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■ 2014年春季号

# 现代传记研究



Journal of Modern Life Writing Studies

上海交通大学传记中心主办

比较传记：历史与模式...杨正润

自传：一种法式热情...弗朗索瓦丝·西莫内-特南

境外中国现代人物传记资料数据库的建设与前景...刘佳林

华人传记与当代传记潮流国际学术研讨会综述...全展

Foreign Biographies of Mao: Evolution over Eight Decades and the Reasons for Changes...Ross Terrill



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第2辑

杨正润 主编

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## 卷首语

传记(life writing)是人类的纪念碑。文化的起源中就包含着传记的因素,孔子的《论语》、柏拉图的苏格拉底回忆录和“四福音书”为传记树立了不朽的经典。其他文学和文化的文本形式,大都随着时代的变迁而消亡,成为历史的陈迹,只有传记以顽强的生命力绵延不绝;到了21世纪更是超过曾经盛极一时的小说,成为文化文本中的最大类别。传统的他传、自传、回忆录、书信、日记、游记等继续繁荣,新兴的口述历史、群体传记又异军突起。传记还超越了文字的媒介,同电影、电视以及互联网和自媒体结缘,开拓出广阔的新空间,拥有难以计量的读者。越来越多的人为自己、为亲爱者写作传记,以保留一份纪念。21世纪是属于传记的时代。

传记的发展,提出了许许多多的问题,需要研究和讨论;本刊是中国境内第一个专门研究传记的刊物,创办本刊的目的就是提供一个发表和交流的园地,为中国传记的发展聊尽绵薄之力。

在一个全球化的时代,《现代传记研究》是一个开放性的刊物。它向中外传记界开放,它发表对各种传记类型的问题,包括历史的、现实的和理论的问题,所进行的不同角度的研究和探讨;它鼓励和欢迎专家、作者和读者之间的交流和互动;它提倡视角和方法与时俱进、不断创新,同时也倡导严谨、求实的文风。它的目的只有一个,促进传记学术的繁荣,推动传记的发展。

办好一份刊物是一件艰苦的事,我们会不断学习、不断反思、不断改善以求进步。我们也吁求国内外传记界的朋友们、传记的爱好者的支持,你们的关注和参予,你们的能力和智慧,是办好这份刊物最有力的保证,期待着你们!

《现代传记研究》编辑部

## Editor's Note

As a monument to honor human beings, life writing has permeated culture since its origin. *Analects of Confucius* by Confucius, *The Socrates of Plato* and *The Four Gospels* are immortal classics in the history of life writing. Despite the fact that most genres of literature and culture perish over time, life writing has persisted in a tenacious manner, and the twenty-first century is witnessing a golden age of life writing, which even surpasses the novel, the once-dominating genre. Life writing now is among the most esteemed of cultural texts. Such traditional forms as biography, autobiography, memorial, letter, diary and travelogue still maintain prominence and the emerging oral history and collective lives demonstrate intense momentum. Simultaneously, life writing, having crossed the border of textual medium into the domain of movies, TV, Internet and We Media, claims an ever new and extensive space with the potential for innumerable readers. An increasing number of people have taken to life writing for themselves or for their loved ones, aspiring to erect an everlasting monument. In brief, the twenty-first century is an era of life writing.

Life writing as a genre of discourse has posed a great number of questions, requiring energies devoted to deeper studies and thorough scholarly discussions. *The Journal of Modern Life Writing Studies* takes the initiative in China as the first journal exclusively devoted to life writing studies. It aims to make a distinctive contribution to the development of Chinese life writing by providing a forum for publication and exchange of views in scholarship.

In the context of globalization, *Modern Life Writing Studies* is an open journal, accessible to the life writing community home and abroad, publishing research and explorations on all kinds of life writing issues (historical, practical and theoretical) from various perspectives, encouraging and welcoming communication and interaction among scholars, authors and readers, and highlighting innovative perspectives and methodologies as well as rigorous and realistic style. Our over-arching commitment is to facilitate the development of life writing and to bring it to a new level of excellence.

A full-fledged journal requires arduous and painstaking efforts. We pledge to consistently aim for progress through consistent learning, reflection, and improvement. We also appeal to dear friends in the life writing community at home and abroad and devotees of life writing for your support, attention and participation. Your talents and wisdom are the most powerful assurance of our success. We are looking forward to your help!

# 目 录

卷首语 .....	(1)
-----------	-----

## 【比较传记】

毛泽东的海外传记:80 年的演变历程及其原因 .....	罗斯·特里尔 (1)
谁会害怕凌叔华? ——当代传记写作中的跨国性与性别政治 .....	裴睿夫 (17)
比较传记:历史与模式 .....	杨正润 (51)

## 【作品研究】

时空、史料与史观——伍连德传的比较研究 .....	黄贤强 (69)
台湾身障者传记的发展 .....	郑尊仁 (84)

## 【理论研究】

论历史叙事中的合理构筑——文学比史学更可信? .....	李开元 (101)
海外华人传记话语体系与传播 .....	王斌俊 (120)

## 【自传评论】

自传:一种法式热情 .....	弗朗索瓦丝·西莫内-特南 (126)
《三生影像》的叙事艺术分析 .....	朱旭晨 (140)
中国现代作家自传中的多重话语 .....	雷 莹 (148)

## 【日记评论】

“道德家”的尴尬自绘:吴宓“反”卢梭解析 .....	梁庆标 (161)
----------------------------	-----------



论《蒋介石日记秘事》的特点与传记价值 .....	王洪岳 (177)
--------------------------	-----------

### 【传记家言】

写作《张纯如:无法忘却历史的女子》的经验 .....	张盈盈 (190)
论美国黑人舞蹈家佩尔·普利迈斯之传记:不同世界的	
传记叙事 .....	蓓琪·施瓦茨、默里·施瓦茨 (199)
谈为孔子写传记的体会 .....	邵耀成 (216)

### 【史料考订】

加拿大华裔眼中的加拿大历史 .....	利德蕙 (225)
---------------------	-----------

### 【工作坊】

境外中国现代人物传记资料数据库的建设与前景 .....	刘佳林 (253)
多种媒体传记资源组织与管理体系研究 .....	孙 翌、郑巧英、张 洁 (261)

### 【学术信息】

华人传记与当代传记潮流国际学术研讨会综述 .....	全 展 (275)
英文摘要 .....	(283)
稿约 .....	(303)
编后记 .....	(306)

# CONTENTS

<b>Editor's Note</b> .....	(1)
----------------------------	-----

## **Comparative Biography**

Foreign Biographies of Mao: Evolution over Eight Decades and the Reasons for Changes .....	Ross Terrill (1)
Who's Afraid of Ling Shuhua? Transnationalism and Gender Politics in Contemporary Life Writing .....	Ralph Parfect (17)
Comparative Biography: History and Patterns .....	Yang Zhengrun (51)

## **Text Study**

Time, Space, Historical Materials and Interpretations: A Comparative Study of Life Writings on Wu Liande .....	Wong Sin Kiong (69)
Biography of Disabled People in Taiwan .....	Tsun-Jen Cheng (84)

## **Theory Study**

On the Rational Construct in Life Writing: Is Literature More Convincing Than History? .....	Li Kaiyuan (101)
The Discourse System of Overseas Chinese Life Writing and Its Communication .....	Wang Binjun (120)

## **Autobiography Study**

Autobiography: A Kind of French Ardor ...	Françoise Simonet-Tenant (126)
The Narrative Art in Hualing Nieh Engle's <i>Images of Three</i>	

- Lives* ..... Zhu Xuchen (140)
- On the Multi-Discourse in Modern Chinese Writers'
- Autobiographies ..... Lei Ying (148)

### Diary Study

- Debunking Rousseau: the Awkwardness of Wu Mi's
- Self Portrayal as a "Moralist" ..... Liang Qingbiao (161)
- The Characteristics and Biographical Value in *Secrets in*
- Chiang Kai-shek's Diaries* ..... Wang Hongyue (177)

### From Life Writers

- My Writing Experience of My Memoir *The Woman Who*
- Could Not Forget: Iris Chang Before and Beyond The*
- Rape of Nanking* ..... Chang Ying-ying (190)
- The Biography of Pearl Primus, African-American Dancer:
- Narrating a Life in Several Worlds ..... Peggy and Murray Schwartz (199)
- To Write a Biography of Confucius—A Perspective from
- Personal Experiences ..... Paul Y. Shao (216)

### Life Writing Materials

- Canadian History through the Eyes of Chinese Canadian
- ..... Vivienne Poy (225)

### Workshop

- On the Construction and Prospect of the Database of Overseas
- Life Writing on Modern Chinese People ..... Liu Jialin (253)
- The Framework of Organizing and Managing Life Writing Resource
- on Various Formats ..... Sun Yi, Zheng Qiaoying, Zhang Jie (261)

## Academic Info

An Overview of the International Conference “Overseas Portraiture of  
Chinese Lives; Life Writing and the Current Trend” ..... Quan Zhan (275)

English Abstracts ..... (283)

Call for Articles ..... (303)

From the Editor ..... (306)

# Foreign Biographies of Mao: Evolution over Eight Decades and the Reasons for Changes

Ross Terrill

**内容提要：**海外关于毛泽东的传记既有埃德加·斯诺写的圣徒传记式的先锋作品,也包括最近极端的攻击。介于这两种观点之间还有以下观点:“追求伟大的目标,但却付出了巨大的代价”;“20世纪50年代后期之前的毛泽东是伟大的,而此后的毛泽东则犯了错误”;1949年成为毛泽东一生中真正的分水岭;毛泽东体现了“革命理想主义”和“政治现实主义”双重属性,心理传记揭示了领袖作为人的本质;如果毛泽东的社会建设能够合理地开展,就能够极为成功地实现。

海外传记在此期间的演变有4个原因:起初的倾向偏重于猎奇,毛泽东的新奇之处在于他和欧洲的马克思主义者截然不同。全世界对领导力看法的改变,导致对毛泽东的看法由政治英雄转变为对其政治领导力持怀疑态度。由于中国共产党1981年作出的决议,使此前一直不敢强烈批判毛泽东的人士能够畅所欲言,同时中国国内也允许某些学术著作出版,这使国外对毛泽东的研究著作可以从中受益。新的资料是这一演变最重要的因素,诸如《毛泽东年谱》和《建国以来毛泽东文稿》等资料对国外传者具有重要影响。

我注意到从20世纪90年代开始,中国和海外的毛泽东研究在视角和资料的运用方面都出现了共性。我认为一篇论战性质的传记很难成为真正的传记,但如果它能够有论据作为支撑且中国研究和政治史需要这样去做的话,这也是合理的。我在总结中说明了毛泽东传记中未完成任务和未来毛泽东声誉的各种可能性。

**关键词：**传记 毛泽东 埃德加·斯诺 大跃进 文化大革命

## MAO SCHOLARSHIP OVER THE YEARS

Mao was one of the 20th century's dominant political leaders and a mirror to the complexity of China's encounter with modernity. In Mao's person, for nearly a century from his birth in 1893, we see China move from the Qing Dynasty to the Soviet Union era, from disorder to tight rule, from rural towards urban, from bicycle towards automobile, from national weakness to national strength. A disciple of Stalin, Mao nevertheless fatally wounded the Soviet Bloc. A Communist believer, he nevertheless opened the door to capitalist U. S. in 1972, turning a bipolar world into a triangle. Foreign biographies of Mao provide one window onto this recent history.

By world-wide comparison, there have been few biographies of Mao biographies; less than the number on other 20th-century leaders such as Stalin, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Hitler, Lenin, and Churchill. For several reasons, Mao has been largely left to China specialists, more so than the above mentioned titans have been left to their respective area specialists. The Harvard library, for example, possesses 460 items of biography or near-biography on Mao, 1130 on Lenin.

Edgar Snow's pioneering *Red Star Over China* (1961), in the spirit of the 1930s, saw Mao through a Popular Front lens. The challenge of the age was fascism in Germany, Italy and Japan; to oppose its encroachments was to be a democrat and that included Mao. With such a political agenda, Snow was indulgent toward Mao. During this period of Left united fronts in France and the UK and Roosevelt's New Deal in the U. S., capitalism was under challenge and the label "revolution" was embraced by many liberals including Snow. The American journalist came to call Mao a friend and the PRC returned the favor by styling Snow a friend of China.

No notable further foreign biography of Mao appeared until after Liberation. A popular Sinological approach to Mao in the 1950s was, “Great aims but large costs,” the omelet was worthwhile despite some collateral damage to the eggs. Foreign writers generally defended the rationality of Mao’s attempts at social engineering, while acknowledging excesses and errors. This enabled the popular image of Mao in the West during the 1950s to be less unfavorable than the popular image of Stalin, which was shaped by the “realist” approach of Western political science and influenced by Khrushchev’s attack on Stalin in 1956. In 1967 Stuart Schram pieced together Mao’s pre-Cultural Revolution life and analyzed his thought in a scientific way from limited materials. In half a century of scholarship Schram, like many Western Sinologists, seldom moralized about Mao, one way or the other.

China scholars during Mao’s lifetime could see a number of evils and injustices in the PRC; if pressed, few would have said Peng Dehuai got a fair deal from Mao in 1959, or denied that China harbored many political prisoners. Yet they tended to see Mao from inside out. I refer not to a biographer’s (necessary) empathy, but always asking what Mao intended, finding a consistency in Mao’s aims, discovering in his texts an aspect that could justify what he did. An intellectual fascination with the gyrations of Chinese Communist politics and with the variations between Soviet and Asian Marxism, plus respect for Chinese history and culture, operated to restrain negative judgment of Mao (MacFarquhar 1993, 1997). The tendency toward a hands-off objectivity was reinforced by the existence of some polemicists, wielding totalitarian theory rather crudely (as KMT writers in Taiwan), or taking a purely moral and superficial stance in favor of Chinese communism (French or Australian “Maoists”) (Tai-Chün Kuo and Ramon Myers 65, 108).

In the years following Mao’s death in 1976, a common concept was, “good Mao up to the later 1950s” and “flawed Mao thereafter.” Drawing up a “balance

sheet” of excellent and mistaken things he did, with the late 1950s as a major watershed, was also Deng Xiaoping’s approach in his hope to constrain on-going debates about Mao within the PRC during the 1980s. However, this approach stumbles against the pathology of the Cultural Revolution, which some scholars claim was not a lapse from Mao’s otherwise workable social engineering, but the culmination of some of Mao’s dreams. For example I concluded: “Mao entered on the Cultural Revolution determined to establish more deeply his long-standing socialist values.” (364) A change came in the treatment of Mao, especially of Mao the person, by the 1990s. Few would have guessed at Mao’s death in 1976, nor yet at the tenth anniversary of his death, that by the twentieth anniversary of his passing major attention would be paid to his personal behavior, including his sexual life. I was criticized in reviews of the first edition of my book in 1980 for bringing in Mao’s personality and personal life. Edwin Moise in 1986 in the bibliography of his *Modern China: A History* recommended my *Mao* but warned his readers that it “concentrates too much on details of Mao’s personal life” (240). Yet a decade later, a number of serious works in Chinese and English treated Mao’s personal life in detail. Although my suggestion of the possibility of intimacy between Mao and Zhang Yufeng had been widely rejected, later revelations turned possibility into certainty and Zhang herself published an account of her relationship with Mao<sup>①</sup>.

More important than attention to Mao the man, the probing of Mao’s policy errors from the late 1950s intensified in the 1990s. The loss of life during the famine that followed the Great Leap Forward, for example, had been estimated by a leading Western anti-Communist scholar of the 1960s and 1970s, Richard Walker, at 1 – 2 million (and John Fairbank attacked him for exaggerating); but a

① Zhang Yufeng, series of articles in *Yan huang zi sun* later republished in *Guangmingribao*, Beijing, December 26, 1988 through January 6, 1989. Zhang Yufeng, “Zuo wo de mishu ye nan ye bunan,” *Renwu*, Beijing, No. 6, 1993.



1996 British study put the figure at 30 million. (Yan 270 – 74) The picture of the Great Leap Famine, based largely on documentary sources available within China, became bleaker than that suggested by the hardest of American anti-Communists in the 1960s.

By the 1990s, a welcome convergence occurred between Mao studies within China and those outside, in both perspective and use of materials. Émigrés and visitors from China, like those from Taiwan and Hong Kong in earlier years, began to infuse Sinology in the West with new thinking and a sharpened awareness of available sources. Likewise, scholars from outside China enjoyed better access to research materials within China. This convergence enabled empirical richness not comfortable for those who insist that all knowledge is ideological. Also, after the *Mao* and the resurgence of research on Mao of the 1980s and 1990s, within China, millions of ordinary Chinese formed their own ideas about Mao, making it less easy for the Mao biographer to please all readers.

In this situation it became clear that a foreign author writing about Mao is both handicapped and helped by being outside the moral world of Chinese society. I could not write the book on Mao that a Chinese writes and he/she would not write my kind of book. Mao's career is an emotional topic to Chinese especially older Chinese. Both his achievements and mistakes shaped life in China and produced feelings, opinions, emotions that a foreigner is not able to experience. For the same reason, however, the foreign scholar could be less vulnerable than a Chinese scholar to political currents and more able to enjoy the benefits of detachment. Still, the foreigner lacks access to restricted source materials that are available in a selective way to many Chinese writers.

## REASONS FOR CHANGES

Let me pause here to catalogue, with cause and effect, the reasons why