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Book Reviews

Eric MA [a], Janice Hua Xu [b], Leung Yuen Sang [c], Wei Yongzheng [d] & Hung Wong [e]

[a] The Chinese University of Hong Kong

[b] Cabrini College

[c] Chinese University of Hong Kong

[d] Shue-Yan University and Communication University of China

[e] Chinese University of Hong Kong

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BOOK REVIEWS

Created in China: The great new leap forward, by MICHEAL KEANE, London, Routledge, 2008, $150 (hard), 192 pp.

Created in China, written by Michael Keane, is a timely book about the process by which the international discourse of creativity is appropriated in China and the implications of this process in the growth of creative industries on a national scale. Engaging discussion and arguments operate at the governmental, the educational, the cultural, the aesthetic, and most significantly, the industrial level.

The theme of the book, "created in China", is set in contrast with another prominent positioning of China as the world's factory in the global economy. During the past three decades, when China has started to re-establish her relations with the world, the international division of labor has been moving toward a global configuration in which China has become the large factory which produces low-cost products for the rest of the world, exploiting the seemingly unlimited supply of cheap labor and land resources resulting from rapid urbanization. Imageries of this international order seem to inflate popular labels such "China as World Factory" and "Made in China" to a set of very stable and popular discourses. Michael Keane, at this particular historical and discursive juncture, intervenes by charting the beginning of the "new leap forward" as China translates the international discourse of creative industries into her own government-endorsed policy.

The book argues that China has transformed, initially at least, into a stage in which creative industries are here to stay as well as becoming influential in both economical and cultural terms. This new turn implies sequences of other changes and questions for researchers to document and answer: Is China a creative nation? Is there a growing and competent creative class (or social sector) besides low-cost working class? Can China's contemporary creative industries tap into the nation's long histories, rich traditions, and cultural resources? Are products created in China unique in a sense that patterns of creativity are bounded by, and at the same time empowered by, Chinese traditions?

These are important questions. They open up new conceptual windows for studying China. As Keane has pointed out: "There are many important social issues that conventionally organize research into China: democratization, information control, human rights, economic reform, environmental degradation, rule of law, nationalism, to name but a few . . . , however, much research in the field is predicated on a static image of China" (p. 154). *Created in China* looks into the possibility of changes, while at the same time paying attention to the continuity of the Chinese socialist model of master-planning and distributing resources in the new endeavor of branding China as a creative nation.

This brings us to another question: Is social control inhibiting creativity in general and creative industries in particular? Keane notes a key element of creative industries is novelty generation and diversity – as opposed to pure information delivery and propaganda functions. We need to ask whether the media in China generate novel ideas,

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embed new ideas, or reinforce existing ideas (p. 5). This brings us to the issue of political economy. One very familiar thesis is that in China, the media and creative industries are controlled, firstly by the authoritarian state, and secondly by multinationals and national champions. The book argues for a direct engagement with innovation in China, in a discursive context where media in China are common-sensically framed in terms of control and manipulation. Keane suggests that "China's next 'stage of development' may see its cultural producers successfully targeting regional and international markets. In order to achieve this, however, there is a need for Chinese cultural and media industries to break free of institutional and political shackles" (p. 5).

It is quite arguable to suggest that market forces can enhance creativity and counter the sometimes very authoritarian political control from the Chinese government. However, the book is not just about a simple argument of liberalizing China through rising market demands; it is also a complex argument of market segmentation, cultural differentiation and the injection of new ideas from scholars, business professionals, and international consultants.

The book is divided into two parts. The first part, based on secondary sources, offers a historical sketch of culture and commerce in China. It ranges from key ideas of Chinese culture, stages of development, and institutional change in Chinese history, to a historical overview of cultural commerce, Marxist cultural renovation and nation building, and finally to the culture fever and cultural changes in post-Mao China. Readers familiar with Chinese culture and history might find the first part of the book somewhat scattershot and occasionally generalized, but it has nicely narrated a theme on the connections between culture and commerce, which provides a historical context for the discussion of Part II.

In the second part of the book, Keane has traced the emergence of the rhetoric of creativity, which has moved from the margins into mainstream discourse. It describes how the catch-up mentality has been conducive to the change from the mode of "Made in China" to "Created in China". It also provides interesting descriptions of a wide range of sectors in the newly flourishing creative industries in Beijing, Shanghai, Zhejiang, and Henan. The last chapter offers a synthesis and assessment of the prospects of "Created in China".

A major contribution of this book is the documentation and indication of the emergence of new industrial discourse of creativity in China, while examining this set of socio-cultural formation through the lens of the diffusion and exchange of ideas in an international context of new creative economies.

ERIC MA
The Chinese University of Hong Kong

Television in Post-Reform China: Serial dramas, Confucian leadership and the global television market, by YING ZHU, London, Routledge, 2008, $150 (hard), 177 pp.

The author of the book, Dr Ying Zhu, is a well-published specialist in Chinese television. An associate professor of media culture at City University of New York-Staten Island, the author uses a combination of institutional examination and textual analysis to map the political economic, ideological and historical factors behind the

popularity of TV drama in China since the 1990s, specifically "dynasty drama" and "domestic drama". In addition, the book makes a comparative analysis of stylistic components of Chinese dramas and their international counterparts, and offers a colorful picture of transborder Chinese-language media markets, contributing to theoretical discussions on globalization and the role of cultural products in a dynamic process. With rich information on historical and contemporary aspects of China's television industry as well as insightful analyses, the book is a highly valuable addition to the field of global media studies.

The book is divided into seven chapters. Chapter One provides an account of the evolution of Chinese television drama since 1958, and explains the role of state policy in the development of television drama production in China, illustrated with rich data. It then discusses academic research interests in Chinese television in China and in the English-speaking academy. The author suggests that the research community in the West has yet to catch up with the explosion of new genres in Chinese. After raising a series of questions for further exploration, the chapter then offers an overview of the rest of the book, which as the author explains is structured from a cultural-linguistic market framework, "utilized to factor in the transnational economic forces at work in the ascendance of certain types of TV dramas from the three production centers, Hong Kong, the PRC, and Taiwan" (p. 19).

Chapter Two explores the factors behind the popularity of China's popular dynasty drama, and links it with its offspring, the contemporary anti-corruption drama. As the author explains, the dynasty drama is politically charged, as these primetime dramas focus on exemplary emperors of bygone dynasties. These dramas feature emperors and patriots struggling against internal corruption and social injustice as well as external threats. Using *Yongzheng Dynasty* for case analysis, the author argues that these depictions speak to the popular disaffection with China's modern leaders and despair about the society's loss of moral grounding. As the author points out, the dramas eulogizing the Great Qing Dynasty reveal nostalgia for strong leadership which is lacking in current time. In linking the drama content with contemporary debates, the chapter also delineates the political and cultural climate in China from the 1990s to the early 2000s, which was influenced by trends that include Neo-authoritarianism, New Conservatism, and the New Left, explained by the author with well-documented references.

Chapter Three gives detailed analysis of the revisionist historical epic *Marching Towards the Republic* aired on CCTV in 2003, which provoked heated discussions among intellectuals in China about political reform as well as the dynasty drama *Emperor Hanwu*, which aired in 2005, featuring a great ruler in the Han Dynasty. By associating historical circumstances in the dramas to contemporary political conditions, the author furthers her argument that historical dramas serve as conduits of political discourse. She makes a convincing case for her point that Hanwu articulated a prosperous era with a sage leader who institutionalized Confucian principles in governance.

While Chapter Two and Three successfully uncover the political themes of these epic dramas by employing textual and historical analyses, the next two chapters offer in-depth dissections of stylistic elements of the genre and address the connections of Chinese television dramas with those produced in other parts of the world. Chapter Four provides a brief account of the evolution of serial narrative in China and other parts of Asia. By then making a comparative analysis of factors such as narrative chain, plot progression, character design, and audiovisual style, the author suggests that politically charged Chinese dramas represented by *Yongzheng Dynasty* share

many narrative traits with US primetime dramas. The author also relates the similarities to a recent trend in Chinese television to emulate American commercial television practices.

Chapter Five addresses the popularity of domestically-themed Chinese television dramas and examines subgenres such as the urban family drama and Republican era family saga drama. The author emphasizes some similarities between Chinese serial dramas and Latin American *telenovelas*, while also pointing to the diversity within them and the existence of different legacies. In discussing the "pink drama" depicting the romantic life of urban female professionals, as well as the "idol drama" and East Asia "trendy drama" focusing on personal relationships, the author examines the influence of Korean dramas on Chinese popular culture. The chapter also looks at the recent rise of co-production projects between Chinese television professionals and foreign partners.

Chapter Six studies the transnational circulation of Chinese language television by looking at dramas produced in Hong Kong, Taiwan, and mainland China and their relative market strengths overseas. Specific examples such as Chinese-language media in American Chinatowns and Hong Kong-based satellite and cable broadcaster Phoenix Television are discussed. The author contends that the emergence of a Chinese cultural-linguistic market complicates global cultural flows and power dynamics, bringing about an increasingly visible challenge to the global dominance of American-made cultural products. The chapter also explores theoretical implications of this trend on issues of cultural imperialism, globalization and cultural identity. In particular, the author explores the connection of these phenomena with Arjun Appadurai's mapping of global cultural economy and Robertson's notion of "glocalization". Building upon these theoretical discussions, the author argues that understanding "grouping" beyond the center-periphery dynamics is imperative for putting the globalization process in perspective. She points out the importance of seeing the historically contingent nature of the linguistic, cultural, political, economic, and aesthetic affiliations of the audience.

In the final chapter of the book, the author offers an insightful analysis of the current position of Chinese cultural industries, including television, in playing their usual role in support of the state's broad purposes while making a profit. She looks beyond the subject of television and discusses a potential for Chinese cultural traditions, particularly Confucianism, to provide intellectual and moral grounds for its economic and political development, possibly impacting "Greater China" in the age of globalization. Meanwhile she points out that the coalition of state, intellectual, popular and commercial interests would not hold together indefinitely. Specifically, the author expresses her frustrations with the Chinese authorities' interference with innovative practices of the newly deregulated television industry that might have led to its greater success. "Is this suppression of narrative controversy in television dramas really keeping public anger about official corruption, or public discussion of political alternatives and reform at bay? Isn't it mainly just frustrating to the industry and audiences alike?" (p. 135). It is very impressive to see the author's scope of knowledge of Chinese political culture as well as the entertainment industry in her analysis of the role of television in serving the Hu Jintao administration's motto of building a "socialist harmonious society".

The final portion of Chapter Seven contemplates the future of the television drama in China and sheds light on the recent emergence of reality TV. *Super Girl* and its sequel, *Happy Boys' Voice,* which are seen as examples of the victory of the

grassroots over the elite culture, are enticing Chinese audiences and media watchdogs in a new direction. Meanwhile, the author argues, television dramas will continue to be popular, as new competitions "could just as easily reinvigorate Chinese TV drama by forcing open a new terrain of marginal and/or challenging subjects and alternative styles" (p. 142).

The Foreword by Staley Rosen, a political scientist and China specialist at the University of Southern California, offers a valuable historical and cultural context of the role of entertainment media television dramas in the relationship between the Chinese state and society. It is particularly helpful for Western readers who may not be familiar with Chinese politics to understand the author's points on how Chinese television programming involves an inevitable negotiation between the audience-driven imperatives of the market and the political imperatives of the state. As the author points out, China is now the biggest consumer of television dramas in the world. With its accessible prose and strong synthesis, this book will be immensely valuable for scholars and students of mass communication, political science, history, and Asian Studies, or anyone interested in Chinese popular culture.

JANICE HUA XU
Cabrini College

Wenren lunzheng: Zhishifenzi yu baokan (Political Discourse of Intellectuals: The literati and the press), edited by CHIN-CHUAN LEE, Guilin, Guangxi Normal University Press, 2008, RMB 35 (soft), 350 pp.

The thirteen essays included in this volume edited by Professor Chin-Chuan Lee originated from an academic conference held at the City University of Hong Kong in 2007. The scholars who participated in the conference came from very diverse academic backgrounds: specialists in journalism and media, historians, political scientists, and scholars in China Studies. However, their articles in this volume all focus on one coherent theme: the role of public intellectuals in modern China's political modernization and their views expressed through the media of print. These public intellectuals are concerned with the ideas of social justice, rights and liberty, freedom of expression, and most importantly, the welfare of the state and political modernization of China. They present their views and hopes through periodicals and journals of the "political press".

The intellectuals in modern China examined in this book were primarily western-educated scholars and professional journalists, social workers, educators and writers in the liberal tradition. Hu Shi, Ding Wenjiang, Jiang Tingfu, Fu Sinian, Qian Duansheng, Luo Longji, Chu Anping, and Lei Zhen, among others, represent the diverse voices from different political and geographical backgrounds calling for a common goal in China, i.e., the democratization and liberalization of the Chinese government. Some of these intellectuals leaned to the left and stayed behind after 1949 for the reconstruction of a new socialist China. Some leaned to the right, either following the Nationalists (Guomindang) in their retreat to Taiwan or took refuge in then-British Hong Kong.

More than half of the essays in this book are devoted to analyzing the rationale and motivation of this group of liberal intellectuals in their campaign for democracy and freedom in China through the political press. Hu Shi (1891–1962) has been the central focus of several scholars: Gao Li'ke and Yang Hu anlayze his pro-democracy ideas in the *New Youth* (Xin Qingnian) magazine during the May-Fourth era; Pan Guangzhe, Zhang Qing, Zhang Taiyuan and Chen Qianping examine his role and political expressions in the *Nuli Zhoubao* weekly and the *Independent Review* (*Duli Pinglun*) in the 1920s and 1930s; while Lin Qiyang's focus is on Hu's later involvement in the *Free China Journal* in Nationalist-controlled Taiwan in the 1950s. In other words, from these chapters we can now have a better understanding of Hu Shi's political thought and action over a span of four decades in the first half of the twentieth century. Other political views such as Chu Anping's in *Guan Cha* (*The Observer*) and Zhou Shoujuan's in the *Shen Bao* newspaper are not commonly known to non-specialists, and now are clearly presented and carefully analyzed by able scholars in the field.

A chapter co-authored by Yong Voltz and Chin-Chuan Lee discusses the adoption and localization of journalism education after the model of Missouri journalism school from the 1910s to 1930s. Special attention is paid to John Dewey's pragmatism and its role in helping Chinese intellectuals rationalize their choice of the Missouri model in the larger context of pursuing China's modernization. The book also includes a chapter by Huang Dan about the redesign of *Liberation Daily* (*Jiefang Ribao*) in Yan'an during the early 1940s, which traces the transformation of communist press from a partially-controlled model to the mouth-piece of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) under the leadership of Mao Zedong.

According to the editor, one of the fundamental concerns of liberal intellectuals in modern China was their conception of democracy (*minzhu*) and freedom (*ziyou*). Despite their various views on modernization and governmental structure, their common political agenda was to broaden the base for political participation and to have multiple channels for political expressions. This basic idea of liberty and democracy and their independent, if not dissident, attitude towards government control ran contrary to the ruling philosophy of the Nationalist Party under Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kaishek). This posed a direct challenge and potential threat to the ruling party, first under Jiang Jieshi in Nanjing and then in Taiwan, and also under the new regime of the Communist Party on the mainland after 1949. The political orientation of this group of intellectuals and their insistence on political freedom and independent voices inevitably led to government intervention and suppression, and in some cases persecution and imprisonment – the "tragic" destiny of most of these intellectuals in China's modern history.

Although most of these liberal intellectuals were trained in the West, the editor believes that their political action of speaking out and offering criticism of the current government has its roots in the Confucian tradition, particularly the statecraft (jingshi) school of the Ming and Qing period during which the Confucian scholars who were concerned with public affairs often criticized the ruling government for not doing the right things. The public intellectuals in the modern century might follow the campaign against Confucianism, yet most of them were in essence or in spirit the Confucian scholars in China's past that they often criticized.

Leung Yuen Sang
Chinese University of Hong Kong

Journalism and Communication Law Studies (Xinwen chuanbo faxue), by XUPEI SUN, Shanghai, Fudan University Press, 2008, RMB 44 (soft), 416 pp.

Since the 1990s, significant progress has occurred in the studies of communication law – also known as mass communication law or journalism and communication law, with roughly the same scope of reference – in academia in mainland China. Several volumes have been published, some focusing on a systematic summary and illustration of communication law in the country, others concentrating on certain specific areas of study such as reputation and privacy tort by media. This new book by Professor Xupei Sun, however, points out a new direction in studying communication law, namely a comparative perspective.

Comparative law is both a discipline and a method. More precisely, it should be referred to as the study of comparative law or comparative studies of law. In essence, it is about the comparison of legal frameworks among different jurisdictions of the world and the exploration of the patterns therein. It can be a comprehensive comparison of national legal systems overall, or it can be more specifically about one particular legal branch or legal problem. In mainland China, there have been books about comparative law using either the comprehensive or more specific approaches, although dedicated study on communication law had remained a vacuum until the publication of Sun's new book.

Comparative law is not a new field. For example, every time China drafts a new law, it is a necessary step to study similar laws in other countries. Twenty years ago, Sun participated in the drafting of China's journalism law and his work included the translation and summary of existing journalism laws worldwide, especially in common law areas. As a result, two collections were published including one edited by Sun. Although the journalism law was eventually aborted, invaluable materials and new concepts studied during its preparation remained, which paved the way for the intellectual trajectory shown in this book.

According to *Comparative Law Research* (*Bijiaofa yajiu*) by Zonglin Shen, a forerunner in Chinese law research, there are three key missions in comparative law studies. First is to accumulate and understand relevant legal materials from different countries. Second is to compare them and discover their differences and similarities. Third is to analyze the reasons and develop appropriate assessments for the general patterns of variation or commonality. This is precisely what Sun has done.

Sun has accumulated, over the course of two decades, an impressive wealth of documents related to journalism and communication law in the UK, the US, India and Egypt (the latter two with notable distinctiveness since their independence) as well as continental law systems of France, Russia, and Japan. Some chapters, such as the one on press freedom, refer to even more countries. The book also concludes with a discussion on international treaty and communication law, which is an important topic yet to draw sufficient attention from researchers within China. It offers a rich historical discussion, starting from the beginning of mass media in the sixteenth century, with especially interesting content on the development of Chinese communication law from late Qing Dynasty to today. Sun sorts out the basic patterns in the case of China and contrasts it with other nations.

The book has a wide scope of content as communication law is not a single legal item, nor is it an independent branch of law. It is rather a combination of several legal

branches and various sources of legal documents and norms such as freedom of expression, freedom of information, defamation, privacy, copyright, national security, social order, morality, and judiciary dignity. It also encompasses all three forms of media, from print to electronic to digital. Sun did a commendable job integrating all these various aspects in this book.

On the basis of his comparative analysis, Sun argues cogently that the main function of communication law is to coordinate the relationship between state, society, and citizens. As a universal principle, the core of communication law is about protecting all kinds of freedom of expression, which includes press freedom. However, according to J.S. Mill, freedom is about the autonomous behaviors that do not violate the rights of others. Historically speaking, public authorities often infringe on freedom of expression using the excuse of protecting various individual or public interests. Therefore, communication law has to do with clarifying the boundary between freedom of expression and the other interests in order to prevent abuse by public authorities. The specific boundary varies in different jurisdictions, all of which, however, converge in defining such a boundary as they see fit. The three-part relationship among state, society, and citizens is, in this sense, both a summary of legal content from various countries and a substantive argument based on Article 19 of the International Covenant of Civil and Political Rights (both Paragraph 2 and Items A and B of Paragraph 3). Re-emphasizing the main argument of the book, these legal articles are quoted in full in the concluding chapter.

Traditional comparative law studies usually start from the basic distinction between different legal systems or legal families (i.e., common law versus continental law). Although Sun's book also mentioned this basic distinction at the beginning, it follows another framework that contrasts developed countries (UK, US, France and Japan) with developing countries (India, Egypt, Russia) and China (the only remaining large socialist country). This framework is based on the development of comparative media systems studies since the 1980s when McQuail proposed the development media theory to supplement the four theories of the press. Since then, Altschull has also proposed his theory of the three movements that conceptualizes the world's media systems as market-economy system, Marxist system, and developing-world system. At the turn of the twentieth century, British and Korean scholars concentrated on de-westernizing media studies, which responded to the end of Cold War and the rise of transitional and hybrid media systems. Sun's book deals with communication law in developing and transitional societies, including legal procedures and substantive content as well as origins and legal culture, all of which differ significantly from developed nations.

As Professor Chin-Chuan Lee once said, "What kind of society leads to what kind of media; what kind of media leads to what kind of society". Borrowing Lee, we may also say, what kind of society and what kind of media lead to what kind communication law? The impact of a specific society is far greater than the type of legal system, be it common law or continental law. This is particularly true because in both legal systems, the most prominent cases are developed nations. If we focus only on the variation in legal systems, much would have been missed in observing and interpreting the communication laws of key representative nations. For example, Chinese legal researchers often only refer to the US in their comparative law studies. This is a biased approach, as Sun's new book implicitly suggests while pointing at a more balanced and fruitful direction for future development.

Sun is very humble in admitting that he dares not call this book a truly comparative study of journalism and communication law. He is correct, though, that comparative communication law research is exceptionally demanding as it entails such an impressive amount of knowledge, method, and analytical rigor more than ordinary studies of any specific legal branch or the media law of any single country. I am very delighted to see Sun's book as a meaningful milestone in this new field of inquiry.

WEI YONGZHENG
Shue-Yan University and Communication University of China

Masked Cavalier: Selected Works of Subcomandante Marcos from Mexico (Mengmian qishi: Moxige fusiling makesi wenji), edited by DAI JINHUA AND LAI KIN CHI, Shanghai, Shanghai Renmin Publishing, 2006, RMB 45 (soft), 382 pp.

This is the first Chinese book consisting of works by Subcomandante Marcos, a Mexican guerrilla known as a "new" and "postmodern" Che Guevara. Subcomandante Marcos is the spokesman for the Zapatista Army of National Liberation (EZLN), a rebel movement advocating the change of the Mexican Constitution to recognize the rights of the country's indigenous people.

At the time of writing this review, the World Health Organization (WHO) in Geneva raised the pandemic alert to swine flu by one level to Phase 5. Mexico has since become the center of the world's attention. People in Mexico City began wearing masks. In 2001, a quarter million people in Mexico City also wore masks. Their purpose, however, was not to prevent an epidemic but to protect Subcomandante Marcos and show their moral support for him.

Marcos and the EZLN first appeared on the world stage on January 1, 1994, when the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) took effect. On that day, about 3,000 armed Zapatista guerrillas seized towns in Chiapas, the southernmost state of Mexico. EZLN issued their First Declaration and their Revolutionary Laws from the Lacandon Jungle. They used the uprising to draw the world's attention to their movement in protest of NAFTA. It was the first episode of the EZLN's "postmodernist" revolution.

This is a revolution in the sense that it is a social movement intended to make radical political changes and is joined by the masses. In 2001, the Zapatistas, with more than 250,000 citizens, marched in Mexico City to present their case to the Mexican Congress while EZLN rejected watered-down agreements and created 32 "autonomous municipalities" in Chiapas. During his 3,000 kilometer journey to the capital, Subcomandante Marcos was welcomed by huge adoring crowds. Again in 2006, EZLN organized a six-month tour through all 31 Mexican states, which took place during the country's presidential election when candidates fought for an alternative national government.

The Zapatistas are tactful in using the media to draw public attention to their events and move the battlefield from the mountains and forests to the mass media, signifying the postmodern nature of this revolution. Using cellular phones, the Internet, songs, and even football games, Marcos and EZLA successfully use new and

multiple media to communicate with the public and win enormous solidarity support in Mexico and around the world. Unlike other well-known *guerrillero*, Marcos is fighting against capitalism, neo-liberalism, and globalization mainly with his pen rather than with his gun. He claims that "Our Word is Our Weapon", as stated in the title of his book in 2002. Marcos is indeed a pioneer of the postmodern symbolic media battles, rather than a warrior of the traditional military revolution. For many readers, Marcos may be better known as a stimulating author with passion and courage, a romantic political poet, as well as an outspoken opponent of globalization.

This book collects and translates the stories, articles, correspondence, and declarations of Marcos. The editors' careful selection of different formats of Marcos' works makes this book a comprehensive selection of Marcos' writings from 1994 to 2005. The book is divided into four parts. The first part includes a preface and an introduction by the editor, Dai Jin-hua; the second part comprises short stories by Marcos, the third is the declaration of EZLN and the correspondence of Marcos; and the last presents reviews of and comments on Marcos by writers and academics, including Eduardo Galeano (Uruguayan journalist, author of *Open Veins of Latin America)*, Gabriel García Márquez (Nobel Laureate in Literature, 1982), and José Saramago (Nobel Laureate in Literature, 1998).

This selection of Marcos' writing was edited and translated into Chinese by Dai Jinhua and Lau Kin Chi in 2006. Dai is a professor at the Institute of Comparative Literature and Comparative Culture at Peking University and is a specialist in Film Studies and Feminism. Lau is a professor at the Cultural Studies Department at Lingnan University in Hong Kong. Professor Dai Jinhua is neither an academic in politics nor a specialist in Latin American Literature. Rather, as a prominent member of the New Left academics, she takes on the role of "translating" and "transmitting" Marcos' postmodernist symbolic war into China. This is the first comprehensive work of Marcos appearing in Chinese, which provides new weapons for the New Left in China to fight against dominant neo-liberalism in the country.

Marcos' work may be viewed as "marginal" by some mainstream Chinese academics who would consider him an outdated politician with limited impact. They would claim that it is not worthwhile to introduce his ideas and movements to the Chinese or discuss them in China. However, Marcos always admits himself to be the marginal amidst the marginals. His book is written for the marginal and by the marginal. Who is Marcos? Marcos' classical response to this question is that "Marcos is gay in San Francisco, black in South Africa, an Asian in Europe, a Chicano in San Ysidro, an anarchist in Spain, a Palestinian in Israel, a Mayan Indian in the streets of San Cristobal, a Jew in Germany, a Gypsy in Poland, a Mohawk in Quebec, a pacifist in Bosnia, a single woman on the Metro at 10 pm, a peasant without land, a gang member in the slums, an unemployed worker, an unhappy student and, of course, a Zapatista in the mountains" (p. 207).

Marcos declares that his mask serves as a mirror. Marcos is simply us. To quote, "We are the leaders we've been looking for" (p. 207). Marcos does not consider himself a politician or a leader. He wants to deconstruct the power relationship between the leader and the followers, between the dominator and the dominated, and between the central and the marginal. This revolutionary and anti-oppressive nature of Marcos' work made him an enemy of the mainstream neo-liberal academics in China who support market and globalization.

This is also why Marcos' work is introduced by "marginal" academics like Dai and Lau. However, marginal is critical. Marcos' work is critical because it provides alternative ideas and postmodern media practice for the activists of the new social movements and organizers of the civil society. This book is an important reader for those activists and organizers, especially those engaging with the emerging civil society in China. Marcos' revolution is symbolic as it can stimulate their imagination and reflection to use words as the medium for social change. Words are the weapon of the marginals, who can reinvent and reconstruct their own words to "deconstruct" the domination of the dominators.

The introduction, which details the ideas, identity, and movements of both Marcos and EZLN in the context of the anti-globalization campaign, is written by Dai. It is an excellent guide to Marcos for those Chinese readers who wish to understand Marcos' work in the political and cultural context of Mexico. The introduction is vivid, consisting of concise and well-researched information and commentary. Dai is a good narrator, not only because of her clear and informative narration, but also because of her own views and stance on the topics.

Marcos' writings are like fables. Two prominent figures, Durito the beetle and Antonio the old man, appear in Marcos' stories to narrate his political and philosophical thoughts. While Antonio represents the wisdom, values, and ethics inherited from the indigenous Mayan culture, Durito represents the passionate, idealistic, and impulsive characters of the radical revolutionary Left. The two contradictory figures, and the tension between them and their dialogue with Marcos, show the heterogeneous nature and diversity of the EZLN movement. The delicate balance between big and small, slow and fast, heritage and reform is the unique teaching of the postmodernist warfare of EZLN. The skeptical, ironic, and romantic style of Marcos' writing is a way of keeping psychological distance from the difficult and painful circumstances faced by the EZLN in the jungles of Mexico. In any event, the purpose of his literary output is to channel his ideas from both indigenous Mexican and revolutionary Left origins, to transcend the barriers of mountain and rivers, to bypass the government's military block, and to reach the whole world through meetings, conferences, the Internet, and media.

Marcos's political philosophy undoubtedly belongs to the Marxist tradition, which advocates proletarian revolution against the bourgeoisie. However, his populist writings focus on the unjust treatment of people made by both the capital and the state, giving Zapatista ideology an anarchist tone.

In his review toward the end of the book, Eduardo Galeano mentions that because Marcos was from the urban areas, the indigenous Mayans could not understand his revolutionary ideas during their first encounter. Marcos thus went to the Mayan community and learned the Mayan language. He took up the role of "translator" and has since become a part of them. Marcos' voice has become the voice of the masses.

In another review, also in the last part of the book, José Saramago, Nobel Laureate, declares "Let us stop talking, let us learn how to see and how to listen; perhaps, we can understand all these eventually".

Marcos translates the Mayan's voice to the world, while Dai and Lau translate Marcos' voice to China. The write-up of this Chinese selection of Marcos is beautiful, filled with passion and courage. Appreciation should be given to the production team, as the book contains attractive illustrations and dramatic photos. This book

is a stimulating and essential reading for organizers as well as activists of the civil society, journalists, and media professionals, especially those in China.

HUNG WONG
Chinese University of Hong Kong