



America Perceived: The Making of Chinese Images of the United States, 1945–1953

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Joseph Stilwell) but are fulsome in their praises of the British, West African, Gurkha and Burmese soldiers who formed the deep-range, penetration brigades⁸. The greatest achievement of Orde Wingate and his men was in boosting allied morale “at the time when the British were under maximum pressure” (p. 380).

Ultimately the forces arrayed against the Japanese in Burma would include not only levies drawn from the ethnic minorities but Aung San’s Burmese Defence Army itself. The nationalists were disillusioned by the attitude and behavior of the Japanese and conspired with the British to rise against their erstwhile sponsors in March 1945. However, this dramatic reversal of alliances did not serve to reconcile ethnic Burmese and the ethnic minorities of Burma, many of whom had stoutly resisted the Japanese throughout their occupation. Perhaps, the most impressive achievement of “Forgotten Armies” is to present Burmese nationalists and Karen, Kachin, Lushai and Chin Loyalists in an equally positive and sympathetic light.

“Forgotten Armies” is an ambitious work that succeeds in virtually all its aims. It sets out to convey a story largely unknown to Western readers and it vividly accomplishes this using source material that allows Asian voices to speak for themselves. The only criticism of the book is its rather abrupt ending. 1945, after all did not witness the fall of British Asia but rather its (temporary) restoration. The end of the Anglo-Japanese War was merely one phase in the struggle of South-East Asian nationalism. Perhaps a second volume will carry the story up to its natural culmination; the independence of India, Burma and Malaya.

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Hong Zhang. *America Perceived: The Making of Chinese Images of the United States, 1945–1953.* Westport: Greenwood, 2002. xii, 210 pp. ISBN 0-313-31001-7. \$64.95 (cloth).

DID the United States government learn anything from its misadventure in China after World War II? Hong Zhang’s work provides a relevant, indeed tragic, view of how the application of American power since World War II has staggered consistently between righteous idealism and awful mistakes. Perhaps because of these manifest errors—the present occupation of Iraq being the latest—we have witnessed the growth of anti-Americanism as a recent academic sub-field. Zhang’s text traces the growth of anti-Americanism among Chinese university students in the turbulent years spanning from 1945 to 1953, providing a discrete

⁸ One of the few factual errors in “Forgotten Armies” is the inclusion of Indian soldiers in the ranks of the Chindits. Wingate had an idiosyncratic aversion to them and the only Indian troops who took part in his expeditions were a handful of members of the Burma Rifles. Shelford Bidwell, *The Chindit War*. (New York: Macmillan, 1979) 52.

new perspective on the breakdown of Sino-American relations and the failure of American “public diplomacy” in postwar China. Zhang’s monograph is based on State Department documents and Chinese student movement literature, and evinces a keen understanding of the cultural dynamics of postwar China. As the author shows why Chinese intellectuals turned away, disgusted, from the United States in the late 1940s, she also reveals how the CCP adeptly exploited student disillusionment for political gains. On the whole, this text is a handsome addition to the scholarship on cultural Cold War, Sino-U.S. relations, and the growing academic subfield of anti-Americanism.

In examining the connection between urban Chinese students and U.S. troops, Zhang eschews grand strategy in favor of the complex milieu of social interactions, mutual perceptions, and daily antagonisms that bedeviled Sino-American relations after 1945. Her discussion of the student role in these interactions is enlivened by details from published documents of student movements as well as digests from the Chinese press. Using new sources, including documents on the Shen Chong incident from the Beijing Archives, Zhang argues for the power of culture in Chinese domestic politics and international relations, and seeks to disentangle how and why Chinese students grew to loathe their ostensible American “liberators.”

Zhang primarily analyzes the views of Chinese students, but also gives expression to the tens of thousands of American marines suffering from *ennui* in postwar China. “For marines,” she writes in a typically well-voiced passage, “a war-ravaged China in the midst of political and military crises and beleaguered by a dysfunctional economy, abject poverty, and squalor soon lost its exotic luster” (p. 46). Drunk, bored, and lonely, the American soldier William Pierson created a storm by raping a student, Shen Chong, on Christmas Eve, 1946, on a frozen field at Beijing University. Narrating judiciously, Zhang emphasizes the importance of the Shen Chong incident in turning elite public opinion against the United States, writing that the rape acquired “political and nationalist meanings, since it pushed to the fore the conjoining elements of gender, class, ethnicity, and national survival” (p. 87). Students saw in Shen Chong a metaphor for China’s degraded sovereignty. Sadly, given the rise of similar incidents by U.S. soldiers in Iraq, one can see how the analysis of U.S. failings in postwar China has only grown more necessary with time.

The chapter entitled “Urban Chinese Response to the American Military Presence” provides a clear means through which to understand the pitfalls of the American troops who trod the streets of Chinese cities like Shanghai in the late 1940s. For professors seeking to stimulate classroom discussion, the chapter succeeds with its rich evocations of G.I.s, jeep accidents and extraterritoriality.⁹

⁹ Zhang’s essay, which focuses on Shanghai, Beijing, and Tianjin, is nicely paired with Zhiguo Yang’s “U.S. Marines in Qingdao: Society, Culture, and China’s Civil War,” from *China and the United States: A New Cold War History*, Xiaobing Li and Hongshan Li, eds., (Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, 1998), 181-206.

General Wedemeyer's memoirs may describe his rush of pride at watching the American-sponsored development of Shanghai's traffic system, but Hong Zhang shows the negative repercussions of the American influence. Zhang shows how this sea change affected Chinese, and thus provides background for the propaganda assertions of the CCP thereafter. Along similar lines, the author's discussion of Sanmao, the beloved orphan and cartoon brainchild of Zhang Leping and the *Shen Bao*, provides an important link between Chinese popular culture and the changing political winds of the late 1940s.

One of the most valuable contributions of the text lies in its emphasis on the substantive role that the American occupation of Japan played in China's postwar domestic politics. The chapter on the "movement Opposing American Revival of Japan" (*fan Mei fu Ri yundong*) evinces great agility, moving ably through the American "reverse course" in Japan and entwining this event with the bubbling student movement on Chinese campuses. As the Americans were controlling Japan and appearing to foster that nation's military and economic power in 1948, the U.S., its morality already doubted in China, received the brunt of the criticism. Given the prevalence of anti-Japanese discourse in China today (not to mention Chinese media attention to the U.S.-Japan alliance), it is indeed strange that *fan Mei fu Ri* has received insufficient attention from scholars on both sides of the Pacific. This chapter is thus a welcome addition not just to the literature on Chinese nationalism, but it provides an interesting new angle on anti-Americanism by showing how readily the U.S. lost ground in China through its apparent support of Japanese arms. Drawing again upon U.S. State Department documents as well as the work of her doctoral advisor, Michael Schaller, Zhang also adds depth to the scholarship on the international aspects of the U.S. occupation of Japan. This is a convincing account, showing how the development of the reverse course in Japan stimulated anti-Americanism in China, and, not incidentally, added to the CCP's anti-imperialist allure in the cities.

The final chapter deals with Korean War propaganda, and innovatively draws the connections between student anti-Americanism and the themes of the Resist America Aid Korea campaign. While Zhang does not broach the thorny question of indigenous versus CCP-inspired anti-Americanism, she does include a number of CCP-mandated images of the United States in the context of the Korean War. Her work on Korean War propaganda thus joins a growing number of studies of this topic. As the author accurately notes, Korean War propaganda was guided by central volumes of *xuanchuan ziliao* (propaganda handbooks), and Zhang draws ably from these collections. Although limited in the number of images she was allowed to publish, Zhang ably discusses the repertoire of mobilization, explaining how student propaganda, including posters and songs, conveyed the straightforward essence of their anti-American (and anti-Japanese) outrage. Zhang thus branches off nicely from the theoretical work provided in Jeffrey Wasserstrom's *Student Movements in China: The View from Shanghai*, and provides much grist also to scholars of the cultural Cold War in Asia.

Taken as a whole, the book is a useful survey of disillusionment with the United States among Chinese intellectuals. Those seeking a more cultural treatment of the Sino-American relationship or new perspectives on the unfolding of the Cold War in northeast Asia should find great interest in Zhang's work. Hong Zhang's text sheds significant light onto the perpetually evolving subject of Chinese nationalism and the unfortunate adaptations of the United States as a world power.

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劉羨冰. 《澳門教育史》 (Lau Sin Peng, *The Educational History of Macau*) Beijing: Renmin jiaoyue chubanshe, 2002. 350 pp. ISBN 7107133853. (RMB)\$20.40.

By reading the title of this book, *The Educational History of Macau* by Xianbing Liu, one, if not a student of education, may allow it to slip off one's eyes as a piece of writing purely about education. Yet, if one opens the book, one probably could not help but indulge into the reading and be deeply attracted to the rich content of the book that is written within the unique and diverse cultural and historical context of Macau. Liu's work, one of the most important publication on the subject, is a pioneer work in the field and one of the significant contributions to the literature on Macau history and culture because it introduces the reader to not only the educational history of Macau but also the social and cultural history of Macau. It provides the reader with comprehensive and detailed coverage of the educational events and development of Macau over four hundred years and sheds light on the cultural interactions that took place in the place which had been a bridge between Eastern and Western cultures and religions and which possesses historical records and archives that could be, as Wenqin Zhang pointed out, as rich and significant as that of Dunhuang (Mogao Cave).¹⁰

The original version of this book, the first work on the overall history of education in Macau, was published in 1999 and was republished with two more sections in 2002. An English version is forthcoming. The book includes seven chapters, which respectively introduce readers to the educational history of Macau regarding higher education, middle school and elementary school, professional school, women's education, the diverse feature of Macau's education and activities of Macau's educators and educational associations, in addition to a brief

¹⁰ Zhang Wenqin 章文钦: "Dangan yu Aomen lishi wenhua yanjiu" 档案与澳门历史文化研究 (Archives and the Cultural and Historical Study of Macau), in *Aomen jiaoyu, lishi yu wenhuan lunwenji* 澳门教育历史与文化论文集 (*The Education History and Culture of Macau*) (Guangzhou: Guangdong xueshu yanjiu zazhishe, 1995), pp. 133-34.