罗斯·特里尔先生专访问题

1962年，您毕业于澳大利亚墨尔本大学，获得历史政治科学一级荣誉学位，怎么获得奖学金去哈佛大学深造的？I WON 2 SCHOLARSHIPS, ONE TO HARVARD ONE TO LSE IN UK. MY TEACHERS SAID TAKE LONDON ONE, I DECIDED YO TAKE USA ONE. MORE FREEDOM, MORE FUTURE. I HAD MY EYE ON MEETING FAIRBANK, LEARNING FROM HIM. I WANTED EXCITEMENT, HAD A HUNCH UK WAS GOING DOWNHILL

您的老师有美国前国务卿亨利·基辛格和著名历史学家、中国问题专家费正清等，他们对您产生了怎样的影响？KISSINGER A POWERFUL MIND, ORIGINAL, A THEORY MAN, AMBITIOUS TOO. I LEARNT FROM HIM THAT A BALANCE OF POWER CAN MAKE FOR PEACE. HE WAS NOT AN ESPECIALLY KIND MAN, BUT A DETERMINED ONE. HE TAUGHT US TO THINK. HE CHANGED HISTORY BY HIS WORK WITH NIXON.

FAIRBANK WAS A KIND MAN, GENEROUS TO HIS STUDENTS. HE ONLY LOOKED AT CHINA, NOT AT THEORY. HE WANTED TO GROW STUDENTS OF CHINA LIKE A GARDENER GROWS FINE VEGETAABLES AND FLOWERS. AND HE DID, 100S AND 1000S. HE THOUGHT MUTUAL EXCHANGES WITH CHINA WOULD BRING PEACE. THIS WAS NAÏVE. HE WAS NO GOOD AT POLITICS AND NOT VAIN LIKE HENRY. BUT HE WAS A GREAT PEDAGOGUE.

怎么开始研究毛泽东的？您说研究毛泽东是因为他有趣，您的这本书我的阅读感受也是非常有趣、幽默、妙语如珠，除了尽可能地掌握资料，您觉得一个外国人的自由是不是也是您这本书成功的秘诀之一？**YOUR PRAISE IS TOO HIGH! I DON’T LIKE TO BORE PEOPLE, I WANT THEM TO TURN THE PAGE AND SEE WHAT HAPPENS NEXT TO MAO. YOU HAVE TO TELL STORIES. ONCE YOU GET INSIDE A SUBJECT, A PERSON, IT BECOMES EASY, AND ALSO ENJOYABLE, NOT HARD WORK AT ALL. OF COURSE THE HARD WORK IS WITH DOCUMENTS AND PERSUADING BUSY PEOPLE TO OPEN UP AND TALK TO YOU. IT’S TRUE MY FIRST INTEREST IN MAO WAS HIS POWER, HE CHANGED CHINA AND THE WORLD. CCP WOULD NOT HAVE WON POWER IN 1949 BUT FOR THIS STRONG-WILLED MAN. A DISCIPLE OF STALIN, BUT HE WRECKED THE SOVIET BLOC. A COMMUNIST, BUT OPENED THE DOOR TO CAPITALIST U.S., TURNING A BIPOLAR WORLD INTO A TRIANGLE. AS A UNIFIER HE RANKS WITH GREAT EMPERORS. AND NOT MANY LEADERS IN HISTORY POSSESSED BOTH HIS SUPREME POWER AND A PHILOSOPHY.**

**AS A NON-CHINESE, I GOT ACCESS TO MANY ASIA AND WORLD LEADERS WHO MET MAO, BUT AS A NON-CHINESE I COULD NOT SEE SECRET DOCUMENTS AVAILABLE ONLY WITHIN CHINA. BASICALLY, A BIOGRAPHY MUST EXPLAIN A MAN. WHY DID HE DO WHAT HE DID. YES, BEING OUTSIDE CHINA I COULD SAY WHATEVER I WISHED, THAT HELPS ANY WRITER, YOU MUST BE INDEPENDENT-MINDED, NOT JUST A TYPIST.**

菲利普·肖特、迪克·威尔逊、斯图尔特·施拉姆、丽贝卡·卡尔等学者都写过《毛泽东传》，他们的著作您有没有过目？怎么评价？

**I DON’T LIKE TO COMMENT ON THE POOR ONES. SHORT’S IS QUITE GOOD, PANTSEV’S RECENT ONE IS EXCELLENT FOR MAO’S LINKS WITH MOSCOW AND HIS FAMILY. MOST PUBLISHED OFFICIALLY IN PRC ARE ACCURATE BUT DULL. CHUNG-HALLIDAY IS A BIG ATTACK, ONE-SIDED. THIS IS ONLY JUSTIFIED TO CORRECT A PAST IMBALANCE. SOME TRUTH TO THAT. BUT NOTHING CAN JUSTIFY THEIR IGNORING MAO’S IDEAS. THEY SAY HE WAS AN EVIL MAN. UNLIKELY. BUT HE HAD SOME BAD IDEAS, THEY DON’T EVEN MENTION THE WRONG IDEAS HE EMBRACED. IN THE WEST SCHRAM WAS THE BEST SCHOLAR OF MAO’S WRITINGS, BUT NOT ON HIS LIFE.**

您觉得《三国演义》和《水浒传》，哪一部对毛泽东的影响更大？而在文革前夕，他反复强调《西游记》，这部四大名著之一的小说又成为毛泽东政治运动的棋子。他又劝许世友读《红楼梦》，您觉得毛泽东是不是一个活在中国古代思想中的人？

**THESE NOVELS APPEALED TO MAO THE ROMANTIC, AND MAO THE ADVENTURER. BUT IT WAS RIDICULOUS TO MAKE A CURRENT POLITICAL INTERPRETATTION OF “WATER MARGIN” DURING THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION. GUO MORUO TOLD ME WHEN I MET HIM IN 1971 THAT MAO HAD JUST READ “”RED CHAMBER” FOR THE 4TH TIME. I THINK HE LIKED TO ESCAPE INTO THIS BOOK. BUT HIS POEM “SNOW” SHOWS HE USED THE PAST IN CLEVER WAY FOR THE PRESENT.**

在书中，您对“肃AB团”和富田事件并没有做太多的分析描述，您觉得这一事件毛泽东本人要负多大的责任，这对日后建国后的左倾错误，是否埋下了一个很大的伏笔？

**I SHOULD HAVE DISCUSSED THIS MORE. IT WAS A DISGRACE. BUT WE KNOW MAO WAS RUTHLESS IN GETTING HIS GOALS. THAT WAS THE TIGER IN HIM. THEN LATER HE WONDERED IF IT WAS WORTHWHILE. THAT WAS THE MONKEY IN HIM.**

“两河口会议”之后，如果按照毛泽东最初的设想，以六七千人的兵力强攻新疆，必将先于西路军面对强敌，毛泽东为什么那么自信，六七千人就能打通通往苏联之路？

I REALLY DON’T KNOW THE ANSWER, I CAN’T EXPLAIN IT.

您认为中共在抗日战争中究竟扮演了什么样的角色？您觉得他们是否是韬光养晦更多的是保存实力？

IT WAS A TRICKY, CLEVER STRATEGY, TO USE WAR FOR POLITICS. FANCY MAO AND ZHU DE DECLARING WAR ON JAPAN FROM THEIR LITTLE CAMP IN 1931! CKS WAS UNLUCKY THAT JAPAN ATTACKED. BUT USING NATIONALISM WON POWER FOR MAO IN 1949. MAO ACTUALLY TOLD JAPAN PM TANAKA THIS IN 1972; HE THANKED HIM! IN RECENT YEARS PRC SCHOLARS HAVE GIVEN MORE CREDIT TO CKS IN the WAR WITH JAPAN

如果没有苏联在东北向中共提供的城市、物资、军火和伪军，您认为中共是否能依靠自身实力打败国民党夺取全国政权？NO, THEY COULD NOT. RIGHT FROM THE 1920S THE SOVIET UNION SUPPORT FOR THE CCP WAS CRUCIAL.MAO BELIEVED IN ZI LI GENG SHENG FOR OTHERS, BUT NOT FOR HIMSELF.

在斯大林去世之后，中苏争端的实质，是否可以归纳为争当世界社会主义阵营领袖的问题？MAO DID NOT WISH IT. HE WANTED THE SPLIT WITH SOVIET UNION. NK WAS BAFFLED WITH HIM. I DOUBT MOSCOW COULD HAVE HELPED WORLD SOCIALISM GET TOGETHER AGAIN.MAO HAD NOT FORGOTTEN THAT RUSSIA TOOK A BIG PART OF LAND FROM CHINA

您在书中没有提到“四清运动”，刘少奇在“四清运动”中究竟是不是主导者？“四清运动”为之后的文革打下了怎样的基础？

**IMPLICATION OF YOUR QUESTION IS CORRECT. IT IS A BAD OMISSION SINCE THIS WAS AN IMPORTANT PRELUDE TO CULTURAL REVOLUTION**.

在文革之中，毛和周的关系究竟是怎么样的？毛对周恩来是否是一种比较矛盾的心态，OF COURSE, AND ZHOU ALSO HAD A CONTRADICTION TOWARD MAO. FROM 1935 ZHOU ACCEPTED THAT MAO WOULD BE NUMBER ONE, WHETHER HE AGREED WITH HIM WAS NO LONGER THE POINT 既对周不满，又不得不依赖周？而周是不是在政府层面保证了文化大革命的顺利开展？IF THERE COULD BE A CULTURAL REVOLUTION WITHOUT LIU AND DENG XIAOPING (AND SO MANY OTHER COLLEAGUES) I SUPPOSE IT COULD BE ONE ALSO WITHOUT ZHOU. NO ONE WAS TOTALLY ESSENTIAL FOR MAO, ONLY HIS OWN WILL-POWER 您觉得他又是依靠什么能够在中国政坛上一直屹立不倒？**AGAIN YOU HAVE IMPLIED YOUR OWN GOOD ANSWER. BASICALLY IN THE THEATER THE STAGE MANAGER CANNOT OVERRULE THE PRODUCER. ZHOU COULD NOT HAVE OPPOSED MAO. ZHOU-LIU-DENG (AND OTHERS) COULD HAVE BUT THEY DID NOT UNITE.**

林彪之谜一直困扰着我们，您在书中也写“九大”时：“林希望对苏联和美国采取一视同仁的政策”，当时美国是头号敌人，为什么林彪要提出这样的意见**？BECAUSE OPPOSING BOTH TOP POWERS TOGETHER WAS ALWAYS AN UNLIKELY, RISKY POLICY. SAFER TO STEADY THE SHIP WITH BOTH. DENG XIAOPING DID THIS IN 1980S**

林彪的叛国，是否是他预感到自己将成为另一个刘少奇的无奈之举？也就是说，此时，毛已决意要抛弃林彪？**I THINK SO. MAO ABANDONED MANY. WHITLAM, AUSTRALIA PM, TRIED TO PLEASE MAO IN 1973 BY TALKING OF SPLENDID YOUNG WANG HONGWEN, AND HOW MAO SUPPORTED YOUTH ETC ETC. WHERE DID YOU FIND HIM, WHITLAM ASKED. MAO GRUNTED “DON’T KNOW” AND CHANGED THE SUBJECT.**

您说：“林不像是死于一场事故。”为什么这么说？IT JUST SEEMS UNLIKELY, MAO HAD GIVEN UP ON HIM 如果林彪执政，他会不会走一条与邓小平相似的改革开放的道路？IT IS QUITE POSSIBLE. 改革开放 IS AFTER ALL A VERY SIMPLE POLICY, MAINLY DISMANTLING MAOISM AND OPENING A LOCKED DOOR. IT COULD BE SEEN AS A MILITARY MAN’S STRATEGY.

**MAO WAS A MAN OF STORMS AND CONTRADICTIONS, A SELF-AWARE MAN; THIS GIVES ME FASCINATION, SUSTAINS MY INTEREST.**

**IN A DESPONDENT MOOD, MAO WROTE TO FRIEND PENG HUANG IN 1921 LISTING HIS OWN DEFECTS - TOO PRONE TO SUBJECTIVE JUDGMENTS, ARROGANT AND VAIN, GOOD AT BIG TALK BUT NOT AT SYSTEMIC STEPS, QUICK TO BLAME OTHERS FOR MY OWN ERRORS... HE TOLD PENG THESE DEFECTS WOULD HOLD HIM BACK FROM LEADERSHIP AND DISTINCTION. THEY DID NOT; BUT THEY DID FLAVOR HIS EXERCISE OF POWER OVER CHINA.**

**B) BUT OF COURSE I WAS FIRST ATTRACTED TO WRITE ABOUT MAO SINCE HE CHANGED CHINA AND THE WORLD. CCP WOULD NOT HAVE WON POWER IN 1949 BUT FOR THIS STRONG-WILLED MAN. A DISCIPLE OF STALIN, BUT HE WOUNDED THE SOVIET BLOC. A COMMUNIST, BUT OPENED THE DOOR TO CAPITALIST U.S., TURNING A BIPOLAR WORLD INTO A TRIANGLE.**

**AS A CHINESE UNIFIER HE RANKS WITH EMPERORS HAN GAOZU, TANG TAIZONG, AND ZHU YUANZHANG. CRUCIAL, THIS MAN OF SUPREME POWER POSSESSED A DOCTRINE (WHICH HIS RIVAL CHIANG KAI-SHEK LACKED)**

**C) MAO’S STORY IS ALSO A SLICE OF CHINA’S MODERN HISTORY. WHAT A WONDERFUL WAY TO FOLLOW UPS AND DOWNS OF CHINA’S 20TH CENTURY! IN MAO’S PERSON, FOR NEARLY A CENTURYFROM HIS BIRTH IN 1893, WE SEE CHINA MOVE FROM QING DYNASTY TO THE SOVIET UNION ERA, FROM BICYCLE TOWARD AUTOMOBILE, FROM RURAL TOWARD URBAN, FROM DISORDER TO TIGHT RULE, FROM NATIONAL WEAKNESS TO SOME NATIONAL STRENGTH. YOU LOOK AT MAO, YOU SEE CHINA’S MODERN STRUGGLE.**

**D) OVERALL, I SUGGEST MAO WAS A SEMI‑INTELLECTUAL, LIKE DE GAULLE, NAPOLEON, AND CHURCHILL. BOTH A MAN OF IDEAS AND ACTION, HE DISLIKED MANY REGULAR INTELLECTUALS. MAO WAS PART TIGER AND PART MONKEY. HIS RUTHLESS SIDE KNEW HOW TO CRASH THROUGH FROM POINT A TO POINT B, BUT HIS QUIXOTIC (MONKEY) SIDE HAD DOUBTS THAT B WAS REALLY ANY BETTER THAN A. HIS SENSE OF HISTORY AS CYCLICAL MADE HIM DISSATISFIED WITH ANY PLATEAU OF ACHIEVEMENT, PUZZLING COLLEAGUES MORE GIVEN TO LINEAR THINKING. UNFORTUNATELY HE PURSUED PHANTOMS, INCLUDING A TERRIBLY DESTRUCTIVE INVENTION OF EVER-FRESH CLASS ENEMIES.**

**3.**

**YOUTH ARE OPEN-MINDED ABOUT MAO. COMPARE PARENTS WHO MAY NOT BE FAVORABLE. AND GRANDPARENTS WHO MAY HATE MAO. BUT TEACHERS DON’T GIVE YOUTH A CHANCE TO UNDERSTAND MAO.SOME CHINESE HISTORY TEXT BOOKS ARE LOUSY. THEY DON’T FACE UP TO LATE MAO ERRORS. THE 1980 CCP’S 1981 "RESOLUTION ON CERTAIN QUESTIONS IN THE HISTORY OF OUR PARTY" IS A SERIOUS DOCUMENT. IT SERVED CCP INTERESTS BUT ALSO THE TRUTH TO A DEGREE. BUT IT NEEDS UPDATING**

**EVEN AS CHINA HAS MOVED BEYOND LEARNING FROM MAO AS A BUILDER OF SOCIALISM. CHINA SHOULD NOT MOVE BEYOND THE LESSON OF MAO’S ROLE IN THE POLITICAL SYSTEM, AND CHINA SHOULD UNDERSTAND HOW MAO COULD BEGIN IN IDEALISM YET SUCCUMB TO ONE-MAN AUTHORITARIANISM**

4、So what do you think about Professor Zhang’s point of view, or, to put it another way, how would you describe the relationship between the Mao and the Deng eras ?

**DENG WAS LOYAL TO MAO WITH A SKILLFUL SELECTIVITY. FOR PRC PURPOSES HE KEPT HIM AS A LENIN (FOUNDER), BUT REJECTED HIM AS A MARX (ECONOMIC THEORIST) OR EVEN AS A STALIN (RULER). THIS WAS HIS CHOSEN PATH TO REFORM WITHOUT DISRUPTION. DENG WAS A NECESSARY BRIDGE BETWEEN MAO AND A TRUE POST-MAO ERA. HE WAS, AND HAD TO BE, IN DIALOGUE WITH MAO. TODAY’S LEADERS ARE BEYOND THAT; FOR THEM MAO IS NOT A POLITICAL ISSUE AS FOR DENG, BUT A HISTORICAL PERSONAGE.**

5、

What do you think of the cultural heritage of Mao?

**MAO WAS MORE INTERESTING THAN DENG AS A MIND. OF COURSE WE CAN LEARN FROM MAO. HE KNEW THE IMPORTANCE OF SCIENCE. HE HAD A FEELING FOR ANCIENT CHINA. HE KNEW THAT HISTORY IS CYCLICAL AS WELL AS LINEAR. AT HIS BEST HE TOLD PEOPLE TO PROBE, CONSIDER ALL IDEAS. HE TOLD WANG HAIRONG TO GO DEEPLY INTO THE BIBLE, BUT THEN COME OUT AGAIN. HE NEVER HAD BLIND HATRED FOR JAPAN. HE CONSIDERED EVERYTHING IN RELATION** **TO ITS MEANING FOR CHINA. HIS NATIONALISM IS TOO INTENSE FOR US NOW. WE ARE AND MUST BE THE CHILDREN OF GLOBALIZATION.**

**ONE COULD WRITE A 100% ATTACK ON MAO, OR A 100% WHITE-WASH. THESE DON’T INTEREST ME. PERHAPS IN THE MIDST OF BATTLE YOU SHOULD WRITE A HAGIOGRAPHY, TO SPUR THE TROOPS. BUT WE ARE IN PEACE AND RELATIVE PROSPERITY. MAO IS OUR HISTORY. WE MUST SEEK THE TRUTH ABOUT OUR PRC HISTORY OR MISTAKES LIE SHEAD**

6、As an expert in Chinese studies, you must have followed the reform measures that have been adopted by the new leadership, including anti-corruption reform, adjustments of economic policies, and changes in international diplomacy. We would like to know about your main concerns regarding China today and what kind of role you think China should play in international affairs.

**I WANT TO SEE CHINA AS A GREAT MODERN NATION IN AN INTERDEPENDENT WORLD. BUT CHINA SHOULD NOT RISE TOO ROUGHLY. THAT WAY, CHINA WOULD LEARN, AS THE UNITED STATES DID PAINFULLY, THAT AN ASCENDANT KING OF THE JUNGLE BEASTS FEELS THE BITES OF OTHER BEASTS EDGED ASIDE. ENVY, RESENTMENT, FEAR SET IN, NOT GOOD FOR THE CHALLENGING POWER.**

7.

…You once said that the greatest challenge that China faces today is how to establish a kind of new public philosophy that can be accepted by all its citizens,

**TO FILL THE VACUUM SOME YOUNG CHINESE CHOOSE RELIGION. SOME FAVOR SCIENCE. BUT A PUBLIC PHILOSOPYY MUST BE BROADER THAN EITHER OF THESE AND IT MUST BE GIVEN CONSTITUTIONAL FORM. LET A HUNDRED FLOWERS BLOOM AS MAO DID, TO HAVE FULL DISCUSSION ON THE NEXT STEP. AND DON’T STOP IT HALF-WAY, AS MAO DID IN 1957.**

8、As we know, it has become a trend in most academic fields to innovate research methodology and advocate interdisciplinary research with broader perspectives. Also some refer to the concept of Pan-Sinology, covering different fields, including politics, economy, culture and society. As an expert in Chinese history and social concerns, what do you think interdisciplinary research will mean for the study of sinology?

**NO TOPICS BARRED, BUT FACTS ALWAYS RESPECTED**

9、Professor Vogel, who also studies political leaders of China, has been invited to this conference as well. Have you read Deng Xiaoping: A Biography? As a fellow scholar working in a similar field, what kind of conversation would you expect from this conference?

**VOGEL’S BOOK IS GOOD AS A POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE DENG XIAOPING ERA, NOT SO RICH AS A BIOGRAPHY THAT GETS INSIDE THE MAN. THE BEST BOOK IN ENGLISH ON DENG’S POLITICAL MIND IS YANG BINGZHANG’S DENG XIAOPING; A POLITICAL BIOGRAPHY.**