance to the global juggernaut." Instead, he found a complex web of interconnections, interactions and exchanges that challenges simplistic notions of globalization as a unitary, top-down force emanating from Hollywood or Western corporate boardrooms.

Chapters on globalization theory, traditional Chinese culture and Western ideas about nature and modernity set the scene for case studies of nature tourism, environmental movements and policy implementation. While Weller's review of the globalization debate will be familiar to anyone with a basic international relations background, it establishes a context for Weller's core argument that "cultural globalization is a multi-vocal argument among many people with different interests, different access to the mechanisms of cultural production, and different amounts of power to impose their views" (p. 164).

Weller's historical overview of Chinese attitudes toward "nature" surveys such traditional beliefs as anthropocosmic relations between humans and the heavens (*tian*), Buddhist biocentrism, and the power of the periphery in the face of central control. Weller touches on lunar calendar divinations, *fengshui*, and the symbolic significance of consuming foods that seem strange to Westerners (pangolin, fungus-parasitized caterpillars and "living fish"). This chapter should make a fine course assignment for undergraduates being introduced to the fascinations of Chinese culture.

An additional introductory section on more recent conceptions of nature alternates between Western and Chinese attitudes, including emerging modernist projects of nature-conquest and pastoralist concepts of nature for its own sake.

The case studies are even more interesting than the theoretical argument about globalization. It is significant (if not surprising) that Taiwan's national park system was influenced by the US wilderness model while the PRC has looked toward a UN template which uses buffer zones and sustainably managed harvesting to reduce negative

impacts of nature reserves upon local communities. Similarly important is the endurance of local political and cultural practices that have little to do with imported notions of environmentalism, such as the preference for political over legal solutions to environmental disputes and the prevalence of ritualized political protests, common on both sides of the Straits, involving three stages of petitioning, blockading of roads leading to overfilled garbage dumps or polluting factories, and compensation-seeking. There is also a delightful discussion of the nominally illegal practice of collecting “weird rocks” from riverbeds in parks.

Discovering Environmentalism has an important message for environmentalists in the discussion of lack of interest in “environmental” matters in regions untouched by global environmental discourse. Such issues mean little in these contexts; related values can be elicited only if framed in terms of local temples, *fengshui*, food, and direct economic costs and benefits. This insight has much to teach those in the West who are now reaching beyond “environmentalist” constituencies in an effort to mainstream concern about the future of the planet.

Finally, a few complaints: the book transits between sections concerning the mainland and concerning Taiwan, but *pinyin* is throughout (to the point that Kaohsiung is spelled Gaoxiong), making it difficult to remember which side of the Straits we are on. Then, there is definitional murkiness about what is included in “environmental culture” – at one point, Weller distinguishes, peculiarly, between environmental issues and pollution issues (it might have helped to distinguish between “green” and “brown” issues, or “sources” and “sinks”). Finally, disappointingly, during the discussion of the Caohai Nature Reserve he dismisses as outside the scope of the book the entire discourse around development – which is nowadays increasingly understood as inextricable from that of environmental protection.

But these are quibbles about a fine book that makes a welcome contribution to our understanding of the dynamics of globalization and of the dissemination of ideas concerning the natural environment.

JUDITH SHAPIRO

Health Care in Rural China: Lessons from HeBei Province. By OFRA ANSON and SHIFANG SUN. [Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005. x + 259 pp. £53.50. ISBN 0-7546-4271-2.]

Health Care Transition in Urban China. Edited by GERALD BLOOM and SHENGLAN TANG. [Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004. xxii + 228 pp. £55.00. ISBN 0-7546-3966-5.]

China’s health system has been much researched since the early 1990s, but findings are often published in health journals not read by China

specialists, and there have been no recent books on the subject. These two fascinating volumes, on rural and urban health respectively, are therefore very welcome. Though different in overall approach and in time-span, they both combine use of secondary sources with case studies of particular localities, and taken together provide a very good picture of population health, health services provision, and access to health care in rural and urban China, particularly in the 1990s.

Anson and Sun present a comprehensive account that spans the period 1949 to present and looking broadly at health, health services provision and health inequalities. They integrate an extensive secondary literature review with their own empirical research in rural Hebei in the late 1990s. Their aim is to explore the ideological, political, economic, social and cultural processes that shape access to health care; the behaviour patterns of health professionals and the sick; and inequalities in health and the provision of health care. After a scene-setting chapter that sets out the development of rural health services from 1949 and the economic and social context in which health care needs to be understood, Chapter two establishes the health status (for example life expectancy, mortality) of the Chinese population in comparison with seven other Asian countries and then the resources, including investment and medical professionals devoted to health care. Chapter four then looks at China's health successes, particularly in the first three decades after 1949, and current "challenges" from tackling infectious diseases such as malaria and HIV/AIDS to non-communicable diseases such as those arising from pollution and injury. Chapters five and six examine patterns of health care provision and health-seeking behaviour using a combination of fascinating qualitative interview and quantitative survey data from Hebei province. Chapters seven and eight examine the particular situation and needs of women and the elderly respectively.

Bloom and Tang's edited volume is the product of a study of health services reform and the impact on health inequalities in urban Nantong (Jiangsu) and Zibo (Shandong). It is less wide-ranging in its use of secondary literature and sticks more closely to its primary material. Its focus is also more narrowly on the 1990s. Two introductory chapters set out the broad context of health reforms, covering ground that is now well established and understood but nevertheless useful for readers new to the subject. The first sets China's health reforms in the context of China's economic, social and demographic transformations. The second chapter reviews the main reform initiatives in the context of the pre-reform period. Two further chapters then introduce the case study cities (Chapter three) and their health systems (Chapter four). Chapters five to seven use quantitative and qualitative data to examine access and use of health care services, the impact of reform on vulnerable groups, changing patterns of vulnerability, and how vulnerable households cope with poor health. A fascinating conceptual chapter discusses gender, vulnerability and health reform. Two data-rich chapters then probe the situation of

hospitals, looking at how the services they provide have changed and why. While not all of these latter two chapters generate new understanding, they are a clear and cogent exposition of the crux of China's problems in improving the quality, efficiency and equality of provision: the need for better regulation of hospitals, more use of primary and community care and wider participation in basic health insurance. Anson and Sun do discuss many of the problems in rural health provision caused by privatization and lack of health insurance. But their analysis is overall relatively upbeat. Surprisingly, they pay little attention to the failed efforts to establish rural collective health protection. And a major conclusion from their Hebei research is that in the absence of such health protection schemes and in the context of privatization of services, ability to pay has had a lower than expected effect on the health-seeking behaviour of rural dwellers; instead "it was the perceived health needs that determined the utilization of primary and, though to a lesser degree, secondary health services" (p. 128). This is surprising and counter to prevailing expectations. The Bloom and Tang research team's findings argue by contrast, that in urban areas "poverty is ... seen to reduce access to health services, with utilization rates considerably lower than for other household groups" (p. 109) and that cost is the most important barrier to people seeking treatment for their illnesses. Anson and Sun do not tell us enough about their methods, for example the details of their survey of health care users, for us to be able to judge the robustness of their findings. But their attention to psychological and cultural factors may have uncovered more subtle ways in which absence of collective health protection affects perceptions of ill health and, in turn, health-seeking behaviour.

The Bloom and Tang collection's conclusions are oriented toward improving health policy making and practical interventions and in that sense are positive and forward-looking rather than dwelling on the interconnected problems they identify in (a) inequalities in access to services, (b) poor health insurance coverage, (c) continuing cost escalation, (d) poor hospital regulation, and (d) public under-investment. While their recommendations are important, their implementation will depend as much on political imperatives as they will on administrative and fiscal capacity.

For both books, there have been some developments since their empirical research was conducted from the late 1990s to 2001, but most of their findings will still hold. Taken together they provide a good overview of health provision and its problems in rural and urban China together with case studies that ably demonstrate the variety and complexity of the situation even across the richer areas on which they focus. Both books will be of use to all those interested in understanding China's health system and the problems it faces, not only students of China, but those interested from a comparative perspective in other transition and developing countries. Journalists, policy makers and practitioners internationally will also find the

books of use. Anson and Sun's impressive review of the secondary literature and discussion of the health status of the population will be particularly useful to those not familiar with work published in journals not often read by China specialists. The Bloom and Tang volume's closer focus on health services and access to them will be of particular interest to policy makers and health practitioners working on health services in China and other parts of the developing world.

JANE DUCKETT

Education and Social Change in China: Inequality in a Market Economy. Edited by GERARD A. POSTIGLIONE. [Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, 2006. xiii + 207 pp. \$28.95. ISBN 0-7656-1477-4.]

Those researching contemporary Chinese society often feel compelled to balance critical rigour against politic restraint. One or two contributors to this volume struggle to reconcile these contradictory demands, but overall the tactful language does not unduly blur the (constructively) critical message. The fact that the Communist regime itself has recently made the tackling of social inequality a top political priority renders their task here considerably easier than it might have been several years ago. Thus the concluding sentence of Chapter one – “Schooling in China’s socialist market economy has to better ensure that educational choices are not only improved by market forces but also more widely and fairly accessible to underserved groups, if it is to stay in line with the socialist values that underlay the system” (p. 19) – would these days hardly look out of place in a *People’s Daily* editorial. Nonetheless, this volume offers a clear, considered and much-needed reminder of the scale of the challenge confronting educators and policymakers, and will be essential reading not only for those researching education, but also for scholars and students from whatever disciplinary background who are concerned with the broader issue of social inequality in China.

In an introductory essay on “Schooling and Inequality in China,” Postiglione attributes the phenomenon of widening social inequality to “the experience with market forces within an expanding global economy” (p. 5) as well as to an “easing of pressure on the central government over the responsibility to ensure equity and access” (p. 3). At the same time, he is at pains to acknowledge the educational achievements of the Communist regime, insisting that “China’s accomplishment in making education available to its massive population has been nothing short of astonishing, especially when compared with other developing countries” (p. 3).

Heidi Ross then offers an incisive critique of the discourse surrounding women and development, showing how a post-Mao resurgence of more “traditional” indigenous attitudes has interacted

with elements of the “developmentalism” associated with the UN’s “Millennium Development Goals.” She shows how the latter’s essentially utilitarian narrative of female education as “the magic bullet of development” has combined with “strong China nationalism” and the “naturalisation of gender” to legitimize a vision of women as patriotically committed to the goals of national development, while loyally subservient to their menfolk. In China today, women are generally expected to ask not what development can do for them, but what they can do for development.

The third chapter features a similarly illuminating analysis of a neglected aspect of educational development – health. Shengchao Yu and Emily Hannam draw attention to the commonsensical but too-seldom-remarked fact that children malnourished or diseased as a consequence of poverty and lack of basic healthcare cannot be expected to benefit fully from access to education, even where this is available.

By contrast, in Chapter four, “Tibetan Girls’ Education: Challenging Prevailing Theory,” it is not entirely clear what, if any, theory the author, Vilma Seeberg, is challenging, since her central assertion – that “girls are the most active allies [Education For All] has in the struggle to overcome impediments to education and development” (p. 76) – is, as Ross’ chapter shows, already the established international orthodoxy. While lavishing praise on the girls of her study for their determined struggle against “patriarchy” and poverty, Seeberg notes merely in passing that the rapid social changes of recent years have in many ways proved more disorienting for male than for female Tibetans. Despite the fact that this finding might really “challenge prevailing theory,” she fails to explore its implications, instead dismissing Tibetan male “gender identity” as “less than viable” (p. 85). Meanwhile, she insists on using the Chinese term *Zang* rather than its English equivalent “Tibetan,” uses “Xizang” instead of “The Tibetan Autonomous Region,” and at one point juxtaposes “Zangyu [Tibetan] and Hanyu (mainstream Chinese)” (p. 90). No explanation is offered for this terminological idiosyncrasy, leaving one to conclude that Seeberg is simply pandering to the political proclivities of a “mainstream Chinese” readership.

A jointly-authored chapter by Postiglione, Ben Jiao and Sonam Gyatso offers a more balanced assessment of the educational challenges facing rural Tibetans. The authors note that the Tibetan commitment to schooling is undermined by, amongst other factors, the remoteness of much of curricular content from community life, and the unwillingness of many to make the sacrifice of indigenous identity seen as necessary to succeed in a system that places a premium on “Han cultural capital.” The preceding chapter by Jin Xiao on “Rural Classroom Teaching and Nonfarm Jobs in Yunnan” shows that, apart from any issues of cultural insensitivity, the curriculum in many rural schools is poor at equipping students with the generic skills and attitudes that employers in the non-farm sector demand,

thus condemning these students to the very lowest rungs of the employment ladder when they migrate to the cities in search of work.

The educational plight of the children of these migrants is analysed by Julia Kwong, who focuses on their integration – or lack of it – in Beijing schools. Kwong demonstrates that official initiatives frequently suffer from an over-reliance on exhortation. In addition, “temporary regulations” on migrant schools have tended to fuel uncertainty over who has the ultimate responsibility for provision, creating “a grey area ... in which local governments can hide their inaction” (p. 175). Meanwhile, as Jing Lin argues in a final chapter examining “Educational Stratification and the New Middle Class,” the emergence of elite private schools is increasingly enabling more prosperous urbanites to bypass the state system and effectively purchase privileged access for their children to the best universities.

It is this rampant incursion of the market into education – exceeding anything in “capitalist” Europe, for example – that calls into question claims of continued adherence to “socialist values.” Postiglione attributes the rise of inequality ultimately to the strains imposed on China by its engagement with the wider world – in terms of “global market forces” and the international “development discourse.” However, when we consider China’s developmental achievements and challenges, it is perhaps salutary to remember that while the People’s Republic shines by comparison with most of Africa and South Asia, set against the record of East Asia, its score-card appears more mixed – particularly when the success of, say, South Korea in achieving rapid growth with *decreasing* inequality is borne in mind. Market values were not foisted on a passive China by global capitalism – rather, the experience of the Cultural Revolution left an entire generation of political and intellectual leaders sick to the back teeth of the Maoist emphasis on egalitarianism *über alles*. Those leaders subsequently sought to ratchet up economic growth in order to strengthen the Chinese state, until recently remaining largely heedless of the social costs incurred. The use made by the regime of nationalism as an excuse for, and a distraction from, these social costs, is a feature of China’s education system that perhaps deserved more attention in this timely and thoughtful book.

EDWARD VICKERS

Rendering the Regional: Local Language in Contemporary Chinese Media. By EDWARD M. GUNN. [Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2006. ix + 262 pp. \$35.00. ISBN 0-8248-2883-6.]

The relationship between the various Han languages (often referred to as “dialects”) is extremely complex, despite the illusory unity of a common script and the umbrella designation “Chinese.” Though

governments and cultural elites may prefer to downplay the implications of linguistic diversity, the last few decades have seen significant political, economic and cultural changes in Taiwan, Hong Kong and the PRC that have brought issues of language to the forefront. This slim volume takes on the difficult task of illustrating how local language both contests and complements the standard national language in artistic expression in various regions of Greater China.

The scope of the book is narrower than the title might suggest. By “local language,” Edward M. Gunn means Han dialects; non-Han minority languages are mentioned only in passing. The “media” he refers to are almost exclusively fictional arts and entertainment (movies, TV, novels and short stories, pop songs, theatre), not news and information media or advertising. The book does a creditable job of explaining some of the sociolinguistic complexities of the contemporary Chinese-speaking world, though its overall approach is much more aligned to literary criticism and cultural studies. This merger of the two fields is generally successful, though readers may experience some stylistic disconnect when in a few short pages they go from descriptive sociolinguistics to plot synopses of soap operas to cultural studies theory.

The book consists of a useful but too brief introduction, a short summation at the end, and four essays that could easily stand alone: one on the development of Cantonese media in Hong Kong and its relationship to the emergence of a special Hong Kong identity; one on multilingualism in Taiwanese media and its relation to political, social and economic changes in post-war Taiwan; one on the emergence of regional local-language cultural markets in China, specifically theatre and television in Beijing, Shanghai, Sichuan and Xi'an; and the last one a less descriptive and more theoretical piece on the place of local language vis-à-vis the standard language in the contemporary Chinese cultural milieu, with the focus on published fiction. Throughout, the author concerns himself with three overarching problems. The first is the question of comprehension vs. authenticity (language as medium vs. language as emblem): use of local language lends authenticity, or marks a character as a member of a certain group, but may be incomprehensible to a wider audience. There is no clear way to avoid such a trade-off, and the strategies used to deal with it have a profound effect on the final product. Second is the question of the level of prestige of different languages. E. Gunn takes issue with the simplistic view of Standard Mandarin as the prestige language and local languages as the language of the little people. Rather, he makes clear that in the long and complex sociolinguistic histories of some Chinese locales, local standards are hegemonic languages of elite domination over less prestigious dialects, as exemplified by Shanghai Wu and the Subei dialects. In such cases, Standard Mandarin can function as a leveller of class distinctions. Third, he shows many instances to illustrate Han Shaogang's point that the spread of

Standard Mandarin in education and media has made the linguistic gap less spatial (different dialects representing different regions) and more temporal (between an older, dialect-speaking and a younger, Mandarin-speaking generation).

Gunn does a good job of handling complex issues (especially the technical issues of linguistics) clearly and comprehensibly. He usually does not assume too much background knowledge, and the writing style is generally clear, though there are occasional slip-ups, where the reader needs specific knowledge of Shanghai syntax to get the point, or where too many prepositional phrases pile up and a monster sentence results. Overall, the book is a fascinating look at an important topic, broad in scope, but not the comprehensive study that remains to be written. It should be of considerable interest to those interested in contemporary literature/film/TV, local/national/global cultural relations, and sociolinguistics. This brief but rich introduction whets the appetite for more.

MARK HANSELL

China and Vietnam: The Politics of Asymmetry. By BRANTLY WOMACK. [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006. xiv + 281 pp. \$70.00, £40.00. ISBN 0-521-61834-7.]

Brantly Womack's book on the relationship between China and Vietnam is an interesting analysis of this long and complex relationship. This study is innovative as it attempts to analyse the long history of relations between the two countries through the use of asymmetry as an analytical tool. The book is comprehensive in its approach as it deals with the full historical relationship between China and Vietnam dating back to pre-Imperial times through the more than 1,000 years when Vietnam was a part of the Chinese Empire before gaining independence in the 10th century, the relations between two Empires up to the advent of European colonialism in the second half of the 19th century, and the relationship since between the modern states since the mid-1950s. The comprehensiveness is further enhanced through Chapters one and two, in which China's and Vietnam's "parameters" are outlined, thus displaying the differences and similarities between the two countries from various perspectives including political, economic and natural resources (pp. 33–76).

The study is systematic and well structured. The purpose is clearly outlined. It is well researched through the use of a wide range of sources in Chinese, Vietnamese, English and French. Few books display such a variety of sources in these four languages. The facts and information provided are well documented. The sources reflect

different perspectives and different areas of expertise among the studies consulted.

As noted above the case study of the Sino-Vietnamese relationship is structured along the dimension of asymmetry. Thus, the ambition is an analytical one and the empirical parts of the study are aimed at identifying changes in the patterns of relations and in identifying relevant developments in relation to the asymmetry dimension. Chapter four is devoted to identifying the broader approach to the study of asymmetry from a political perspective. This overview is comprehensive but does not produce a model through which the empirical developments relating to the Sino-Vietnamese relationship can be studied and eventually analysed. Nor is any hypothesis formulated that could have been used in the examination of the empirical developments (pp. 77–92). Each empirical chapter is concluded by an analysis relating to asymmetry but they all display that it is the empirical developments that are guiding the analyses and not a structured model and/or clearly defined hypotheses based on the broader dimensions of asymmetry (pp. 114–16, 139–41, 160–61, 183–85, 209–211, 235–37). Unfortunately, the final chapter (eleven) that examines the change and structure of asymmetry displays the same weakness. A weakness that is reinforced by Table II.I, “Varieties of Sino-Vietnamese asymmetry,” in which nine types of asymmetry are identified although none of these types have been mentioned in the broader discussion on asymmetry in Chapter four (p. 240). In other words the linkage between the broader dimension of asymmetry and the empirical case is weak and could have been developed through either a model for studying and/or assessing asymmetry or through hypotheses that could have been tested on the case study.

Despite the weakness discussed above, the discussions relating to asymmetry in the empirical chapters and in Chapter eleven are interesting from the perspective of understanding the dynamics of the different periods of relations between China and Vietnam. Thus, as seen from the case study, the discussions relating to asymmetry adds an interesting and relevant perspective to the study of the Sino-Vietnamese relationship. This considerably contributes to the originality of Womack’s study in the context of the scholarly literature on the relations between China and Vietnam.

By way of concluding it can be said that Womack’s book is recommended reading through the strengths outlined in this review. Its broad empirical overview is a very good complement to the more issue-specific studies that already exist and deal with specific periods of the relationship between China and Vietnam and/or with specific dimensions of the relationship, e.g. the territorial disputes between the two countries. The latter category of studies does provide more specific analyses and more detailed facts on the issues dealt with but do not provide the broader overview and historical context outlined in Womack’s study. The study is relevant not only to those interested in

Sino-Vietnamese relations or in the foreign policies of the two countries but also for those interested in the broader developments in East and Southeast Asia.

RAMSES AMER

Peasants without the Party: Grass-roots Movements in Twentieth-Century China. By LUCIEN BIANCO. [Armonk, New York: M.E. Sharpe, 2001. xxvii +309 pp. \$27.95. ISBN 1-56324-840-9.]

Jacqueries et révolution dans la Chine du XX^e siècle (Spontaneous Peasant Uprisings and Revolution in 20th-Century China). By LUCIEN BIANCO (with the collaboration of Hua Chang-Ming). [Paris: Editions de la Martinière, 2005. 634 pp. €27.00. ISBN 2-84675-158-7.]

In 2003 and 2005 one of France's leading China experts, Lucien Bianco, received two awards – France's Augustin Thierry Prize and America's Joseph Levenson Prize – for his writing about Chinese peasant protests and revolution in 20th-century China. This historian also has written an elegant and concise history of revolutionary change in modern China, titled *Origins of the Chinese Revolution 1915–1949*, a Stanford University Press classic that has undergone countless reprintings.

The 13 chapters in the 2001 English volume and the 19 chapters in the 2005 French study describe the violent peasant behaviour in China during the 20th century. The 2005 French collection cites 55 examples of peasant protests translated from Chinese sources by Professor Bianco and Professor Hua Chang-Ming.

Thus the world's largest peasant society often resorted to violence that culminated in China's unification in 1949 and, nearly 60 years, later in violence against the urban society. To illustrate his many stories of such peasant violence, Professor Bianco relies on histories written by local officials, educated persons and those interested in events that changed the behaviour of local government officials and revolutionary groups.

During the 20th century in China, rural violence broke out under complex circumstances that, Professor Bianco observes, were, most often, spontaneous. Peasants, including at times intellectuals and political groups, tried to alter government behaviour by opposing tax increases, resisting new laws they saw as unfair (such as prohibiting opium cultivation, a vital cash crop), rejecting projects that encroached on village life, fleeing military conscription, and protesting against corrupt officials.

Other peasant actions were undertaken by one or more villages directing their fury at other peasant groups of a different lineage or

village whose behaviour was judged as unfair or unjust, dishonourable or threatening to their livelihood. In this milieu of rural community violence, there occurred the well-known peasant protest activity called *xiedou*, in which peasant groups attacked each other with weapons.

Professor Bianco, however, does not believe that peasants were easily induced to join revolutionary groups. According to him, so-called spontaneous (*zifaxing*) peasant protest movements were usually promoted by group actions outside the village that peasants perceived as life-threatening or reducing their life chances. Those uprisings were characterized by Bianco as vertical, not horizontal, solidarity. “A local sense of identity and the internal solidarity of socially heterogeneous groups” (*Peasants Without the Party*, p. 199) eclipsed the kind of class consciousness attributed to them by communist intellectuals.

Nor does Bianco believe that wartime Chinese peasants were infected with the kind of mass nationalism ascribed to them by Chalmers Johnson. The level of risk-taking demanded by the Communists looked foolhardy to most villagers, and the great majority of them were slow to respond to Communist Party mobilization. The minority who voluntarily embraced revolution were recruited from among the young. Most others were won by intimidation rather than persuasion, obeying communist orders rather than supporting communist goals. In other words, Bianco argues against the centrality of the Chinese Communist Party in the revolutionary process.

Professor Bianco also identifies an important social norm that he believes constrained peasants to violent acts committed only in a restricted space and at a specific time. This norm, which might be called the “ethic of blood ties and community solidarity,” dictated that social groups of the same descent line channelled their anger to only those grievances affecting their line arising out of imposed humiliations externally imposed on the line as well as threats to their individual welfare and community harmony. According to Bianco, these Chinese ties were based on the same norm that had existed among the pre-19th-century European peasantry.

Professor Bianco also implies that, because of a special type of property rights system that had been widespread in east-central China (especially the Jiangnan region), southeast China, and Taiwan in imperial times, tenant and landowner property rights had become intertwined; even where oral and written contracts existed, their terms were often contentious. As a result, household contract disputes over land use and compensation seemed much higher there than in other parts of China.

The essays contained in these two studies focus on the conditions that triggered rural protests, on how peasants organized and behaved in those protests, and on how patterns of protests varied over time as well as geographic area. One revealing and little known practice, described in Chapter four of the French study, is how Shaanxi Province peasants in the 1920s and early 1930s, angry at rising taxes,

engaged in the practice of *jiaona nongju* or “delivering agricultural tools” to the front of the county government *yamen*, signalling to the officials there they had no intention of paying higher taxes.

In another pattern, Bianco points out that the number of protests in the years 1906 to 1911 far exceeded those for any comparable period in the 20th century. This pattern is difficult to explain, and Bianco warns readers (*Peasants Without the Party*, pp. 55–56; *Jacqueries*, pp. 111 and 125) that the 1906–1911 historical figures about peasant protests might be due to erroneous reports issued in the final years before the collapse of the Qing dynasty.

One reason for these bursts of peasant violence might have been the reinvigorated efforts of central and local governments to impose surcharges on existing tax levels. Indeed, from the early 20th century until the present, tax resistance prevailed over all other kinds of protests.

As the market improved in some rural regions, such as the Jiangnan in the early 20th century and the Pearl Delta region in the past 25 years, disputes and social instabilities began occurring. Why? In these wealthy, yet still traditional societies, property rights were weakly defined, and thus contracts between households and lineages were frequently violated. Leading officials should have conducted surveys to legitimate property owner claims and settle those disputes that threatened to spill over into violent confrontations. But as revealed in Chapter eleven of the French volume (pp. 299–307), land surveys initiated by the Nationalist regime often gave rise to peasant, as well as landlord resistance and social unrest. Both rich and poor taxpayers feared that an updated survey would reveal their untaxed “black land” (*heitian*). Chapter fifteen of the French study describes other cases of peasant attempts at blocking overdue reforms.

The patterns of collective rural violence, as described by Professor Bianco, reveal complex social and economic relationships between villages and centres of administration. As rural lineage and community solidarity weakens in this century, will more spontaneous rural protests erupt or will villages peacefully and legally cooperate to oppose the urban expansion imperilling their livelihood? The rural community protests in Professor Bianco’s fascinating essays suggest that the contentious relationship between urban and rural society that plagued rural China in the last century will continue in this century.

RAMON H. MYERS

Chinese Discourses on the Peasant, 1900–1949. By XIAORONG HAN.
[Albany: State University of New York Press, 2005. xi + 259 pp.
\$24.95. ISBN 0-7914-6320-6.]

This is a book not so much about peasants *per se* (although it does convey much about Chinese peasants) as about how, in the

half-century before the Chinese Revolution, Chinese intellectuals perceived the peasantry. As the author has it, “On their bloody road to rescue the Chinese nation, a generation of frustrated but awakened Chinese intellectuals came across the Chinese peasantry, among whom they found both the causes of and remedies for China’s national crisis” (p. 167). In a comprehensive and balanced treatment, Xiaorong Han covers the work of Communist, non-Communist and anti-Communist intellectuals, without privileging any of them. It is not, he stresses, a history of movements, but, rather, a history of theories.

Although the period 1900–1949 is covered exhaustively, the analysis begins in earnest in the 1920s, when Chinese intellectuals “discovered” the peasantry and became intensely preoccupied with Chinese peasants; and when there was, among them, general agreement that “in order to save and rebuild the Chinese nation, the peasants needed to be utilized and transformed” (p. 2). If there was consensus on that, there was fundamental disagreement on how it was to be achieved. Xiaorong Han explores that dissension with an impressive sureness of touch, via a wide range of sources: using, as well as the more usual “scholarly” and “political” writing, literary and artistic works (plays, novels, short stories, poems, wood-cuts). He uses these sources skilfully to produce a lively and judicious picture. It is for the most part Chinese intellectuals that are treated. Mao Zedong rubs shoulders with Sun Yat-sen, Liang Qichao, Chen Duxiu, Zhou Enlai, Mao Dun and a host of others. But influential foreign intellectuals are there, too: for example, John Lossing Buck with Bertrand Russell and R. H. Tawney. An interesting comparative element surfaces occasionally: with brief, but illuminating, comparison with Russia and India.

He scrutinizes, then, “Chinese intellectuals’ perceptions of rural China, of the Chinese peasantry, and of the intellectuals’ relationship with the peasantry during the first half of the twentieth century, as well as how such perceptions were politicized” (p. 2). In a brief introductory chapter, the argument is contextualized and, for example, the nature of the source materials used is discussed. He then considers, in Chapter two, “The Intelligentsia, the Peasantry and the Chinese Nation,” and here the importance of the nationalist movement is stressed. In Chapter three, “The Images of the Peasant” that appear in the “tremendous outpouring of writing” about peasants are treated: peasants seen as “the ignorant” (in one formulation as “wild stupid people”); “the innocent” (in one rendering “innocent, uncorrupted, pristine and pure”); “the poor;” and “the powerful” (as a powerful revolutionary force). From there, he shifts, in Chapter four, to “The Nature of Rural Society:” to the debates about whether it was capitalist, feudal, semi-feudal and semi-colonial, or none of these. In Chapter five, he turns to “Patterns of Intellectual-Peasant Relations:” to the different ideas among Chinese intellectuals about the kind of relationship they should have with peasants, and the kind of relationships they did have. He addresses,

inter alia, the crucial areas of difference between peasants and intellectuals: language, clothing, attitude to physical labour, beliefs. There is an excellent examination of class alliance, including a fascinating portrayal of family conflicts. In the concluding chapter there is a useful reprise of the argument and a brief consideration of how this feeds into the post-1949 era, through to the present. There is, in the final two pages, a strong rejection of the policy of decollectivization, which is seen as a retrogressive policy because technological improvement is made impossible; and a no less resolute endorsement of rural industrialization, which, he suggests, has been a triumphant success.

Xiaorong Han has produced an admirable book. It is written clearly, economically and cogently, and provides a stimulating and informative account of the differing, and, very important, changing views on the Chinese peasantry during this momentous period. One leaves it with an enhanced knowledge and understanding of those changing views. It will have considerable appeal to two different categories of reader: on the one hand, specialists on China and especially those with an interest in the Chinese peasantry; on the other, specialists on the peasantry and on agrarian change, with no particular expertise on China. Both will gain greatly from it. Readers of this journal will value an excellent contribution to the scholarly literature on China in the half-century before 1950, on the Chinese intelligentsia, the historiography of the Chinese Revolution and the Chinese peasantry. Specialists of agrarian development will welcome a vivid, scholarly and accessible work on agrarian change and on intellectuals' perception of the peasantry that enhances the possibility of work on the comparative political economy of such change.

TERENCE J. BYRES

Contemporary Tibet: Politics, Development, and Society in a Disputed Region. Edited by BARRY SAUTMAN and JUNE TEUFEL DREYER. [New York and London: M.E. Sharpe, 2006. vii + 360 pp. \$29.95. ISBN 0-7656-1357-3.]

Multiple perspectives do, and should, characterize studies of a subject as contentious as (contemporary) "Tibet." This collection offers 15 chapters by authors from diverse disciplinary backgrounds, whose approaches reflect the controversy inherent in the complex environment of contemporary Tibet, and the debates that surround it.

Yet "contemporary Tibet," and the debate discreetly called the "Tibet Question," despite their points of convergence should be differentiated in order to establish an adequate analytical framework for the collection as a whole. The "Contemporary Tibet" of the book's title implies a focus on a place and a people in the People's

Republic of China now. The “Tibet Question” is a dispute, one that is a crime for Tibetans to debate in Tibet, but which the editors, in their introduction “The Tibet Question in Contemporary Perspective,” point to as the link among the collection’s essays. The Tibet Question centres on territory and control, a two-part issue entailing 1) what is, or should be, the territorial expanse of “Tibet” (should it extend beyond the Tibet Autonomous Region?); and 2) what is, or should be, the political status of “Tibet” (should it be independent?). Not acknowledging both aspects of this historically rooted issue clouds the complicated terrain of the volume’s stated focus – “matters of contemporary concern” (p. 4). The Introduction’s opening sentence conflates history by placing the start of ethno-territorial conflict at 1949, eliminating the gravity of centuries of accumulated cultural and political belief on the part of all the contestants, and reducing to a footnote what both the Chinese Government and the Dalai Lama’s envoys agree is the “fundamental issue” separating them – the territorial contours of “contemporary Tibet.” This editorial contraction leaves the reader poorly prepared to negotiate the complexities of the 14 chapters that follow, some of which will fill in the gaps whereas others may thrive better on the absence of an objective basis.

Strengths of the book lie in the effectiveness of individual essays, the broad range of perspectives, evidence of fruitful collaboration between foreign and Chinese colleagues, and the inclusion of contributions from both experienced and emerging scholars in the field. Chapters centred on contemporary Tibet show a society in flux, bringing out pertinent issues of uneven economic development and friction between tradition and modernization. Outstanding papers based on field research by veteran scholar Melvyn Goldstein and his colleagues on rural Tibet, and Hu and Salazar on the migration-related dynamics of market development in Lhasa, provide compelling indications of diverging rural and urban developmental trajectories, an issue viewed with concern by foreign and PRC analysts alike. Dawa Norbu’s experienced perspective fills out some of the socio-cultural aspects of economic development that do not concern Hu and Salazar at this stage of their research. Dreyer offers an historical overview of Tibet’s economic development under the PRC to assess the impact of central policy on Tibetan society, noting various cultural losses for Tibetans. Yu Changjiang’s scrupulous anthropological report on a village near Lhasa, the most culturally focused of the chapters, is as innovative for its objective as for its field data, aiming for “a new understanding of Tibet by mainstream Chinese society” through “reflection on old stereotypes” (p. 258). Digressions into Hollywood and Newton aside, Robert Barnett’s analysis of Tibetan officials’ use of public space deconstructs the ethnic dimension of state-cadre relations, seeing a widening gulf between the current Chinese leadership and Tibetan cadres as Chinese nationalism rises.

Reflecting on the Tibet Question itself, He Baogang, Mountcastle, Klieger and Anand offer insightful analysis into its diverse construction, and subsequent influences on China's international relations, or in Grunfeld's chapter, on the Sino-American relationship in particular. Wang Lixiong's speculations on a future system of indirect representation, rather than democracy, that would assure both Chinese and Tibetan interests represent a thoughtful Han voice from within the PRC. All these essays remind us how participants struggle to fit conceptualizations riven by history, culture and emotion into modern international frameworks of discussion and strategy.

The cogent thinking, sound methodology and strong sourcing of most essays in the collection thus sit uneasily with others which introduce elements of ideology, inconsistency and assumption. Their inclusion diminishes an opportunity for presenting contrasting viewpoints objectively argued. Passages from Xu and Yuan's "The Tibet Question: A New Cold War" read like old issues of *China Reconstructs*, as they attempt to compress the complicated matrix of contemporary Tibet into the Tibet Question, then remould the issue as part of a geopolitical scheme of competing paranoias. Other Chinese scholars produce reasoned, thought-provoking research on Tibet, that could more effectively have been included here. Sautman's chapter, part of a forthcoming study on colonial paradigms applied to Tibet, questions the claim by Tibetan exiles that "PRC actions" resulted in "demographic annihilation" of Tibetans from 1949 to 1979. While he presents evidence to substantiate his challenge as formulated, some Tibet specialists will likely debate points of his extended argument which refutes a colonial dimension to Chinese activity in Tibet. Others may note that the essay supplies an abundance of data intended to support his argument, but insufficient context to enable a non-specialist to evaluate the issue.

A puzzling omission, given the book's title, is a chapter directly concerned with inter-ethnic social relations – critical indicators of political, developmental and social function in a disputed region. An up-to-date study of the role of religion in a modernizing Tibetan society would also have enriched the collection.

This volume materially adds to the research record on contemporary Tibet and to perspectives on its representation and its future, even as the book struggles to find an identity. The variability of its contributions provides insight into the contested framing of the Tibet issue – as well as the Tibet Question – but it should be read judiciously in view of sometimes uneven support of principal arguments in the occasional chapter. Students and a wider readership may come away sensing the need for a more nuanced contextualization for understanding contemporary Tibet. Specialists on Sino-Tibetan relations, whether their focus is international or domestic, will expect it to stimulate further research in this field.

SUSETTE COOKE

Lhasa: Streets with Memories. By ROBERT BARNETT. [New York: Columbia University Press, 2006. 219 pp. \$24.50. ISBN 0-231-13680-3.]

Since the time when the People's Liberation Army marched into Lhasa (1951), the city has seen some dramatic changes in its appearance. According to a survey done by Peter Aufschnaiter, the less known companion of Heinrich Harrer (*Seven Years in Tibet*), Lhasa consisted of about 600 buildings in the late 1940s. Today, the city prides itself with fancy department stores, modern roads and multi-storey office blocks. In addition to that, inflated salaries and low interest rates fuel the desire for private ownership, and those who can afford it have the possibility to own villas, detached houses and luxury apartments. Rumour has it that some property developers even resort to incentives such as a free car when buying a villa on Kesang Lingka, formerly a Chinese cemetery on the western outskirts of the city. Despite all the changes in Lhasa's outer appearance, the majority of the Tibetans still seem reluctant to accept Beijing's rule over Tibet.

In light of the dearth of recent English-language works on the city's urban development, Robert Barnett's book is worthy of attention. It chronicles the history of Lhasa and some of the recent reorganization of the cityscape alongside a second narrative, the author's own experience of witnessing a political protest and his subsequent travels to Tibet. In the first chapter, Barnett locates Lhasa in the history of Tibet. Writings by foreign visitors and exiled Tibetans are carefully chosen to make his argument that history cannot be portrayed in a unified way. In order to show that Lhasa had more than one story to tell, Barnett picks out three incidents in the history of Tibet: the untimely siding of Tengyeling monastery with the Chinese in 1910 (and the subsequent sacking of the head lama of that monastery); the blinding of Lungshar, a political reformer of the 1930s; and the failed attempt of the ex-Regent to reclaim power. Three buildings, the Tromsikhang, Kytöpa and the Yamen, are then rescued from negligence and are given a new shine by linking them with past historical events. Following a contemporary trend, Barnett argues that Tibet was not as isolated and peaceful as generally perceived.

Chapters two and three are a continuation of historical excavation. Barnett illustrates how some foreign visitors struggled to find a balance between the intense revulsion of what they saw (and smelled) and the intriguing attraction they experienced when visiting Tibet. The Chinese communists, on the contrary, saw nothing captivating when marching into Tibet. Resorting to methods such as presenting history within the dichotomy of past (i.e. bad) and present (i.e. good), China was eager to demonstrate the achievements it had made in Tibet. Barnett then moves on to the Tibetans and shows that they had their own idea about their country and about themselves. Tibetan myths thus compete with official Chinese viewpoints over the

legitimate ownership of Tibet. The three chapters will provide the novice with a basic background of Tibet's history.

The remaining chapters deal with present-day Lhasa and, in my opinion, constitute the most interesting part of the book. Using sources such as Chinese official documents and briefing papers, Barnett shows how, by the late 1980s, the city of Lhasa expanded and what kinds of buildings and new roads were built. Trees were planted along the newly constructed roads, statues were erected and the traditional houses at the foot of the Potala were flattened to create the "New Potala Palace Square." The new design, Barnett states, was not only intended to beautify the city for it carried another message: authority, strength and confidence of the new rulers.

These days, Lhasa is dotted with multi-storey buildings with blue glass fronts, shops with white-tile frontages, theme parks and houses with Tibetan-style facades. However, Barnett gently reminds the reader that despite all the new make-up of the city, Tibetans still face problems with the authorities when seen talking "politics" with foreigners – a fact easily forgotten when being in a city replete with glittery Karaoke bars and shopping malls.

Barnett has presented a fine book filled with detailed observation. He is hesitant to fully embrace the rapid modernization of Lhasa; not because he disagrees with the urbanization of the city, but more because he fears that modernizing efforts, directed from Beijing, show signs of wanting to eliminate any memories of the past. The latter part of the book presents interesting reading for scholars and students working on contemporary Tibet (and Lhasa). Academic specialists, however, will find nothing new in the historical part. Lhasa provides enough material to write several books about it. Barnett has offered a start and the hope is that many more will follow.

YANGDON DHONDUP

Yang tian chang xiao: yige dan jian shiyi nian de hongweibing yuzhong yutianlu (Outcry from a Red Guard Imprisoned during the Cultural Revolution). By LU LI'AN. [Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 2005. xxxvii + 630 pp. \$23.00. ISBN 962-996-250-0.]

This is a two-part autobiography written by Lu Li'an, one of the most renowned Red Guard theorists in Hubei province during the Cultural Revolution. The first part of the book describes how the author's writings and activities during that period won him thousands of admirers, provided momentum to the local Cultural Revolution at several crucial points, and finally brought him to jail in July 1968. The second part is focused on the author's 11-year prison life between 1968 and 1979. This review mainly focuses on the first part since it

contains a more dynamic picture that is crucial for us to know the author and understand the Cultural Revolution.

Lu was a college freshman when the Cultural Revolution started. He became involved when he made a speech opposing the conservative work team and wrote two famous big-character posters, one attacking Zhang Tixue, the head of Hubei province, and another supporting the radical Beijing students who were trying to mobilize the Hubei people to rebel against the local powers. Since Lu attacked the local leaders that most Hubei people either loved or had an interest to support, his actions invited retaliation. In the following days, Lu was bombarded by big-character posters and his parents' house was twice searched by the opposing Red Guards. Such consequences were usually sufficient to silence people who would otherwise have had an interest in politics. However, Lu is not a coward. He continued writing big-character posters to promote rebellions, established rebel organizations of his own (with names such as The Dare-to-Die Corps), attacked Hubei's civilian and military authorities, and even advocated violence at a time when the rebel force in Hubei was in a difficult situation. Lu's activities brought him both troubles and fame. During that time, he was once expelled by a rebel organization, and was almost crippled when jumping down from a bridge in order to escape from the chasing enemies. In general, however, Lu's status and fame were on the rise, especially after the Maoists from Beijing decided to openly endorse the Hubei rebels. Lu became a local hero because of his relentlessly radical stance.

In Hubei, the rebels soon split into various factions and the violence prolonged. Between October 1967 and his detention in May 1968, Lu obstinately promoted the rebels' cause. In particular, he wrote two widely known articles entitled "An Investigative Report on the Agrarian Movement in Xishui" and "The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and Its Renegades the Kautskist Faction." In the first piece, Lu whole-heartedly promoted an extremely violent agrarian rebel organization led by a Pol Pot-like figure. In the second piece, Lu advocated rebellion and violence, and predicted the inevitability of civil wars in China.

What brought Lu to his downfall was the following event: on 17 May 1968, with a few of his rebel friends, Lu went to the countryside to get guns and other weapons and to transport them back to the city. However, he was captured when their truck attempted to pass an area controlled by another faction. Chased, captured and beaten, Lu was later handed to the provincial authorities and imprisoned without even a sentence. The demise of Lu's revolutionary career is not merely incidental. After almost two years of chaos brought by the Cultural Revolution, Mao became more and more interested in political stability. Yet, the Cultural Revolution had generated its own momentum so that even Mao was not able to put a stop to it. Under such circumstances, Lu's writings and activities, and in fact the activities of all rebel Red Guards, increasingly came to be seen as

problems for the authorities who were desperately struggling for order. Many rebel Red Guard leaders got into trouble during that time, with some killed and others jailed or sent to countryside. Lu's fate reflected the demise of the Red Guard movement during the Cultural Revolution.

Lu's account of his prison life in the second part of the book quite truthfully reflects China's legal conditions at the time. Jailed for 11 years without even a formal sentence, he was frequently bullied, sometimes beaten, and was almost killed under a very precarious political situation after the death of Mao. This part of the book will be very valuable for those who want to understand China's legal system under Mao.

Most Cultural Revolution biographies written by former Maoist radicals tend to be characterized by a strong apologetic intention regarding their own activities during that period. In comparison, although Lu's book is not entirely immune from this tendency, through rich narratives and a quite frank writing style, Lu is able to provide a vivid picture of the dynamics of the Cultural Revolution in Hubei, of how the activities of the author and his like-minded friends intentionally or unintentionally contributed to such dynamics, of the grotesque legal system and prison life in China during the Cultural Revolution, and of how the author's indomitable character helped him to survive the harsh prison conditions. In short, this is a very well written book. It is an important book and perhaps a must read for all the people who are interested in the Cultural Revolution and Chinese politics under Mao. I salute Lu for presenting us with a one man's saga that is so emotional and personal, and yet at the same time very rich and largely honest. It must have been a very difficult task, and Lu performed it well.

ZHAO DINGXIN

War and State Formation in Ancient China and Early Modern Europe.

By VICTORIA TIN-BOR HUI. [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005. xiv + 294 pp. \$24.99. ISBN 0-521-52576-4.]

Victoria Hui has written an innovative book that successfully integrates the case of Ancient China into an international relations and comparative state-building literature that remains highly Eurocentric. The puzzle she addresses is why the Chinese multi-state system of the Spring and Autumn and Warring States periods was replaced by a unified empire created by a single dominant power (Qin), whereas in early modern Europe (1495–1815 in her definition) the “logic of balancing” prevented such an outcome. The principal reason for this, she argues, is that hegemony-seeking European leaders like the French kings and Habsburg rulers of Austria and

Spain often resorted to what she terms “self-weakening expedients” (sale of offices and reliance on tax farmers and mercenaries) as opposed to the “self-strengthening reforms” (constructing professional administrative and financial bureaucracies and directly recruiting mass peasant armies) favoured in China. The ultimately self-defeating choices made by French and Habsburg leaders can in turn be explained by the fact, she claims, that western Europe’s commercial economy was highly developed prior to the onset of state expansion and hard-pressed rulers could hence turn to cash-rich intermediate resource holders (financiers, military enterprisers) to meet their state-building needs. Their Chinese counterparts, denied this luxury, turned to solutions that proved more “modern” and, in the case of Qin, more effective in the long run.

A number of features render this book especially noteworthy for political scientists and comparative-historical sociologists as well as scholars of China. First, it continues the laudable trend (exemplified by the work of Jack Levy, Kalevi Holsti or Hendrik Spruyt) of re-examining theories derived mainly from the modern West in light of cases drawn from other periods and cultures. Given the centrality of inter-state competition to the western experience, it is surprising that more comparative work has not encompassed Ancient China, another major example (along with Ancient Greece and post-Moghul India) of a long-lived multi-state system. One of the great merits of this monograph is that it lays the foundations for future historical-comparative research on Europe and China in the area of international relations. Yet – and this is Victoria Hui’s second major achievement – this book looks beyond foreign policy to investigate the ways in which war and preparations for war influenced state-building and vice versa. In so doing she arrives at the ironic conclusion that it is Ancient China which provides the best evidence for Max Weber’s claim that geo-political pressures leads to state rationalization, whereas early modern Europe illustrates that this need not always be the case, for as she points out, such pressures often led in the West to state *deformation* as a result of the use of self-weakening expedients (p. 49). This kind of transgression of sub-field boundaries through the linking of the logic of international relations with that of domestic politics still occurs all too infrequently within political science. Finally, Hui takes such boundary transgression even further by regularly citing classic works of political theory, both European (Machiavelli, Hobbes) and Chinese (Sunzi, Han Fei) in order better to understand and analyse the choices made by rulers within the context of their own time.

Despite these merits, this study is not without its shortcomings. Hui’s arguments concerning the use of “self-weakening expedients” in early modern Europe is already a standard one within the historical-comparative literature, though she does not make this clear enough for readers not versed in that literature. In general, the European sections of the book are based almost exclusively on English-language

secondary works, and the understanding of certain key western military institutions (the Spanish *tercio*, the Prussian *Kantonsystem*) that the author has derived from those works is not always accurate. Most problematic in this regard is her tendency – traceable perhaps to an excessive reliance on Machiavelli – to contrast armies based on universal military service (already present in embryonic form in Ancient China) with the use of “mercenary” forces, which she sees as predominant in western Europe until at least the 18th century. Yet the polemical category “mercenary forces” in fact misleadingly equates two contrasting kinds of military units with very different implications for state-building: those consisting of foreign professional soldiers (the true “mercenaries” typical of Machiavelli’s Italy) and paid armies composed of recruits from one’s own country (the norm in much of the West today as it was in medieval England or 17th-century Spain). While relying on the former for defence might indeed be seen as a “self-weakening expedient,” it is not clear why this would necessarily be true of national armies composed of paid volunteers as opposed to conscripts.

Despite these shortcomings, Victoria Hui’s stimulating book represents an important contribution to the fields of political science, sociology and history that can be read with profit by Europeanists and Sinologists alike.

THOMAS ERTMAN

Lien Heng (1878–1936): Taiwan’s Search for Identity and Tradition.

By SHU-HUI WU. [Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University, Research Institute for Inner Asian Studies, 2006. xv + 488 pp. \$50.00. ISBN 0-933070-53-5.]

Lien Heng (Lian Heng) was a leading intellectual in Taiwan, active during the Japanese colonial period from 1895 to 1945. His contemporary claim to fame is two-fold, that he wrote the first modern history of Taiwan, *T’ai-wan t’ung shih* (*Taiwan tongshi*, The General History of Taiwan), published in 1920, and that he is the grandfather of the former Chairman of the KMT and failed presidential candidate Lien Chan (Lian Zhan).

Those two facts are enough to warrant academic interest in Lien, but as Shu-hui Wu’s book amply demonstrates, scholarly knowledge of Lien’s whole life and work is a significant addition to the tremendous amount of scholarship currently being undertaken on Taiwan’s Japanese colonial history. Lien’s life as an historian, poet and political activist has been overshadowed by his contemporaries, especially Lin Hsien-t’ang (Lian Xiantang) and T’sai P’ei-huo (Cai Peihuo), and therefore Wu’s biography is timely and important.

Wu's book tracks through Lien's life in broadly chronological order, from his early years born into a prosperous southern Taiwanese family. Lien's father, Lien Yung-ch'ang (Lian Yongchang), ran a large food and agricultural business with an estate, and from these comfortable circumstances, Lien developed as a young scholar-poet, then journalist and newspaper editor and into a serious historian. Lien's life expresses the complex developments in Taiwan over the end of Qing rule and Japanese colonial rule. In his early life the imperial education system maintained tenuous viability as a path to social advancement, and with its sudden dissolution by colonialization, many young educated Taiwanese made the transition from nascent careers in the imperial state to those more imagined in modernity, as journalists, fiction writers and editors. And yet Chinese imperial culture retained a powerful legitimacy on Taiwan under the Japanese, and took on an elegiac, nostalgic quality. Lien and his friends and colleagues continued to aspire to the life of a Confucian gentleman-scholar, which they played out in poetry societies and their assumption of the role of the legitimate representatives of the people of Taiwan.

Wu effectively traces the complex shifts in responses to Japanese rule among different generations of Taiwanese. Hung Hsü (Hong Xu), who wrote *Shih-shih san-tzu-ching* (*Shishi Sanzijing*, Narrating Contemporary Affairs) struggled to maintain a Qing identity for Taiwan; Ts'ai P'ei-huo could be seen as a Taiwanese proto-nationalist; while in between them in age and attitudes was Lien – committed to Chinese intellectual life, but also deeply attached to Taiwan.

Wu locates Lien's life within the milieu of the time, discussing his involvement in Taiwan's political movements, such as the Assimilation Society and the Taiwan Cultural Association, and his close relationships with Itagaki Taisuke and Lin Hsien-t'ang. She also details his times in China and Japan, and shows the movement of ideas and writings among activists and intellectuals up to and after the May Fourth era between China and Japan and over to Taiwan, including an excellent account of a visit by Liang Qichao in 1911.

The last section of the book is devoted to Lien Heng's *General History*. Wu describes the influence on Lien of Liang's reworking classical Chinese historiography, producing Taiwanese history as an unfolding teleology from settlement through development, and ending with Japan's annexation. But she is also open in criticizing Lien's failure to take on Hu Shi's fundamentally modern historiography. Lien treated the written record as truth, rather than applying principles of scepticism and verifiability and reproduced a significant number of historical errors in his work.

Also very effective is Wu's tracing of the connections between Lien's historiography and that of the historian Sima Qian, showing the limits of Lien's creative historical method and his attachment to classical Chinese culture. Lien used biographies and explicitly emphasized Confucianist morality as an implicit explanatory mechanism for Taiwan's historical development.

Where the book is less effective is its own lack of an explicit historiography or attention to the methodological issues of academic biographies. Wu's approach is fundamentally descriptive of Lien's material and intellectual life, but does not address where the boundaries of such an approach should be drawn. She offers the tantalizing anecdote of Lien's relationship with Wang Hsiang-ch'an (Wang Xiangchan), who was a Taiwanese *geisha*, opening a glimpse into Taiwan's rich social world of the period, but does not follow through into what is potentially as interesting as Lien's intellectual activities.

More fundamental is the problem of Lien and Taiwanese identity, which is often implied in Wu's text. She emphasizes his love of the island, especially its natural environment, and his desire to document its historical and cultural development. Simply writing a history of Taiwan is a complex ideological act of identity-making. Yet much of Lien's intellectual activity was directed towards the self-conscious cultivation of his Chinese intellectual heritage. The contradictions between Lien's own goals and his place within the articulations of Taiwanese identity needs a strong statement of historiography and methodology to fully explore and assess Lien's place in Taiwan's development as a polity and a legitimate, bounded discourse in its own right. The book is not able to fully elaborate how Lien might be so assessed.

Nevertheless, its achievement as a very strong and detailed history, including a wealth of new material covering an enormous range of historical sources makes *Lien Heng: Taiwan's Search for Identity and Tradition* a valuable addition to scholarship on Taiwan's colonial period.

MARK HARRISON

The Merchants of Zigong, Industrial Entrepreneurship in Early Modern China. By MADELEINE ZELIN. [New York: Columbia University Press, 2005. 432 pp. \$45.00. ISBN 0-231-3596-3.]

In the late 19th century, the Furong salt yards in Zigong, located in the then remote province of Sichuan, became the basis for the largest industrial centre in China. Zelin's very readable study, focused on a period from the mid-19th century to the 1930s, is a comprehensive history of this "purely indigenous industry" (that is, developed before the period of Western influence). She covers a range of topics, including the salt entrepreneurs, their business organizations, the labour force, banking and credit, ancillary industries (such as bamboo and buffalo), taxes and their effect on the industry, government salt administrations, and the technologies of salt production. Throughout the book, Zelin provides tables and graphs with statistical information on subjects, such as capital investment, tax rates, bankruptcy

liquidations, wages, and outside military presence in Zigong. A few well-chosen illustrations serve to further the narrative. For example a photograph of a brine pipeline on its “roller-coaster-like” frame clarifies the description of a very complicated structure (p. 106). The study is based on extensive research in the collection of contracts and other materials in the Zigong archives and supplemented with published documents and a wide range of secondary sources, mainly in Chinese. It is an exceptional piece of historical scholarship which analyses the rise and decline of this industry in terms of changing political realities, cultural resources, legal frameworks and technologies

Zelin draws on the work of Alfred Chandler, Richard Langlois and other business historians to place this history in the larger history of the firm. In Zigong, as in the 19th-century United States, new technologies and the expansion of markets gave rise to vertical and horizontal enterprises which sought economies of scale and dominance over both supply and distribution. Technologies which allowed the exploitation of highly productive black brine wells and the discovery of natural gas deposits laid the basis for increased salt production just before the outbreak of the Taiping Rebellion disrupted the state-defined salt markets and led to an expansion of the market for Sichuan salt. Large vertically integrated salt conglomerates based on lineage trusts emerged and took on certain “modern” characteristics, such as centrally controlled management organizations and departmental division of responsibilities.

One of the outstanding features of this study is Zelin’s description and analysis (based on contracts in the Zigong archives) of the complex partnerships which the salt merchants developed to take advantage of these new technologies and market forces. Zelin argues that the Qing state’s enforcement of property rights and contracts formed the legal underpinnings for these partnerships and compensated for the absence of a commercial law. The state’s recognition of lineage trusts as associations not subject to household division formed the basis for the vertically integrated salt conglomerates. Lineage trusts “became a substitute for the corporate business forms being developed in the West” (p. 84).

State policies in the post-Taiping era reduced the advantages of vertical integration. In the 20th century, new technologies and new political realities resulted in fragmentation of the salt industry, changes in business organization, and the rise of a new elite. The discovery of a new source of salt, the rock-salt stratum, led to significant changes in the technology of salt production and to a large increase in production. Steam power gradually replaced buffalo as the source of power for drilling and operators of steam pumps became major players in the salt industry. After the establishment of the Republic in 1911, political realities changed dramatically and warlordism became a major factor in shaping the salt business. In this changed environment, the conglomerates faced bankruptcy and a new generation of elites with more diversified portfolios “relied

largely on networks, not simply of business relationships but of political relationships as well" (p. 185).

Zelin's study confirms that industrial development could occur within a "pre-modern" Chinese institutional and cultural framework. It is likewise significant because it supports the increasingly common conclusion that, during the Republican period, reliance on business and political networks in business organization was a response to political and economic realities, not an inherently Chinese way of doing business. Zelin has placed Chinese economic development in the mainstream of business history and added a dimension to the theory of the firm. The study must be taken into account by anyone concerned with Chinese economic development or business history.

ANDREA McELDERRY

Telling Stories: Witchcraft and Scapegoating in Chinese History. By BAREND J. TER HAAR. [Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2006. x + 378 pp. \$155.00. ISBN 90-04-14844-2.]

Fellow-students of Chinese beliefs will be particularly glad to welcome this third impressive monograph by Barend ter Haar, in that it shows that despite his onerous academic responsibilities he is still well able to sustain a rate of research and publication that would be very much to the credit of someone with no teaching or administrative duties at all. Though much of the secondary literature laid under contribution here he has generously drawn attention to already through his excellent website, the most staggering aspect of this work, as with his other writings, is the exceptional range of pre-modern sources he has examined in pursuit of those aspects of Chinese culture that with rare exceptions (one thinks of Eberhard) have eluded the attention of almost all other researchers. Yet, paradoxically, despite the mastery of textual sources on display in this volume, its keynote message is very much that we really must look beyond what we have and begin to take seriously the overwhelming importance of oral communication in China's past.

But this message is not something simply imposed on the body of research included here; rather, it emerges quite naturally from his findings, which cover three interrelated phenomena that can best be understood only in an oral context. Much thought has obviously been given to the organization across a number of discrete cases of the materials illustrating his main topics of fear, rumours, and reactions: tales of bogeymen and bogeywomen like Red Riding Hood's "grandmother;" tales of dismemberment; instances of scapegoating; belief in dangerous magical fauna; and fears relating to "wicked women and evil emperors." There is at least one added bonus. Incidental to the chapter on scapegoating we find an appendix that is

a typically challenging study giving a new explanation as to the status of the supposed underground brotherhood known as the Gelaohui – a study that is also typical of this specific monograph in that it exploits some rather varied terminology in textual materials by reconstructing the oral environment that the materials reflect. Although the book limits itself entirely to the period before 1900, it should certainly be read by anyone working with popular culture after that point simply with an eye to its methodology, if not to the often very interesting and surely still relevant content of the stories it tells.

For the emphasis here is often on the persistence of tradition, apparently by oral means. Panics that may only be associated with a particular passage in history, as with the reports of supposed sacrifices of humans to demons that cluster towards the thirteenth century (pp. 101–102) are passed over more rapidly, thus leaving open the question as to whether the most recent scholar to be cited on this phenomenon is right to see this as a passing reaction to the growth of popular religion or whether some other explanation (such as population pressures increasing tensions with non-Han inhabitants in the South that eventually eased as a result of epidemics) might suffice. For such questions are not germane to his main interest, which is by contrast pursued wherever it may lead. Even where ter Haar is working on Tang sources, well before the period with which he is most familiar, his reading of the relevant texts commands respect, as do his interpretations, though it might be wise not to place too much weight on rather different fears relating to Ming emperors as possibly helping to explain the Tang situation, nor would I personally abandon any possibility of Buddhist (or more generally, Indian) influence upon Tang accounts of “organ-snatching,” since the Chinese-looking notion of human sacrifice as regenerative is certainly present in Buddhist sources. These quibbles, however, do not amount to more than a hesitation; I would not presume to try to correct him on a topic where his research has cumulatively put him in a far better position to interpret sources on popular beliefs of this type than anyone else alive.

Rather, one imagines that the wealth of information contained in this study will make it, as with Eberhard’s work, a very popular sourcebook giving instant (and in this case often very meticulously tabulated) access to data that are hard to find so readily anywhere else. If so, then that alone would be a fine tribute to the author’s diligence. But one would hope that the interpretative ideas informing the organization of all this material will also meet with due attention. As the author himself is at pains to stress, for all that we think we know about the past through our written Chinese sources, these stories give us a glimpse of a complete unexplored continent of oral culture. We cannot yet be at all sure about the lie of the land, and one sincerely hopes that in future it turns out that laughter was as much part of that continent as panic and dismay, though his general point (one not limited to the monograph under review) – that the civil values of the Chinese elite have dominated our research perspectives

at the expense of other cultural elements perhaps not so congenial – is hard to disagree with. Barend ter Haar's careful reconnaissance of part of the terrain that lies before us should at least encourage others to venture forth also, even if he has shown just how energetic and resourceful one needs to be to achieve useful results.

T. H. BARRETT

Negotiating Masculinities in Late Imperial China. By MARTIN W. HUANG. [Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006. 284 pp. \$60.00. ISBN 0-8248-2896-8.]

In this book Martin Huang argues that different models of masculinity were constructed in relation to femininity during imperial China. On the one hand, masculinities were constructed in close association with femininity, as women were celebrated as the natural exemplars of loyalty. On the other hand, masculinities were defined in sharp contrast to the feminine as women were shunned as a threat to manhood. Through examining the differences and contradictions of these models, Huang aims to reveal the pluralistic and contested nature of the notions of masculinity.

Trained as a literary historian, Huang successfully and impressively moves beyond what is usually deemed as “literary” to include a wide range of genres: elite discourse, vernacular fiction and advice literature. His primary texts include Confucian classics, historical narratives, political treatises, poems, essays, dramas, fictional narratives and conduct guides. Huang's keen insights and enlightening perceptions were at times, both fascinating and sophisticated. This informative book contributes immensely not only to China studies, but also to the field of literature.

However, the theme of the book, the mutual construction of gender, is not a new one. China scholars have long argued this theme from the perspective of Chinese classical philosophy, that is, there is femaleness (*yin*) in maleness (*yang*) and maleness in femaleness and the two are in constant motion relative to each other. What is new in this book is Huang's perception of the conflicted fashion in which masculinities were constituted through femininity in late imperial China.

In delineating the contradictory models of masculinities, Huang fails to foreground a crucial theme that underlies and unifies his analysis, that is, the intertwined relationships between politics and the construction of masculinities. As the book contends, before China was unified under a centralized imperial monarch, manhood was deemed as independent in contrast to obedient womanhood. It was not until the Qin dynasty that men started using abandoned women, widows and prostitutes as a metaphor to contest their own marginalized and emasculated status in the new political regime. During the

Maoist era, intellectuals again claimed they were “being raped like women by politics.” Such a coalescence of politics and the construction of masculinities to contest subjugation needs to be teased out at the forefront and explored as a crucial thread throughout the book.

While the book argues that different models of masculinities were constructed vis-à-vis femininity, it offers only a static view of femininity stripped of historical and social underpinnings and significances. It should be noted in the book that when men lauded and elevated women at the pedestal of Confucian ideals, what they were really doing was to reproduce and reinforce social pressure on women to maintain familial and national order. Research has shown that at times of high social mobility in imperial China, the blurry class boundary and competition for status produced a proliferation of writings about women as the guardians of morality and stability, carrying forward the status of their families and the honour of their class in the face of threats. In other words, men’s class and social stability were policed and maintained through their eulogies of women as the bearers of traditional virtues. Without contextualizing and problematizing men’s emphasis on women as the quintessential carriers of the Confucian ideal, Huang only offers a one-dimensional account of the mutual construction of masculinities and femininities.

Two other issues need to be reconsidered in the book. One is what Huang identifies as the contradiction between the manhood affirmed by a man’s appreciation of beauty and the manhood affirmed by a man’s dissonance with, and distance from, women. It should be pointed out here that elite males were referring to two different kinds of women. The independent and un-possessed beauty was cast distinctly from the ruled, controlled wives who lost their autonomy and self-identity. While appreciating beauty could prove a man’s charm and conquering charisma, violence upon and distance from wives could prove a man’s loyalty to his brotherhood. Huang fails to discern the different natures of the women and lumps all women together, and hence deems it as a contradiction in the model of masculinity. In effect, however, what we see is a consistent and coherent misogynist view promulgated by the male elite.

A final issue pertains to his analysis of how the Han Chinese man brought civilization into the world of the primitive by using his yang energy to rid the Miao stone girl of her sterility. One questions why primitivity was identified with sterility and ignorance of sex, rather than fertility and unbridled sexuality. Given the abundant literature on the eroticization and exoticization of the minorities in China, one would continue to question why Huang does not address the disparity between the existing literature and his findings – could we speculate that it was the introduction of western anthropology that instigated the later representation of the Miao people as fertile and sexually uninhibited?

ZHENG TIANIAN

Paper Swordsmen: Jin Yong and the Modern Chinese Martial Arts Novel. By JOHN CHRISTOPHER HAMM. [Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2005. xi + 348 pp. \$49.00. ISBN 0-8248-2763-5.]

John Christopher Hamm's ambitious new book is the first book-length study of Jin Yong (Zha Liangyong, Louis Cha, b. 1924) and the 20th-century Chinese Martial Arts novel to be published in English. Drawing heavily upon the work of Pierre Bourdieu, Hamm presents Jin Yong's weighty oeuvre in the context of its reading communities, considering in particular "these communities' synchronic and diachronic variations" (p. 10). With Benedict Anderson in mind, Hamm also situates Jin Yong's fiction within the discourse of print capitalism and illustrates with fascinating detail how the author used his writing to both create a market for his newspaper empire, and how, in turn, that same empire functioned in the marketing of his novels in print, television and film. Hamm's key statement on Jin Yong does not present itself until half-way through the book: "Not merely in the contents of his fiction but through his efforts to define the contents of that fiction's reception as well, [Jin Yong] asserts culture's claim to a voice independent of politics narrowly defined and one empowered to articulate its own visions of Chinese and, more broadly, human identity" (p. 167).

Criticism of Jin Yong has often been limited to a criticism of his politics. The cited passage is therefore especially important in its attempt to extract Jin Yong and his writing from the political arena and at the same time to place his work within a newly defined canon of not only Chinese, but World literature. Both Hong Kong fiction and, in particular, Martial Arts fiction have historically been labelled lowbrow and therefore inconsequential by the academy. Hamm is to be commended for his re-evaluation of the narrow prejudices that have plagued the field and for placing Hong Kong on the literary map in very bold letters. Hamm is also aware, however, that he is complicit in an elaborate, if paradoxical, plan orchestrated by Jin Yong the savvy businessman and champion of an "authentic" Chinese identity.

In the early chapters, Hamm connects history, literary and cultural theory, and close readings of Jin Yong's novels to illustrate the peculiarities of literary production in Jin Yong's Hong Kong. Chapter one begins with an intriguing description of the match between two local martial artists, Wu Gongyi and Chen Kefu, which took place in Macau on 3 January 1954. Following the match, enthusiasm for the study of the martial arts exploded and soon the "New School" of Martial Arts fiction was born with the publication of Liang Yusheng's *Dragon and Tiger Vie in the Capital*. Hamm also provides a history of the genre, tracing the ideal of the *xia*, or knight-errant, from the Warring States Period to the Qing dynasty and into the 20th century.

In Chapter two, Hamm connects Hong Kong's New School Martial Arts fiction with its immediate predecessor, Guangdong School Martial Arts fiction, delineating a "Guangdong hero" who, in

response to war with Japan and internal civil strife, finds himself entering a “new locale, a new political environment, a new historical era, and consequently a new relationship with something identified as Chinese culture” (p. 48). In Chapter three, the travelling hero settles in Hong Kong as Hamm analyses Jin Yong’s first novel, *Book and Sword, Gratitude and Revenge* (1955). The reader is transported to 1955 Hong Kong, a place temporally and spatially distant from “cultural China” (p. 75). The specificity of the historical moment and of the cultural context in which Jin Yong produces his first work becomes indelibly clear to the reader here and provides the framework for Hamm’s carefully wrought narrative.

In Chapter four, Hamm discusses the “heroic nationalism” present in *The Eagle-Shooting Heroes* (1957), and its sequel *The Giant Eagle and Its Companion* (1959). Here Hamm reminds us that the “exilic metaphors and narratives of loss” that characterize Jin Yong’s early novels are transformed into a “creative and celebratory vision of a Chinese cultural tradition conceived as untainted by political struggle, manifested through individual subjectivity, and independent of, though still emotionally tied to, the physical territory of the Chinese empire” (p. 80).

Readers who are not fond of the genre or are less interested in literary analysis will find respite in Chapters five and seven as Hamm discusses the construction of the “Jin Yong Phenomenon.” The strategic placement of a biography of Jin Yong, alongside a discussion of Jin’s *Ming Pao* publishing empire and the eventual canonization of his fiction mid-book, makes *Paper Swordsmen* a study not just for scholars of literature, but also for those interested in the history, culture, politics and economics of post-1949 Hong Kong. It is while reading these chapters in particular that the reader longs for an illustration or two; as a book largely about the power of print culture, it is oddly conservative in its presentation.

Chapters six and eight include analyses of *Wanderer* (1967) and Jin Yong’s final novel, *The Deer and the Cauldron* (1969). Hamm argues that it was the publication of *The Deer and the Cauldron* that transformed Jin Yong into a writer worthy of serious critical attention. Some believe it is because of the highly nuanced and beloved *Deer and Cauldron* character Wei Xiaobao that Jin Yong deserves a place in literary history alongside the creator of the venerable Ah Q, the so-called father of modern Chinese literature, Lu Xun. Hamm stops short of making such a declaration himself, retreating instead to a discussion of the complex relationship between Jin Yong and mainland China in chapters nine and ten.

The final chapters are especially interesting for what they reveal about the ambitions of Hamm the young scholar and Jin Yong the media mogul, as well as the Chinese literary world at present and how we write about it here in the West. With *Paper Swordsman*, Hamm has undertaken the tremendously difficult task of discussing thousands of pages of fiction alongside the historical and cultural contexts in which

that fiction was created. Hamm notes early in the book that he draws “heavily on published studies of the genre” and “makes no claims to originality.” While his modesty is refreshing, his good-humoured jabs at the work of C. T. Hsia and Chen Pingyuan mark his ambition well.

By Chapter ten, some readers may wonder if Hamm has not been too ambitious with this first book. There are loose ends that might have been tidied earlier on; obtaining access to a complete run of *Mingbao wanbao*, for example, would have allowed for a more precise discussion of *Book and the Sword* in Chapter seven. Some will ask if such detail, in an otherwise impeccably researched book, was not sacrificed to make way for the discussion in Chapter ten of the Wang Shuo debacle. Other readers will counter that the author, like Jin Yong himself, understands the complexity of packaging, and that Hamm could not write about Jin Yong without discussing his (and Wang Shuo’s) role in redefining the Chinese literary field at the turn of the twenty-first century. Hamm’s book makes a major contribution to the fields of modern Chinese literary and cultural studies. One can only hope that in future, he writes more about Jin Yong – the films and television serials, comic books and video games, and the translations of Jin Yong’s fiction into other languages that he only alludes to in his preface.

ANN HUSS

Unreal City: A Chinese Poet in Auckland. By YANG LIAN (Edited by Hilary Chung and Jacob Edmond). [Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2006. 98 pp. \$19.95. ISBN 1-86940-354-1.]

This book is a collection of 26 poems and five pieces of prose written by Yang Lian, and translated from the Chinese by the editors, Hilary Chung and Jacob Edmond. Seventeen years ago, in February 1989, Yang Lian went to New Zealand to lecture on contemporary Chinese literature at the University of Auckland. While there, he publicly supported the Tiananmen protest movement that was violently suppressed on 4 June. Consequently Yang Lian underwent a period of exile, during which he was deprived of his Chinese citizenship. For the first three years he was based in Auckland. Afterwards he led a floating life, moving from country to country, but finally settling in the UK, in a status of semi-dissidence.

These first years of his floating life were of inestimable importance in his development as a writer. The discomforts of exile seem to have generated a self-searching poetic energy in the effort of coming to terms with the multiple anxieties of belonging (“but forget whoever came has gone/ all the shadows stay in the body”), and with a meticulous self-reflective contemplation (“tidying the room every morning/ like meticulously rearranging a posthumous landscape”).

The editors have collected and presented these writings in a way that links them to recognizable places, and that tracks down references with facts: their primary motif being the relation of Yang's writings to the city of Auckland. The framework provided is well structured and arranges useful biographical information and intriguing insights into Yang's work. I am however not entirely sure of the underlying geographical motif. While recognizing a tension between location and dislocation in Yang Lian's poetry, Hilary Chung's and Jacob Edmond's repeated reference to specific places seems to shift the focus from what these writings say about Yang Lian to what these writings tell us about his connection with the New Zealand city. But, to my mind, the fact that Yang Lian makes some use of Auckland's landmarks as material for his imagery does not justify such a shift. These images can hardly be considered as located in space, or as a source of geographical evidence. Using the image of Grafton Bridge, or of the Winter Garden, for example, Yang Lian attends in a quasi-perceptual way to those places, but the resulting images are so strictly personal that they say very little about Auckland, and much more about Yang Lian's poetic experience.

The poet René Char once said: "A poet must leave traces of his passage, not proof." Now having re-read these poems, I am sure of this. These writings are the traces left by a man who is becoming unmoored in more ways than one. The physical and psychological displacement seems to break into the symbolic chain Yang Lian used to rely on to make sense of his existence. This would affect his literary style, and make him experiment boldly with language, imagery, theme, and technique.

Even in his poetic prose *Ghost Talk* Yang Lian forgoes the creation of a coherent narrative, in favour of piling up images and impressions, memories and silences.

The landscapes, seascapes, townscapes and the portraits of buildings appear characterized by gaps, shadows and liminalities, as places of rupture which can be seen as the reflections of the fractured emotional landscape. The subject matter in these poems revolves around the disintegration of personal history and memory and the way such disintegration is embodied in poetic experience. Related concerns range from the dangers and possibilities of living in exile to loss and separation: "every word you delete in your life comes back to delete you;" "the age of thirty is a door opening on madness/ another street awaits me;" "after we have dismembered the world with fractured compound eyes/ we go blind;" "I am forgotten/ stopping on an intersection. I am mistaken."

This book shows that writing between cultures opens up several possibilities, not in the least through the working of translation. Through translation, these poems appear woven into both the New Zealand and Chinese poetic traditions, allowing these two countries' poetry to find moments of communion.

These annotated translations are therefore a welcome contribution to the field of the literatures and cultures of China and New Zealand.

COSIMA BRUNO

East by South: China in the Australasian Imagination. Edited by CHARLES FERRALL, PAUL MILLAR and KEREN SMITH. [Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2005. 439 pp. ISBN 0-86473-491-3.]

East by South: China in the Australasian Imagination presents a series of essays exploring various aspects of “Orientalism” in New Zealand and Australian representations of China and Chinese peoples from literary, historical and cultural studies perspectives, with a weighting (11 of the 20 essays) toward literature and the other arts. The book starts from the observation that “Australian and New Zealand national identity has so often been constructed either in opposition to the ‘yellow peril’ or as some embrace of the exotic ‘other’” (p. 7) and also includes essays exploring the place of Chinese peoples in both countries in the past and present. Such research is important and timely given the historical and contemporary importance of China to Australia and New Zealand and the significant ethnically Chinese populations within both countries. The framing of the topic, the selection and ordering of the chapters and their variable quality mean, however, that the collection does not entirely realize its promise, although the variety of perspectives does offer rich groundwork for futures studies.

The framing of the collection around the term *Australasian imagination* is doubly problematic. Firstly, the term *Australasian* seems misapplied to a collection that includes a disproportionate number of essays focusing exclusively on New Zealand. By my count, nine essays discuss New Zealand topics, seven Australian, with only three offering some sort of trans-Tasman perspective. Moreover, the attempts to cross the divide between the two countries only underscore the difficulties associated with the term. For example, when Ferrall writes in his introductory essay that “in Australasia no other social or ethnic group has been the object of such prolonged and intense vilification as the Chinese,” he inadvertently sidelines the treatment of Australian Aborigines in an effort to make a statement that fits both countries (p. 10). Secondly, the term *imagination* is problematic in a way that is highlighted by several of the contributors, especially Brian Moloughney and Wenche Ommundsen, who notes: “The assumption is that we know who does the imagining, who is being imagined, and these two categories are separate and not to be confused” (p. 405). Basing a collection on the idea that “China” and the “Chinese” are objects separate from a non-Chinese New Zealand

and Australian imagination does indeed “risk repeating the very Orientalism it sought to critique” (p. 7).

In response to their cognizance of this issue, expressed in the above quotation at the start of the volume, the editors append a concluding Part B entitled “Alternatives to Australasian Orientalism.” While going some way toward redressing the assumptions of the title terms, it is unclear why perspectives that acknowledge the voice and agency of ethnically Chinese people in New Zealand and Australia had to be left largely to the final 100 pages of the 400-page book and why such important documenters of the history of the Chinese in Australasia as Manying Ip are absent from the volume. Reinforcing this absence, Tony Ballantyne argues strongly against the silencing of Chinese history in New Zealand for the sake of biculturalism, suggesting the need to acknowledge the role of Chinese people as active agents in, and not just passive objects of, an Australasian imagination. But this essay and Henry Johnson’s on Chinese New Year performances are exceptions to the general focus on China and the Chinese as objects of a European-Australasian gaze in the first three quarters of the book. Their apparently anomalous placement appears to be part of a wider problem in the volume in the ordering and editing of the essays. For example, by the time one reaches Johnson’s article on page 217, one has already encountered mention of the New Zealand poll tax on Chinese immigrants and Prime Minister Helen Clark’s 2002 apology several times, each time presented as if it were new information. In contrast to this redundancy, however, fundamental facts about the history of Chinese migration to New Zealand provided by Johnson are new and would have usefully been provided in the introduction, along with similar information relating to Australia.

These problems should not detract from the challenging new, often polemical views on China and Chinese peoples in New Zealand and Australian history, literature and society, such as those noted above. These are, however, interspersed with anachronistic chapters, such as an essay on “China in the American Bestseller” and a personal account of New Zealander Phil Mann’s time in China and its relation to his science fiction novel, and essays that are weak in their analysis or argumentation or both. For example, Adam Lam’s essay proposes to explore the important new cultural realm of the Internet chat-room only to fall into unsubstantiated hyperbole, hailing the elimination of political borders and the rise of the “netizens of a (utopian) democracy” (p. 360). If such excessive claims are all too common in *East by South*, they nevertheless in themselves cast important light on the flux and polemic that characterizes current discourse surrounding China and Chinese peoples in New Zealand and Australia. Thus this uneven selection of essays should succeed at least in provoking more detailed research and more nuanced argument on the topic in the future.

JACOB EDMOND