

DOCTORAL THESIS

中國知識分子的美國觀, 1949-1999

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Date of Award:
2002

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中國知識分子的美國觀，1949-1999

Chinese Intelligentsia's Perception of the US, 1949-1999

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二〇〇二年八月

內容提要

本文旨在探討 1949 年中華人民共和國成立到 1999 年的 50 年間中國知識分子的美國觀的形成原因、演變歷程及其言論對中國社會的影響。

自 1784 年中美兩國開始直接交往至 1949 年的一百多年中，美國政府採取了較其他殖民及帝國主義國家「友善」的對華政策。與此同時，以教會為主的一些美國民間團體在中國大力舉辦宗教、文化、教育、慈善和救濟事業。美國政府和民間團體的努力贏得了不少中國知識分子對美國的欽羨，形成了美國在華根深蒂固形象。

中華人民共和國成立初期，雖然在華美國機構採取了一系列的敵對行動，中國政府對這種長期形成的知識分子的美國觀仍予以容忍。1950 年韓戰爆發後，美國插手中國內戰，威脅中國東北。中美兩國的正面軍事衝突發生了。此外，美國更對中國推行了全面的圍堵政策。在這種情況下，中國政府在 50 年代初發動了一系列的政治運動和反美宣傳，以清除美國在華影響，促使知識分子拋棄「親美」、「崇美」和「恐美」思想，確立「仇視」、「鄙視」和「蔑視」美國的言論。不少中國知識分子對美國的干涉行為極為憤怒，而且也為了適應環境，響應中國政府的號召，反省了自己的思想，並且至少在表面上改變了自己的美國觀。這種官方支持的美國觀在 50 及 60 年代變得單一化、公式化。

70 年代初中美兩國關係正常化，80 年代初中國推行開放政策後，中美兩國人民之間有了大量的直接交往。「久別重逢」使中國知識分子對美國產生了浪漫的憧憬。於是，80 年代的中國知識界出現了學習美國的熱潮，崇美的現象再次在中國知識界出現了。在「久別重逢」的喜悅中，兩國間的歧見被擱置一旁，但此時國人對美國良好觀感的根基其實頗為脆弱。

80 年代末 90 年代初，中國發生了「六四事件」，蘇聯和東歐社會主義國家崩潰了。國際形勢的變化使中國在美國人心目中的戰略價值下降。中國作為唯一的社會主義大國，便成為美國打壓的目標。90 年代中期，中美關係更因台灣問題緊張起來。在這種情況下，不少知識分子不滿美國對華的態度，拋棄了 80 年代的崇美心態，對美國說「不」。由於部分人仍對世界首強的美國存有欽羨、恐懼和憧憬，中國知識分子的有關美國言論便出現了兩極分化。看來，由於兩國關係長期不穩定，中國知識分子距離能夠建立基於對美國堅實的了解之上的、理智而冷靜的美國觀，仍需較長時日。

Abstract

This thesis aims at examining the Chinese intelligentsia's perceptions of the US from 1949 to 1999, including their cause, metamorphosis and the influence of their expressed opinions in China.

From 1784 to 1949, the US government adopted a friendlier China policy in contrast to those of other imperialist and colonial powers. Also, some American non-governmental organizations such as churches, initiated religious, cultural, educational and philanthropic work in China. Therefore, the US won Chinese intelligentsia's admiration and friendship. Such a positive image of the US was deep-rooted among the Chinese.

When the PRC was founded in 1949, in spite of a series of hostile acts by US institutions in China, the Chinese government still tolerated the Chinese intelligentsia's admiration for the US. However, the US government intervened with China's civil war and threatened to attack Manchuria as the Korea War broke out in 1950 and started an all out containment of China. In the early 1950s, therefore, the Chinese government launched a series of political movements and anti-US propaganda to clear away American influence and to urge Chinese intelligentsia to abandon their traditional pro-Americanism, admiration and fear for it. The Chinese intelligentsia themselves were infuriated by US hostile acts. Responding to the government propaganda, they scrutinized their own perceptions of the US and expressed their change of views through words and publications. The Chinese intelligentsia's image of the US thus became uniform and stereotyped throughout the 1950s and 1960s.

Because of the normalization of the relations between the PRC and the US in the

1970s and China's open-door policy in the 1980s, the Chinese intelligentsia came into frequent, direct contact with Americans. Having been cut off from the US for a long time, the Chinese were overwhelmed by this re-encounter and developed an overly romantic vision of the US. So in the 1980s, a wave of "learn from the US" rolled among the Chinese intelligentsia. They thus revived their admiration of the US buried for two decades. In such a fever, certain fundamental and serious differences between the two nations which are hard to resolve were overlooked. Such rosy images were, however, built on rather shaky grounds.

In the 1989, "the June 4th Incident" took place. Also, as the Soviet Union and other socialist countries collapsed in Eastern Europe, the US government reevaluated their perceived strategic value of China. As the only surviving communist giant, China became the prime enemy and was at the receiving end of enormous pressure and hostile acts from the US. In this circumstance, some of the Chinese intelligentsia, especially the younger ones, abandoned their rosy views and began to say "No" to the US in late 1990s. The China intelligentsia was thus split into two camps with extremely opposite views towards the US. It therefore appears that owing to persistently fluctuating relations between the two nations, the time that they can develop a rational and cool vision of the US basing on solid understanding of the latter is yet to come.

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