

清華大學社會所中國研究學程已邁入第四年，本學程每年計畫邀請世界級大師來台授課，繼 2004 年林南教授(Nan Lin)的社會資本密集講座之後，2006 年 6 月我們邀請到哥倫比亞大學政治系黎安友教授(Andrew J. Nathan)，來台展開為期兩週的密集課程，分別就中國未來走向、政治文化與民主、派系及菁英政治、中國崛起及美國利益、台美中三邊關係等當代中國政治議題，與學程師生分享其長年觀察及研究成果。

本期特別製作「黎安友訪台特輯」，共收錄三篇文章，第一篇收錄「回顧四十年來的中國研究」的演講全文，第二篇是黎安友教授分享此次訪台的心得，最後收錄翻譯自黎安友教授發表在 *RUIJQ\$IIDLV* 上評論裴敏欣新書的一篇短文，這篇短文精闢地分析中國政治發展的可能方向。

## Reflections on Studying China: Changes Over Four Decades

Andrew J. Nathan

Chair and Class of 1919 Professor

Department of Political Science, Columbia University



黎安友教授回顧四十年來的中國研究。

### Introduction

Thank Jieh-min for this opportunity.

Jieh-min is one of my favorite students. (In English we say "former student" because when a student graduates he is no longer a student. But in Chinese if you say former student people will think you have broken relations.)

Jieh-min not only was always very smart and productive. From the beginning he broke through that teacher-student relationship framework and treated me as a friend. We traveled in China together twice.

This time, he has given me the opportunity to lecture to his own students at NTHU and to meet many of his colleagues. He set six lecture topics for me, all difficult, and gave me a tremendous amount of work to do. But I have to accept it because I

know he works even harder.

Today's lecture is the most difficult. Jieh-min told me to "use my personal, yet academic experiences as a vantage point to tell our younger generation of China scholars about how to make themselves good China scholars." How could I do this? Surely one of the reasons I became a scholar was so that I could analyze other people's experiences instead of my own!

However, after a while the charm of talking about myself began to grow on me. This proves that I have already become an old man and have entered the stage where reminiscence is more fascinating than new experience!

### Time and memory

I started studying China in 1960 in my first year of college. Calculating the time, it is already 46 years. Sounds like a lot? Doesn't feel like it. It reminds me of the relativist nature of time. As one looks back on one's own experiences, the time seems short. But the time that passed before one's own memories, seems infinitely long ago. Recently I rented a movie from the 1960s and watched it with my five years old daughter. She knew it was an old movie, so she asked me, "Did you first watch that movie when I was a baby?" In her imagination there is no time further back than when she was a baby, her babyhood covers all recorded time.

To me too, the time before I started studying China seems like very ancient history, even though in fact many people did lots of work to build up the field before then. In my mind, the 1960s were a kind of *FKXNMHCXDQ* (初級階段) when everything was very new.

John King Fairbank, who was then a "young"



黎安友教授談當代中國政治議題。

man of 53 (as I think now), seemed to me to unimaginably old. He was tall, with white hair, a clear gaze, and managed a great many students and projects. He would phone me (and other students) at 8 a.m. with comments on our papers. If he wanted to return a paper he would tell you to meet him at the door of his house on campus at 9 a.m. He would then walk to the office, giving you his comments, while also using a portable shaver. When we got the office the meeting would be over. He would start work and you could go home and go back to bed.

### Getting hooked on China studies

It was Fairbank who got me into China studies. In my first year at college, I took Fairbank et al's Soc Sci 111 course, "History of East Asia." I wanted something that was worth the money of the tuition. This it seemed like something you could only get at a big university. Today, that would not be the case. China studies is part of the curriculum in any good college and many high schools.

In fact, this time was a kind of *FKXNMHCXDQ* for China studies. Fairbank had founded the East Asian Research Center (later, Fairbank Center) in

1955. His great co-authored textbook (*DMW\$ MD 7KH \* UDW7UDGMRQ DQG ( DMW\$ MD 7KH O RGHQ 7UDMRUP DMRO*) was made available to the students in pre-publication final draft in "ditto" (a form of reproduction something like mimeograph). He was busy establishing contact with China scholars in Taiwan, Japan, Hong Kong, Europe (but not China - the U.S. had no academic relations with China at that time) who would come to his house for Wednesday tea, where you would meet them and not know what to say. He developed a big graduate program and planted the seeds of China studies in other departments beyond history. He told me to go into political science "because there are now enough people doing history."

When I look back I still cannot imagine the labor, the breadth of knowledge, and ability to synthesize that went into what he did. The only other scholar I can think of with comparable (although different) breadth is my current senior (retired) colleague William Theodore de Bary at Columbia.

What hooked me was Fairbank's curiosity. He kept pointing out what needed still to be researched. This formed a contrast to other courses I took where the professors instead emphasized all that had already been discovered. This sense of curiosity still draws me onward, because the study of China is such an inexhaustible subject, and it changes all the time.

My first-year Chinese class was chiefly graduate students, including Ezra Vogel who was at the time a young faculty member retraining from Japan studies to do China. At that time, few people studied Chinese language in undergraduate school, since it was not offered. And it was not offered because China was a closed-off, enemy country

locked in poverty, very far away. I doubt Chinese was offered in any high schools.

Today, Chinese is taught in most colleges and many high schools, and students come to graduate school with already significant competence in the language (and of course many come from Taiwan and China with native competence). Thanks to that, the level of scholarship in the field has gone up. But in 1961, there were only four undergraduates in that class of about 30 people.

Getting an early start was good since the study of China is such a vast topic. But studying China in undergraduate school left my education in Western matters eternally deficient, which I have had to try to make up by teaching Columbia's core course on Western civilization. So I still have not mastered either subject—China or the West. The good side of that is that my inadequacy of knowledge pushes me forward to continue to learn.

### First impressions of Taiwan

When I graduated from Harvard, I was given a fellowship to spend a year in Hong Kong. On my way to Hong Kong, in the late summer of 1963, I visited Taiwan. I returned again in 1966-67 to do my doctoral research.

Taiwan at that time was a poor and backward place. There had just been a typhoon. The streets were flooded. There were open sewers. Both taxis and pedicabs dogged me, shouting for my business. If you decided to take one, you had to bargain fiercely over the price (taxis did not use their meters), so much so that it was often easier just to walk. Little kids pointed and talked about me because I looked so strange. There were few cars or trucks. Goods were hauled by hand cart. Beyond

Renai Lu sanduan (仁愛路三段), all was agricultural fields. Dunhua Lu (敦化路) was agricultural fields, and Songshan Airport (松山機場), which of course was the only international airport, was a long drive out of town.

I was only 20 years old and it felt like I was very far from home. The Internet, of course, did not exist. There was no international direct dial. Anyway, you would not make an international phone call except for a death in the family. You would send an "air letter" home and get a reply in about three weeks.

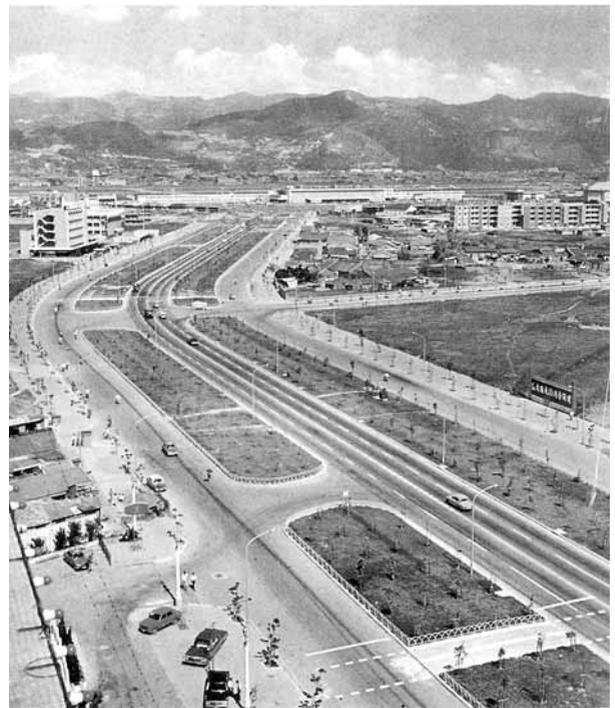
It was also an authoritarian place. You could feel that people were afraid. They talked by indirection, or took you out in the street to talk. Some people wanted to discuss issues of Taiwanese consciousness and KMT repression, issues like 2.28, ideas about Western style "liberalism." They were monitored by the police, or attacked in the controlled Party press, or lost their jobs, or were arrested.

In short, Taiwan at that time was very far away and different. The same was true of Japan, Hong Kong, Singapore, and other places that I visited during my year abroad. At that time it seemed to me like the eternal Asia. I was young, so I did not understand that everything changes; I thought the world that I saw was the world that existed. As you know, just at that time everything started to change (or should I say everything continued to change?). When we look around us in Taipei today—at Taipei 101, the Grand Hyatt, Renai Lu, Dunhua Lu, Taida, the Academia Sinica—we have to say everything has changed so much that it has changed unimaginably.

Will it change this much again in the next forty years? If so, I wonder whether the changes are something I can now imagine, or something I cannot imagine.



1968年時的民權東路。(翻攝自《瞻前顧後：臺北的絕版、復刻與新生》，台北市政府新聞處出版，2001)



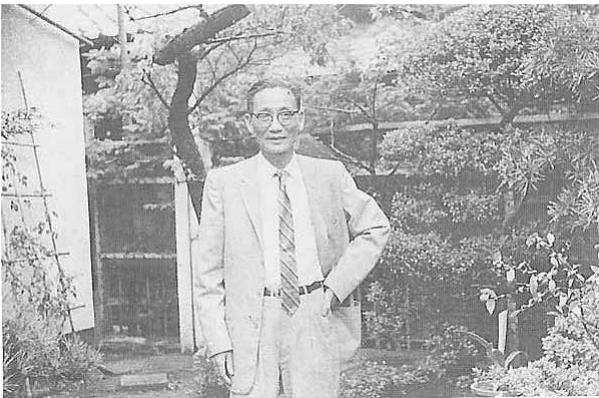
五〇年代的敦化北路。(翻攝自《瞻前顧後：臺北的絕版、復刻與新生》，台北市政府新聞處出版，2001)



九〇年代的松山機場。(翻攝自《臺北城市相簿》，台北市政府新聞處出版，2005)

## The fight for academic freedom in Taiwan

John Fairbank told me to look up Chang P'eng-yuan (張朋園) at the Institute of Modern History. We became friends and have remained close friends all these years. P'eng-yuan was one of a group of excellent young scholars recruited to the IMH by its founding director, Guo Ting-yee (郭廷以).



郭廷以教授。(翻攝自《走過憂患歲月：近史所的故事》，中央研究院近代史研究所出版，1995)

I remember Professor Guo as a forbidding figure—tall, remote, a man of few words, and undoubtedly, a great scholar. What I began to realize then, and learned more about later, was that Professor Guo was struggling to establish objective, independent scholarship in an environment that was ruled by Party ideological authorities. He encouraged his young scholars to study modern Chinese history objectively. He defended them from attack. He accepted money from the Ford Foundation to exchange materials and do oral history. He developed exchange relations with Harvard and Columbia and sent scholars overseas to study.

For all this, Professor Guo was attacked by Party ideologues for selling out national academic interests to foreign academic imperialists. His topic—modern Chinese history—was the most sensitive possible academic topic in Taiwan because it

involved the history of the ruling party, which was by no means an unambiguously glorious history, although they wished to present it as such. He eventually left Taiwan to come to New York, where he died.

Over his lifetime Professor Guo had compiled a complete, useful, thorough, fair book called *O IQIXR GDMKLUJ KL* (4 vols.). It went up to 1937. He could not publish it because it was too objective. He continued to revise and improve the manuscript up to the time of his death. At that time, his family gave me the manuscript and I sent it back to Chang P'eng-yuan and others, who arranged its publication. It is now available on the Web and as far as I know remains the most complete and authoritative chronology of the early Republican era.

Professor Guo's struggle for academic freedom was important for all of you who today study history or the social sciences in Taiwan, because the Institute of Modern History was the first academic unit doing serious modern social science scholarship, seeking to separate facts from values and search for evidence to test arguments and theories, and to do so in the context of an international dialogue.

## Ignorance about China

If "free Asia" was exotic, mainland China was completely inaccessible, as if it were on the other side of the moon. By today's standards we knew amazingly little about it.

America had adopted a policy of containment and isolation. This meant that Americans could not visit China. You could not bring Chinese products into the United States: if you purchased a Chinese art object or piece of furniture in Hong Kong you

needed a "certificate of origin" to show that it did not come from China or that if it did, it was produced before 1895. The British rulers of Hong Kong did not even allow people to go to the Lowu crossing point to stare across the border. I remember therefore when I was visiting Nepal in 1964 that I made a special trip to the border to look across. But there was nothing to see.

During my fellowship year in Hong Kong, I spent several weeks in Macao interviewing refugees about conditions in the communes in southern Guangdong. This was how scholars gained some information about the situation on the ground, things like the commune system. Even that was enough of an advance to warrant publication, because few people were working on such subjects.<sup>1</sup> In regard to the overall organization of the Chinese party-state, and elite politics, we graduate students were electrified by the publication in 1966 of Franz Schurmann's great book, *GHORJ\ DQG2 UDQJDMRQ IQ & RPP XQJW&KIQD* (1966). Schurmann told us that policy was made by discussion among the elite and then transmitted through a tight organizational network, using ideological concepts to make the meaning of policy clear.

Although this was a tremendous research achievement for the time, now we know how little we knew. China in the 1950s and 1960s was not what we thought. The Great Leap Forward famine was a virtual secret from the outside world. One scholar published an article discussing signs of famine that could be observed from the vantage point of Hong Kong, but most scholars were skeptical of this view. When the Great Proletariat Culture Revolution broke out, outside scholars did

not know what to make of it. Ken Ling's *7KH 5HYQJHRI + HDYHQ* (which was produced with the assistance of Taiwan's security apparatus), about the experiences of a Red Guard, was greeted with skepticism as a propaganda work because it told stories about great cruelty.

Just at the time that Schurmann's book came out Mao was setting out to destroy whatever there really was in the system of the orderliness that Schurmann described.

### Politicization of China studies

Because we knew so little about China, it was, to borrow Mao's phrase, "poor and blank" from our own point of view. The study of communist China was therefore more subject to political interpretations than it is now, when we know more. Fairbank had been through political struggles against McCarthyism, which he tells about in his memoirs.

When I came on the scene, the atmosphere was different. Young Asia scholars were opposed to the war in Vietnam and adopted an anti-anti-communist position. Young scholars studying China therefore gave great respect to what they called "the Maoist experiment." A group called the Committee of Concerned Asian Scholars sent two delegations to China which published books reporting respectfully on the positive aspects of life in China—the egalitarianism, the mobilization of human effort to work cooperatively for development, the equality of the sexes, management of social conflict through mediation, and so on. My senior colleague at Columbia in the

<sup>1</sup> "China's Work Point System," *&XUHQJW6FHQH* (Hong Kong) 11:31 (April 15, 1964)

early 1970s, Mike Oksenberg, and other respected scholars, edited a book called *&KIQDV ' HHO RSPHQMO( /SHUHQFH* which talked about China's wonderful discoveries in public health, in environmental protection, in small industry.

Such positive views were based chiefly on guided tours and briefings.

The only reason I did not publish similar things was that I was too busy turning my dissertation on early Republican politics into a book and had not really started studying Chinese communist affairs.

### First visit to China

I too eventually went on a "delegation" to China. This was in 1973, on the New York State Educators' Study Tour (a typically pompous name for the time). There were no individual visits, no tourist visits; any Americans who visited China went as parts of delegations officially sponsored by some Chinese organization (individual tourist visas were not issued until the mid 1980s).

All such group tours were carefully guided. Our group had about 15 members had several national level guides as well as local guides in each of four cities that we visited. You traveled in a bus, ate in the hotel dining room. You sat around a large circle in armchairs with doilies or at long tables with tea and peanuts on them, to listen to long *MEMKDR( 介 紹 )* by officials. Everything was translated. You took notes. Then you walked through the unit in a group. You did not break away and you did not speak privately to anybody in any substantial way.

We were not sure what we were seeing. On one occasion we visited a university and were

briefed by the head of the *JRQJQRQJEIQJ /XDQFKXDQGL( 工農兵宣傳隊 )*, a young former soldier, while the older professors sat respectfully in the back. The young soldier told us that all the former counterrevolutionary textbooks were being revised in preparation for reopening the school. The professors testified that they had gained a great deal from being */IIDQJHG( 下放 )* among the peasants.

We returned to our hotel and drank a great deal of beer while arguing among ourselves about the significance of what we were told, with most of us impressed by the apparent sincerity of the professors.

### How the field has changed

Since those days, the field of China studies has changed a lot, and mostly for the better.

1. Today there is an overwhelming flood of information on China. We can do fieldwork. We can do surveys. We can travel at the grassroots and talk to people in considerable freedom. We can interview scholars and some foreign scholars (not me) can interview high officials.

We can read thousands of memoirs, biographies, *QHSX( 內 部 )*, *QIQMDQ( 年 鑑 )*, *KXIEDQ( 彙 編 )*, *VKRXFH( 手 冊 )* and learn about all kinds of subjects. We can use Chinese libraries and online collections, and they have started to open their foreign ministry archives. We have collaboration with Chinese scholars. Students come from China to study with us and then produce some of the best work in the field. We can do joint projects. Scholars and officials coming from China have given us such books as the memoirs of Mao's doctor and The Tiananmen Papers.

In short, China changed from being the other side of the moon to being largely open to our study.

2. Meanwhile, because of the rise of China, more and more students are studying China; these students are better qualified; there are more jobs for them both inside academia and outside.

3. The questions asked and methods are more diverse. One cannot do a literature review of contemporary China studies and say what's and what's not, because so much is being studied. It is more than anyone can keep up with.

I am glad that the controversy over area studies and the disciplines seems to have been outgrown. Speaking from my own discipline, the discipline values people who have real knowledge of China and considers China an important case to include in our studies of all kinds of subjects. While the people studying China seem comfortable using the various approaches within the discipline. My discipline does not generally believe in "studies of nowhere" and acknowledges that every study is a study of somewhere, meaning that facts are embedded in complicated contexts.

### Stories not told

I see that my time is up but I have only gotten to 1973. This is actually, again to borrow a phrase of Mao's, a "*JKHQJ/KL DQJPRX*." (政治陽謀) By leaving 33 years of experience untold, I want to get Jieh-min to invite me back.

At that time, I will talk about some of the following topics:

- Studying Democracy Wall and then, having "history come to life" when over the subsequent years I met many of these activists and became either their friends, or their enemies — or sometimes both in sequence. The lesson I learned is that

history is about real people—the people in history are real.

- Getting involved in human rights work.
  - My view is that scholars enjoy a special privilege of intellectual self-cultivation (a lifetime of learning) in an atmosphere of academic freedom, and are supported in this by the labor of the rest of society. They should be socially responsible, they should "give back." A big part of this is to do a good job in teaching. But one should also try to be constructively engaged in some issues where one can use one's expertise.
  - In doing so, however, one needs to separate one's academic from one's activist perspective. One has a classroom responsibility, which is to be analytical and unbiased, to help society know the truth as best we can know it, and to students achieve their independent knowledge and viewpoints. This means striving for objectivity, on campus. But one has a responsibility to go off-campus and become engaged in some issues that have come to one's attention through one's research.
  - I also hold the view that we should not allow the fact of cultural differences to deter us from working toward values that we ourselves believe in.
- Being banned three times—the first time, because I was married (then, not now) to Roxane Witke, the author of *&RP UDGH &KIDQJ &KIQJ*. The second time, for writing the preface to Dr. Li Zhisui's book, *7KH 3 UYDM / IIH RI &KDLP DQ 0 DR*. The

third time, for co-editing *7KH 7IDQQP HQ 3DSHV*.

- I have always taken these episodes cheerfully. Although during these bannings I have regretted missing the valuable opportunity to visit the grass-roots and learn a lot about China that you cannot learn any other way, I also feel that my work on these projects and the very experience itself of being banned have taught me things about the Chinese political system and the ways in which sensitive issues are handled. This has become my own special kind of "fieldwork" experience that most other scholars have not had.

### Conclusion: students

One final thought, though. I think back again to the early 1970s, when I started teaching. Again, the nature of time is strange. At that time I had my eyes fixed only on the present. The present somehow seemed to be all that there was. I did not give a thought at that time to the fact that the students I was getting to know would traverse the following decades with me, in some sense together.

But as time went by, many of my students have had remarkable careers and this increasingly has given me great pleasure to watch, as well as—I admit—a feeling of pride which is completely unearned, since their achievements are their own.

For many years I have enjoyed shocking visitors from Taiwan and China by saying that "Richard Bush was my student." As most of you will know, Richard Bush was Director of the American Institute in Taiwan in 1997-2002. (He

also had a very distinguished career before and after.) People cannot believe that he was my student because he is so distinguished and senior.

I am not going to list all the students I am proud of because that would take too much time. I was just fortunate to teach at Columbia which had a strong China program when I got there and has continued to maintain it, so that students come there to study. My teaching philosophy is very American. "The customer is sovereign." So I let the students decide their own direction and I try to help.

Nothing is more exciting over time than to watch the careers of your students unfold. One works on a book for ten years, and then finds that it is soon out of date. Even I myself am no longer interested in it. But the work of your students is always fresh and fascinating and one feels that one's most lasting contribution is to help some serious scholars and thinkers move ahead on their own path in life, so that they in turn can make the same contribution to students of their own.

I must admit that there is a difference between one's Chinese students and others. With American students, after graduation, they become a friend, a colleague, or perhaps they simply go off and mind their own business and never contact you again. They paid for their education and they do not feel that they owe you any special thanks.

With Chinese students the relationship is personal and forever. I am glad that I have many students—I will not say "former students"—from China and Taiwan.

I am thus particularly grateful for the opportunity to get to know a new group of very talented and promising young students this time at NTHU.