

tied to an elaborate ritual complex (Freedman, Baker, Potter, Watson and Watson). He contrasts this “associational mode” of kinship organization with the “fixed genealogical mode” he finds in north China, where, in the absence of shared property, patrilineal kinship focuses on the senior descent line and is supported by a ritual complex centring on graves and the Qingming festival, tablets and scrolls displayed during New Year visits. This mode, as he asserts, does not define access to corporate property, but confirms a formal kinship relationship between agnates.

Cohen is also in dialogue with Steven Sangren (1984) who uses a structuralist (and non-historical) approach to disentangle kinship and organizational elements in Freedman’s paradigm (see also Chen Chi-nan 1983). His differences with David Faure (1986), who observes how lineage formations were intertwined with settlement histories and the downward percolation of literati culture in late imperial south China, point to a dialogue about historical anthropology. Cohen sees unity in the essential features of family and kinship in north, south, east and west China. Rather than asserting that various forms of solidarity existed within an overall cultural repertoire, Faure probes the differences underneath and explains the variations. He takes the topic beyond kinship, and locates the emergence of lineage formations, especially those in Guangdong, Fujian, Jiangnan and Shanxi, in historically agentive moments where the making of local society and macro political processes of state-making were mutually constitutive (Faure forthcoming). I look forward to further conversations.

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魯禮安著、王紹光校讀：《仰天長嘯：一個單監十一年的紅衛兵獄中籲天錄》。香港：中文大學出版社，2005。(*Outcry from a Red Guard Imprisoned during the Cultural Revolution*, by Lu Li’an and edited by Wang Shaoguang. Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 2005. 656pp. US\$23 (Paperback). ISBN: 962-996-250-0)

Memoirs about the Chinese Cultural Revolution fall into at least five types. There are those written by persecuted intellectuals, by high-level party leaders, by ordinary individuals, by the English-writing Chinese diaspora,

and by former Red Guard leaders. These memoirs present different images of the Cultural Revolution depending on the authors' individual experience and the audience targeted. Readers of this journal are perhaps most familiar with the profitable industry of English-language memoirs. With a few exceptions, personal accounts by former Red Guard leaders are conspicuously missing. This leads to the curious phenomenon that the story of the Red Guard Movement, arguably the most important aspect of the Cultural Revolution, is told mostly by those on the periphery, not in the centre of the storm. Lu Li'an's memoir thus fills a yawning gap. His is the story of an influential rebel leader in the city of Wuhan, itself a major battleground of the Cultural Revolution.

Rebel leaders were of various stripes. Some rose to important positions of power in the Cultural Revolution but were indicted at the end of it. Nie Yuanzi, Kuai Dafu, and Tan Houlan in Beijing were perhaps the best known examples. Others were taken into custody in the middle of the Red Guard Movement or during the period of "cleansing of class ranks" but were rehabilitated after the Cultural Revolution. Lu Li'an belonged to this second group. But Lu differed from most Red Guard leaders in a crucial way. He was among a small handful who took the Cultural Revolution so seriously that they sought theoretical foundations and practical means to transform it into a real revolution — a fundamental change in the national power structures and social structures. Lu's memoir provides a gripping account of how he came to this position and what disasters his words and activities brought to him and some of his fellow rebels.

Cultural Revolution memoirs, especially those in English, have been subject to such critical scrutiny that they seem to suffer from a sort of "credibility crisis." But if readers bring with them a healthy lens of scepticism and an appreciation of the differences between historical evidence and personal memory, memoirs can offer powerful insights into the meaning of historical experience. Overall I find Lu's account credible. He apparently chewed over many details of his life during his eleven years in prison. Indeed, because of the repeated interrogations he was subjected to, he was forced to recall detail after detail over and over. Furthermore, many of his key activities involved other historical figures and therefore are verifiable to some extent. And finally, the book is carefully edited by Wang Shaoguang, author of two books on the Cultural Revolution and a leading expert on the Cultural Revolution in Wuhan.

The book consists of two parts. Part One takes the story from Lu's childhood to July 1968, when he was kidnapped by an opposing faction. Lu

devotes relatively little space — one chapter out of a total of twenty-four — to his childhood years. He was born in 1946 and started junior high school in 1959. He remembered not having enough to eat during the “three years of natural disaster,” but clearly he had fond memories of his school days. He was a good student and athlete in junior and senior high school.

Lu’s college life coincided with the heyday of the Cultural Revolution. He started college in the autumn of 1965, at the Central China Institute of Technology (CCIT) in his home town. Before the end of his first year, the Cultural Revolution was in full swing. As in other schools and universities, a work-team came to CCIT to guide the Cultural Revolution. The work-team encouraged students to expose “bad elements,” thus creating conflicts among students. Initially Lu was more of a spectator, but his sympathy lay with the student minority under attack by the work-team. One evening, he and two female classmates went to watch the two camps debating with each other. One of the girls prodded him, “Aren’t you a good speaker? Why don’t you step forward and talk some?” (p. 70) Lu did, and as a result, he turned from a spectator into an active participant.

One may argue that Lu stepped into the political storm quite accidentally. There is nothing more natural than when a young man is goaded into action by a young woman. Perhaps herein lies an insight into political activism. Perhaps it is small social interactions like these, as much as socio-structural factors like one’s family background, that create the immediate motivations for participating in politically risky activities. And once the first step is taken, the next becomes easier. Time and again, Lu remembers how he felt a sense of pride and empowerment because of the encouragement he received from classmates for a speech he made or a wall-poster he put up and how this sense of empowerment radicalized him further. Every small incident of social engagement took him one step deeper into the vortex of the political storm. Below is an abbreviated inventory of his major deeds:

- In late August 1966, he put up his first wall-poster, a critique of a speech made in his university by the Governor of Hubei province. He denounced the Governor’s speech as a defence of the work-team.
- In November 1966, having been excluded from Red Guard organizations because of his family background, he went on a long march to Yan’an with a team of 45 school mates. They walked long distances in emulation of the Red Army soldiers of an earlier age.

- Upon returning to Wuhan in January 1967, Lu Li'an joined the ranks of the rebels and in time started his own rebel organization called "New CCIT Daredevils," which gained considerable influence.
- After the downfall of the conservative organizations in July 1967, Lu disbanded his rebel organization and started a study society in order to make theoretical preparations for a new stage of political struggle. He named it the Society of the Plough.

For this last activity, Lu Li'an was to be imprisoned for eleven years, from 1968 to 1979. What about Lu's study society was so terrifying that he was subjected to such harsh punishment?

Chapter Six of the book, on the rise and fall of the Society of the Plough, provides an answer. We see here how Lu Li'an wrote a manifesto declaring the will of a small group of individuals to carry the Cultural Revolution to the end, how he gathered with his friends to study the works of Karl Marx and Mao Zedong, and how he proclaimed in his articles that the next stage of the Cultural Revolution would be a peasant war. None of these, taken alone, looked particularly radical or subversive. All seemed to be consistent with the official ideology, perhaps even more so than the official rhetoric. To the central authorities, however, this was the most terrifying thing. Like others of his ilk, such as Yang Xiguang in Hunan province, author of the influential essay "Wither China," Lu Li'an took the values of the ruling class more seriously than the power elites themselves. He was challenging the ruling elites by holding them up to their own criteria of Marxism and Mao Zedong Thought. As political theorists have warned us, this critique from within the hegemony constitutes a most powerful kind of political dissent. This explains Lu's downfall.

Lu Li'an was imprisoned without any formal charge. The second part of his book details his enormous sufferings as a political prisoner. It is a heart-rending story of how a thinking and feeling human being struggled to remain human in the dehumanizing and maddening prison-cell of a world. In one of the most touching passages of the book, Lu writes that from the solitude of his prison, he would often look at a distant mountain, admire its seasonal change of colours, and envy the shadowy human figures coming and going freely on the mountain slope. It was this undying desire for freedom that sustained him through the long years. He vowed to himself one day that if he lived to leave the prison, he would tell his story to the world. It is a historical irony that Lu could not publish his book in mainland

China. The Chinese University Press deserves applause for making this valuable book available.

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*China after Jiang, 2003*, edited by Gang Lin and Xiaobo Hu. Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Center Press and Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2003. 172 pp. US\$17.95 (Paperback). ISBN 0-8047-4919-1

Lin Gang and Hu Xiaobo have edited an important book for assessing the dramatic transformation of Chinese society from a variety of angles. The project collected an impressive team of experts on Chinese politics, society and government. Their chapters in the book shed new insights on our understanding of Jiang Zemin's legacies and their challenges to Hu Jintao's leadership.

The book begins with Lowell Dittmer's chapter on the elite politics of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). More concretely, it deals with the succession politics of the party. Its informative analysis of the power transfer process from Jiang to Hu in the lead-up to the 16th National Congress in 2002 and their interaction immediately afterwards helps us to grasp the nature of Chinese elite politics. The two tracks of formal and informal politics at the apex of power have been Dittmer's research focus for some years. The chapter captures new developments in these two processes. In the same volume, the chapter by Backman also goes into considerable depth on CCP power politics. Inevitably both chapters highlight the role of leadership strife in the Jiang and post-Jiang eras.

This review is belatedly written on a book that deals with a highly time-effective subject. In a way this may offer more constructive scope for an objective discussion, as the events since the publication of the book offer a background to assessing the tentative argument of both chapters.

A few points for debate can be raised. First, did Jiang's retention of the CMC chair really qualify the two-line leadership leading to a "two-power-centre" phenomenon between November 2002 and September 2004? In retrospect one may be tempted to believe that Jiang was entrusted by the party with running military affairs for a period of time beyond 2002 in which the PLA was undergoing a complicated reform programme. In a