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Australia-China Youth Association

ACYA is the only not-for-profit organisation devoted to promoting greater engagement between Australian and Chinese youth in both Australia and China. Our focus is on the student, graduate and young professional demographic aged between 18 and 30. ACYA aims to: 1) provide a robust and well-connected Australia-China youth community within which Australians and Chinese can forge lasting friendships, develop academic and business partnerships and share educational, extracurricular and professional opportunities; 2) promote cross-cultural understanding by being a non-political advocate and facilitator for greater government and NGO engagement with and support for Australian and Chinese youth; 3) act as a support base and enabler for ACYA members to develop and deliver worthwhile initiatives that increase opportunities for Australian and Chinese young people and Australia-China engagement.

ACYA achieves its goal of strengthening the Australia-China youth community through its network of over 24 ACYA Chapters spread across Australian universities and Chinese cities regularly delivering quality social, networking, sporting, educational, publishing and volunteering opportunities and activities. Our Chapters operate on the three-pillared platform of Education, Careers and People-to-People Exchange. ACYA was the launch pad for the Australia-China Youth Dialogue (www.acyd.org.au), the Australia-China Young Professionals’ Initiative (www.acypi.org.au) and the Engaging China Project (www.engagingchinaproject.org.au). ACYA belongs to all of who wish to see the Australian and Chinese people achieving new heights of mutual understanding, appreciation and friendship.

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The University of Sydney’s China Studies Centre works in partnership with China to better understand its impact on the world and Australia, and improve cooperation and relations. We develop local and international networks, engaging with business and government in both China and Australia to lead positive change and build a brighter future for our nations. To support this work, we run regular events, headlined by our annual Sydney China Business Forum. Within the University, we play a central role in coordinating and directing the study of China. Our specialised academic program is designed to create leaders in China studies and China public administration. We also support collaborative research – including an interdisciplinary PhD program – and have combined the expertise and talents of 130 academics across all major disciplines to explore new insights that will deepen our understanding of China.

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FOREWORD

It is a great pleasure to be able to furnish this year's Journal with a Foreword. 2013 was the first time that the China Studies Centre at the University of Sydney and the Australia-China Youth Association collaborated on the Journal, and it is excellent to see how it has grown and developed even in the space of a year. The number of entries this year, and their overall quality, is a testament to the fascination that China now has for people in Australia from a variety of different intellectual communities, and the manifold ways in which subjects related to China can be addressed and treated.

For all that diversity, this edition of the Journal has a strong Australia-China theme, whether analysing the role of specific regional Chinese communities as they emigrated to Australia over the last century and a half on the political and cultural life of Australia, or looking at more global, contemporary issues like China's overseas investment or its energy needs, within a regional context.

In 2014, Australia had perhaps the closest it has ever come to a `China epiphany'—the state visit by President Xi Jinping in November was perhaps the crucial moment here, letting far more Australians than ever before listen, for the first time directly on home ground, to the words of the Chinese leader, hearing some of the things he and his colleagues thought about Australia and what their aspirations towards the two countries were. Xi stated, when speaking in Parliament in Canberra on 17 November, that he wished to see a more imaginative and innovative relationship. Imagination and innovation are certainly strong features of the different kinds of essays, whether in English or Chinese, contained in this Journal.

In this new context of deeper, more expansive mutual engagement, Chinese students, Chinese investment, Chinese capital and Chinese politics all relate to the current life of Australia and to its future. Australian ideas, sentiments and experiences of China are no longer an exotic pastime for a minority but becoming part of the mainstream in Australian education, business and public affairs. For all of these issues, ideas matter. The authors in this collection show how those ideas can be shaped, formulated and presented.

These essays also testify to the expertise and sustained engagement that exists in Australia on Sino-Australian issues. The work of the Australia-China Youth Association, through this Journal, and through its events and other activities, is critically important, as the country moves deeper into a century which looks to be increasingly shaped by issues relating to China, rather than the more nebulous concept of Asia. It will be a challenging period. But that young scholars and professionals can produce research to such high standards, excellently presented and argued, is a cause for optimism.

I hope that readers of this volume will be as impressed as I by the quality of the contributions, their diversity and their depth, and that they will support the work of Australia’s young in thinking about the future with China, learning from the past experiences between the two nations and forging a new kind of dialogue.

Kerry Brown
Director, China Studies Centre
University of Sydney
前言

我很高兴能够为今年的《中澳事务学报》提供前言。自从悉尼大学中国研究中心和中澳青年联合会在2013年第一次合作创办这份学报以后，我很欣慰地看到它在这短短的一年里已经突飞猛进地发展和进步。今年的文章的数量和整体质量都证明了中国的知识和学术团体现对澳大利亚有着强烈的兴趣，也充分地表现了对中国题材讨论的多样性。但此学报的多样性并不会掩盖它的焦点 — “中国与澳大利亚”。无论是分析某些中国地方文化群体在上一个半世纪移民到澳大利亚后在其政治文化生活中扮演的角色，或是探讨当代中国在其地区的海外投资或能源需求问题，这个中心思想都贯串在此学报中。

中国国家主席习近平在2014年11月对澳大利亚进行的访问让本国经历了一个近乎对中澳关系“顿悟”的时刻。澳大利亚人民第一次在自家门口听到中国领导人对澳大利亚这个国家和对中国关系未来憧憬的一些看法。习近平在澳大利亚国会11月17日的演讲时说到，他希望看到一个更富有想象力和创新性的中澳关系。所以无论是中文还是英文，想象力和创新必然是本学报文章的特点。

在中澳关系更深层次，更广阔的相互啮合中，中国的留学生、投资、资本和政治都涉及到澳大利亚现在的命运和以后的未来。澳大利亚对中国的构想，感情和经历已不再是少数民众对异国情调的消遣，已成为澳大利亚教育、商业和公共事务主流的一部分。其中，这些构想对所有的事务都具有巨大的潜在影响力。对此，学报的作者们将充分地展示这些构想是如何被塑造、形成和表达的。

最后，《中澳事务学报》也证明了具有专业知识的人士在持续地参与着澳大利亚对中澳问题的探讨。当澳大利亚更深入地走进一个由有关中国事务塑造的，而不是由一个模糊的亚洲概念塑造的二十一世纪，中澳青年联合会的至关重要性已通过这份学报与其积极的工作被充分展现出来。当然，这将是一个充满挑战的时期，但通过这份学报我们可以看出我们可以放心地乐观地憧憬以后的未来，因为我们的年轻学者和专业人士能够创作出如此高水平的学术研究。

我希望《中澳事务学报》的质量、多样性与深度能够像给我一样给读者们留下深刻的印象。我也希望读者们会继续支持澳大利亚年轻人在思考中澳未来和学习中澳关系经验的工作中锻造新的双边对话。

凯瑞·布朗 (Kerry Brown) 
澳大利亚悉尼大学中国研究中心执行主任
It gives us great pleasure to welcome you to the fourth volume of ACYA’s *Journal of Australia-China Affairs*. The publication has continued to improve its quality and content over the last three years under the leadership of ACYA National Publications Director Neil Thomas. We are grateful for our enduring partnership with the University of Sydney Chinese Studies Centre, especially Kerry Brown, for not only peer reviewing the Journal, but also hosting the Bilateral Young Leaders Workshop, and working with ACYA’s NSW-based Chapters on various other projects.

Throughout 2014, ACYA has continued to grow and provide an increasingly more comprehensive offering of bilateral engagement opportunities to its members. New Chapters have opened at Griffith University, Murdoch and in Taipei, bringing our total number of chapters across Australia and China to 24. Chapters ran over 100 events in 2014, including lectures, language and writing tutorials, skills training sessions, careers fairs, exchange preparation events, immigration information nights, culture festivals, balls and sports matches.

ACYA has also continued to create professional, study-abroad and volunteering opportunities for our members. The Leizhou Volunteering Trip delivered in partnership with Zhongshan University is now in its second year. The ACYA-Renmin IMBA Scholarship program, valued at $50,000 per scholarship, is now open for a second year, following the inaugural scholarship being awarded to Shaun Harkness. The Mandarin Training Center at the Taiwan Normal University has expanded their summer scholarship offering to ACYA members to 18 fully funded scholarships valued at $1,000 each. ACYA has also continued to provide internships opportunities through the ACYA-AustCham Marketing Internship, ACYA-China Policy Traineeship Program, ACYA-PKUASC Internship Program and ACYA-Asialink Internship, volunteer opportunities with the Australia-China Business Council, Australia Business Forum, Sydney China Business Forum and AFL Diversity. ACYA established the ACYA Careers Portal that provides ACYA members greater access to work, freelance and internship opportunities within the Australia China space. For our efforts in providing pathways and support for young Australians and Chinese, we were also kindly named a finalist in the inaugural round of Australia-China Achievement Awards, coordinated by the Australia-China Council.

The Journal, along with the sample ACYA initiatives mentioned here, are testament to ACYA members’ indefatigable enthusiasm for and ability to promote the bilateral relationship and Australia-China literacy. Congratulations to the entire ACYA Journal Sub-committee.

Happy reading to you all!

Thomas Williams 卫涛
President
Australia-China Youth Association
中澳青年联合会致辞

我非常荣幸地在此邀请您阅读第四期中澳青年联合会的《中澳事务学报》。在中澳青年联合会（ACYA）全国出版物主管牛犇的领导下，今年学报的出版延续了前三期的高质量。同时，我们也非常感谢我们的合作出版方悉尼大学中国研究中心，他们不仅为学报提供了同行评议，也与ACYA新南威尔士地区分会合作主办了双边青年领导力论坛等一系列活动。我们也特别感谢悉尼大学中国研究中心的凯瑞·布朗(Kerry Brown)为我们提供的帮助和支持。

2014年，ACYA不断拓展自身，持续为成员们提供中澳双边关系相关的各类机遇。今年我们的分会数量达到了24个，新分会分别在格里菲斯大学、默多克大学和台北成立。2014年中ACYA各分会举办了超过100多项活动，包括讲座、移民信息介绍、文化交流节、各项运动会等。

除此以外，ACYA也不断为成员开发职业拓展、留学和志愿者活动的新机遇。在教育方面，我们与中山大学合办的雷州志愿者项目顺利进入第二年的运作；由Shaun Harkness首次获得ACYA–人民大学合作IMBA奖学金项目今年也继续向成员开放，奖学金价值达5万澳币；台湾师范大学中文培训中心现向ACYA成员开放申请18个1000澳币全额奖学金名额。

职业拓展方面，ACYA继续推动以下实习生项目：ACYA–中国澳大利亚商会市场部实习生项目、ACYA–中国政策咨询公司实习生项目、ACYA–北京大学澳大利亚研究中心实习生项目、ACYA–联亚国际科技股份有限公司实习生项目、澳大利亚中国工商业委员会志愿者项目、澳大利亚商务论坛志愿者项目、悉尼中国商务论坛志愿者项目、澳式橄榄球志愿者项目等。我们还在今年与澳中理事会合作，首次设立了中澳成就奖，以肯定和鼓励关注两国关系的中澳青年。

今年的学报和上文提及的活动与成就一起，再次证明了ACYA成员们为提升中澳双边关系、建筑中澳友谊不懈的热情和出色的努力。我在此向ACYA学报委员会表示祝贺。

祝阅读愉快！

Thomas Williams 卫涛
中澳青年联合会主席
Fortune Cat

Peggy Wong
SECTION I
ACADEMIC ESSAY
ENGLISH

第一部分
学术文章部分
英语类作品
China and the Next Pandemic: 
From SARS to Isolationism, to Ebola, MERS, H7N9 and Global Citizenship

Alexandra L. Phelan

This essay was awarded the 2014 ACYA Prize for Youth Scholarship (English).

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Fever detecting body scanners, symptom questionnaires, facemasks, replaceable elevator button covers. For those who travelled through Guangzhou or Hong Kong in the years following the 2003 Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS) outbreak, these memories are being reawakened in light of recent events. This article examines the shift in global attempts to control infectious disease threats; from SARS and China’s isolationist approach to the ‘new public health world order’ that it triggered, advocated for and led by Australia. In this new era, threats such as Ebola and Middle East Respiratory Syndrome (MERS-CoV), and for China, H7N9 novel influenza, have transformed China’s response to pandemic threats into one of global citizenship and cooperation. China’s transition so far is a success story that reflects its emerging leadership in the prevention, protection and control of the international spread of disease.

On Friday 8 August 2014, the Director-General of the World Health Organization (WHO), Margaret Chan, formally declared the 2014 outbreak of Ebola in West Africa a “public health emergency of international concern” (PHEIC). The declaration of a PHEIC alerts the global community to the urgency of a coordinated international response to a global health threat, and triggers a series of public health, political and legal recommendations for states to address the threat. The WHO Director-General’s power to declare a PHEIC is found within a unique piece of international law, the revised International Health Regulations 2005 (IHR). The revision of these laws in 2005 was a direct consequence of both SARS and China’s early attempts to control the disease. These attempts revealed flaws in both the international system, long acknowledged and advocated against by Australia, as well as in China’s own domestic health systems. During the press conference declaring Ebola a PHEIC, Director-General Chan called for international support in fighting Ebola, with WHO capacity “stretched” as a result of its efforts in addressing other current global infectious disease threats: novel coronavirus MERS-CoV and a new avian influenza strain, H7N9.

Given the role that global criticism of China’s response to SARS played in establishing the “new public health world order”2 of the IHR, has China improved its response to infectious disease threats? In particular, has China changed its approach in light of potential international disease threats emerging within its own borders, such as the novel avian flu, H7N9?

International laws attempting to control the international spread of infectious diseases are by no means new, tracing back to the mid-nineteenth century and the Industrial Revolution. As steam trains began crossing over borders with greater frequency, so did any infectious diseases carried within their carriages. Successive cholera outbreaks in Europe threatened not only the public health, but also burgeoning trade and commerce. A set of international regulations to protect health, while avoiding unnecessary interference with trade and travel, were negotiated by major European nations in 1851. One hundred years later, the newly formed WHO adopted a modified set of these rules, the International Sanitary Regulations (ISR), which expressly set out a list of “quarantinable diseases”: cholera, plague, yellow fever, smallpox, typhus and relapsing fever. In contrast to other international agreements that typically require ratification to become binding, WHO member states are automatically bound by regulations adopted by the World Health Assembly (WHA)—the annual meeting of WHO member states. However, member states are able to reject or make reservations to WHA regulations by notifying the WHO Director-General.

When the ISR were introduced in 1951, they were unanimously adopted by member states, including Australia and China. However in 1969, when the WHA renamed the ISR to the International Health Regulations (IHR), Australia submitted extensive reservations, to the degree that the WHA considered the reservations tantamount to a complete rejection of the IHR (1969), and, as a result, Australia was no longer bound by the IHR. Australia’s reservations predominately argued that the IHR (1969) were in urgent need of revision as they failed to address the spread of new or emerging diseases, and should no longer be limited simply to the six “quarantinable diseases”. Subsequent updates to the IHR in 1973 (to update provisions related to cholera) and in 1981 (to remove smallpox from the IHR upon its eradication) failed to encourage Australia to join as a party. By 1981, only yellow fever, cholera and plague were covered by the IHR. As a result, the globalised world entered the new millennium with international infectious disease laws based in the industrial era. The need to revise the IHR was evident, and Australia continued its leadership in calling for their revision. While attempts were made, it was not until 2003 that the consequences of this lag were made evident, when Australia’s forewarning of an emerging disease, outside of the scope of the old IHR, was realised.

In late 2002, SARS emerged in Foshan, Guangdong Province, Southern China. With fears of travel and trade sanctions—and the potential impact on its economy—China delayed disclosing the incidence of the epidemic to the WHO. This previously unknown disease quickly spread throughout Southern China, and in February 2003 its international spread began, when a physician from Guangzhou visited Hong Kong. As SARS launched into global awareness, international pressure was suddenly put on the Chinese government to accurately report cases and allow WHO officials (previously obstructed by the government) into the country. How the return of “Microbialpolitik” was stopped, and the global response was made possible.

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* Ibid.


* Constitution of the World Health Organization, Articles 21 and 22.


country to assess and map the virus.10 In an unexpected move, in April 2003, Li Liming, Director of the Chinese Center for Disease Control and Prevention (CCDC), made an official apology "to everyone" for the "poor coordination" suffered by Chinese medical departments and media in communicating the new disease to the world.11 This apology was likely propelled by a domestic shift in how the epidemic was being handled by China. In March 2003, the new Hu Jintao–Wen Jiabao leadership took office, and with them China’s official approach to SARS was turned around to one of relative openness and proactivity.12

While these steps were crucial, the disease had already jumped the borders. By July 2003, SARS had rapidly spread to 37 countries around the world.13 At first, it was unclear what was causing the disease, but six months after its emergence, SARS was identified as a coronavirus,14 likely originating in bats and spreading to humans through animals in Chinese wet markets.15 As SARS was not one of the six quarantinable diseases under the prevailing IHR, it exemplified the existing gaps in countries’ reporting obligations, and, as a result, the international community’s capacity to mount a coordinated and timely response to global disease threats. SARS’ saving grace lay in the fact that it burnt hot and it burnt fast. On 5 July 2003, the WHO officially declared the global outbreak over, with Hong Kong and Beijing having been declared SARS-free on 23 and 24 June 2003, respectively.16 During the outbreak, SARS killed 777 people and infected over 8,000 people, with the majority of cases in China.17

The speed at which SARS emerged and disseminated globally marked the twenty-first century’s first international public health emergency, and left the global community uneasy at its capacity to deal with potential pandemics. Australia’s past clarion call to revise the old international health regime was finally heeded. Australia took a leading role in the negotiation of a revised IHR,18 and, with China’s support, the IHR underwent substantial revision to broaden their scope and guarantee information sharing in light of potential future pandemics.

The Revised IHR and China

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12 Chan, Chen and Xu, ‘China’s Engagement with Global Health Diplomacy’.
16 WHO, SARS: How a global epidemic was stopped.
18 International Health Regulations, agreed in Geneva on 23 May 2005, see: Government of Australia, National Interest Analysis, ATNIA 27; Cath Halbert, Transcript of Evidence, 14 August 2006, p. 39, as prepared for Joint Standing Committee on Treaties Report, no. 77, ch. 6, para. 6.3.
In May 2005, the WHA, the WHO’s main policy body, adopted the revised IHR (2005). Using a unique power under Articles 21 and 22 of the WHO Constitution, the IHR became automatically binding in July 2007 on all member states that had not expressly opted out.

The revised IHR aim to prevent, protect against, control and respond to the international spread of disease through public health measures that avoid unnecessary interference with international traffic and trade. Unlike previous versions, the scope of the IHR is not limited to a specific list of diseases. Instead, member states must notify the WHO of all events that potentially constitute a PHEIC. While the authority to determine whether an event is in fact a PHEIC rests with the Director-General, she may first convene an Emergency Committee to provide its views on whether an event constitutes a PHEIC and what (if any) temporary recommendations should be issued. Temporary recommendations may include health measures to be implemented by the member states experiencing the PHEIC, as well as recommendations to unaffected member states. These measures can include restrictions at points of entry (airports, ports, ground crossings), such as the quarantine of persons suspected of having the disease, isolation of persons affected by the disease, requiring medical examinations, or refusing entry to a country by persons suspected of or known to be affected by the disease. Temporary recommendations automatically expire after three months, unless they are expressly extended. Member states are able to impose health measures in addition to the temporary recommendations, provided they are not more restrictive of international traffic, and not more invasive or intrusive to persons, than reasonably available alternatives that would achieve the appropriate public health outcome.

Importantly (and reaffirmed by the Director-General in her recent press conference declaring Ebola a PHEIC), the implementation of measures under the IHR “shall be with the full respect for the dignity, human rights and fundamental freedoms of persons”. The civil and political human rights engaged by public health control measures may involve restrictions on liberty and freedom of movement (as a result of quarantine and isolation), or integrity of the person (through vaccination, prophylaxis and other medical treatment). From an economic and social rights perspective, individuals also possess a right to health. As demonstrated in the following examples, regardless of China’s internal position, public health measures implemented by China under the IHR are judged on such international standards.

'Swine Flu', H1N1 Influenza

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19 IHR (2005), Art 6.
21 Ibid, Art. 48.
22 Ibid, Art. 18(1).
23 Ibid, Art. 15.
24 Ibid, Art. 43.
25 For example, Articles 7 (right to freedom from inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment), 9 (right to liberty and freedom from arbitrary arrest or detention) and 12 (right to liberty and freedom of movement) contained within: United Nations General Assembly, *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights*, United Nations Treaty Series, vol. 999, 16 December 1966 (entered into force 23 March 1976).
In 2009, the ‘swine flu’ pandemic (or officially, H1N1 influenza) broke out. The WHO raised its pandemic threat level to the highest alert at that time, and the United States declared swine flu a national emergency. China acted fast, implementing a two-week quarantine period for people returning from flu-affected areas. This approach was criticised not only on civil liberties grounds, but also as being an ineffective public health measure. Taking similar preventative action, Australia ordered a cruise ship with 2,000 passengers to stay at sea. Recent modelling puts the estimated number of deaths caused by H1N1 at between 151,700 to 575,400 people worldwide. Swine flu was one of the world’s first big tests following the new regulations established after SARS, and China led the charge. Two weeks before the pandemic reached China, President Hu Jintao and Premier Wen Jiabao met with key officials to discuss the threat of swine flu. In comparison to China’s SARS response, China exceeded WHO recommendations, implementing airport screenings, quarantine, on-board temperature checks and contact tracing. This time, China made sure it was being loud and clear on taking action against the pandemic. Unlike SARS, China actively used traditional media as a way of communicating the pandemic risk. However, China’s response received criticism for being excessively stringent, including a request from the WHO for China to justify its decision to quarantine travellers from Mexico. Mexico threatened retaliatory action for the “humiliating and discriminatory measures that some countries have taken against Mexicans”, soon followed by a separate threat from Canada after China banned imports of pork from Canada and quarantined Canadian students in a hotel. However, some foreign officials, including the director of the Beijing WHO office, considered the measures to have worked “very well” at containing the spread of the disease. For other foreign officials, though, the strict quarantine measures were more extreme than those recommended by the WHO, and therefore not justifiable as a public health measure.

'Bird Flu', H5N1 Avian Influenza

The next big test came in 2011, when ‘bird flu’ (or H5N1 avian influenza) began to re-emerge, with China one of six countries reporting widespread and ongoing infections in poultry. While the world went on alert at a possible new pandemic, the fact that the virus failed to transfer easily between humans meant that infections were limited to people who had direct contact with sick or dead poultry that were infected with the virus. Dealing with the bird-to-human

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32 Chan, Chen and Xu, 'China’s Engagement with Global Health Diplomacy'.
35 Ibid.
37 Ibid.
contact stage, such as in wet markets, then becomes the pivotal part of tackling the disease. While H5N1 avian flu is still on the radar of those that watch potential pandemics, the pandemic threat appears to have eased.

Current Global Infectious Disease Threats

Ebola

As of 12 November 2014, no Ebola cases have been reported in China. The Chinese National Health and Family Planning Commission (NHFCP) initially reported that the risk of the virus spreading to China was low, ordering border control authorities to intensify checks on inbound travellers from affected countries: Liberia, Sierra Leone and Guinea. Following the WHO Director-General’s declaration of a PHEIC, however, China is still covered by the temporary recommendations issued by the WHO on 8 August 2014. As with all countries, the WHO states that China should not implement a general ban on international trade or travel, and should provide any travellers leaving China to Ebola-affected and at-risk areas with relevant information on risks, measures to minimise risks and advice for managing exposure. In addition, China should be prepared to detect, investigate and manage any potential Ebola cases, including managing travellers originating from known Ebola-infected areas.

In November, the NHFCP updated their initial assessment to reflect China’s transition from merely surveillance to preparedness. The Deputy-Director of the CDCC, Gao Fu, noted that if Ebola cases in West Africa continue to climb, “[p]athogens know no borders and it’s just a matter of time” before Ebola spreads to China. Thus, China has taken express steps to ensure that response capacities, such as hospitals, are adequately resourced. However, unless and until an Ebola case occurs it will not be clear how well these systems are prepared. On the one hand, China may well be better prepared than most countries given its experiences with past infectious disease outbreaks such as SARS, H1N1 and H5N1. On the other hand, however, Ebola experts—including Professor Peter Piot, Director of the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine and co-discoverer of Ebola—have raised concerns with China’s actual on-the-ground capacity.

The 2014 Ebola outbreak has also demonstrated China’s relatively recent role in the global health and development space as a funding source and provider of capacity building and aid. On 7 August 2014, the official Chinese government news agency, Xinhua, announced that China would provide RMB 39 million (US$4.9 million) in relief funding to Liberia, Sierra Leone and Guinea. This emergency humanitarian aid was in the form of essential equipment, such as personal protective equipment, patient monitors, sprays and medicines. In addition, China sent three expert teams, comprising one epidemiologist and two disinfection and protection experts, to the same three countries. Over the subsequent months, China

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42 Ibid.
dramatically increased financial assistance to the WHO, United Nations Ebola Response Fund and other organisations combating Ebola to RMB 750 million (US$123 million).44 Furthering these efforts, on 31 October 2014, China announced that it would dispatch an elite unit of the People’s Liberation Army (PLA)—with experience of the SARS outbreak—to build a 100-bed treatment centre in Liberia for 480 PLA medical staff to treat Ebola patients.45

By way of contrast, the United States has provided US$175 million in financial aid, pledged a total of US$1 billion,46 and has designated up to 4,000 members of the American military to build 17 100-bed treatment centres in Liberia, in addition to a 25-bed facility for infected medical personnel completed in November.47

These comparisons have led to criticism that China is not doing enough to assist.48 This is arguably legitimate: China has large investments in the three hardest hit countries, as well as being Africa’s largest trading partner.49 In addition to state-driven efforts, there is a place for Chinese high-net-worth individuals to contribute to stopping the outbreak. As examples, The Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation has pledged US$50 million and Microsoft co-founder Paul Allen US$100 million, together exceeding China’s total financial aid pledge of US$123 million.50

Yet it is important not to lose sight of the significance of China’s efforts in combating Ebola. According to the head of the CDCC, Wang Yu, this is the first time that China has offered assistance to foreign countries in response to a public health emergency, showing a profound change in China’s role in the global response to infectious disease threats.

The New Bird Flu, H7N9 Novel Avian Influenza and Future Potential Threats

All seemed quiet on the bird flu front until earlier this year. In March 2013, a novel type of avian influenza virus, H7N9, was identified in three people in China, two in Shanghai and one in Anhui Province. Chinese scientists isolated the genetic sequence of the virus, and following the protocol set out by the WHO’s regulations, immediately reported the emergence of this new influenza. China’s response was again swift and decisive: live bird markets in major cities were shut down, thousands of poultry farms were tested for the virus, and surveillance of symptoms in contacts of existing victims and poultry workers began. China actively shared the virus samples with the international community.

Tracking the exact number of people infected with H7N9 has been a difficult task, but the latest official WHO tally, as of 27 June 2014, is 450 cases of H7N9 bird flu, including 165

49 Ibid.
50 Achenbach and Sun, ‘US Ebola fighters head to Africa’.
All cases occurred in Mainland China, predominantly in Zhejiang and Jiangsu Provinces and in Shanghai, as well as in Taiwan, Hong Kong and a Chinese traveller to Malaysia. The unofficial FluTrackers website—which tallies case counts based on official Chinese government reports in the media—puts the total number of cases at 452 as of 10 August 2014. Unlike H5N1, human-to-human transmission appears to have occurred in close family groups, but it has been limited and unsustainable. H7N9, however, is causing more concern for a number of reasons, such as its virulence, propensity to mutate and hidden-symptomology in birds. However, with limited human-to-human transmission, the WHO has not convened an Emergency Committee to investigate whether a PHEIC should be declared. Dr Keiji Fukuda, Assistant Director-General of the WHO, has noted that H7N9 “has not disappeared. [The WHO is] very mindful that when it gets colder again next fall [September 2015], we may see new H7N9 cases, possibly in new countries. It is premature for an Emergency Committee for H7N9, but we are focused on detecting new cases”.

Given the consolidation of H7N9 cases in the China region, this focus on detection has shifted heavily to China, as well as the burden of implementing response measures to reduce new cases. Public health measures such as shutting down the wet poultry markets in major cities are pivotal in stopping the transmission of viruses from animals to humans. Improved information systems, such as China’s immediate notification to the international community of an emerging new virus, are essential for preparedness. China appears to have been doing an excellent job in this respect, though tallies of the total number of infections and deaths have fallen to the media or groups like FluTrackers. China has demonstrated to the world that it can be trusted to handle infectious disease outbreaks that pose global threats, but there are still areas where improvements need to be made. To continue to build this trust, China must focus in on its rural regions, areas where contact between birds and humans is much greater than in urban areas. In particular, China should improve disease surveillance capabilities, access to healthcare (particularly economic accessibility) and quality of medical services in these rural regions to be able to quickly diagnose and identify new outbreaks. Implicit in this is the requirement that local public health education programs are developed to inform people living in rural areas about the symptoms of and treatment for avian influenza. With 600 million people living in China’s rural areas, it is absolutely essential to ensure that any outbreak is detected quickly and reported rapidly. China is also to be commended for sharing its H7N9 virus seed samples, as well as contributing significant research efforts to develop a vaccine against H7N9.

These efforts so far have focused on China’s response in the early stages of surveillance and reporting a pandemic threat, however, the criticism towards China’s SARS response was also directed towards China’s containment and control efforts, in particular its compulsory quarantine and isolation procedures. It is essential that future control and containment decisions, whether for H7N9 or another future threat, are made on accurate scientific and public health information, such as the necessity or effectiveness of quarantine or isolation, as well as respect for civil liberties and freedoms, as articulated in the IHR as a requirement in

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52 Ibid.
54 WHO, 'WHO Risk Assessment of Human Infection with Avian Influenza A(H7N9) Virus'.
pandemic situations. Hopefully, in any cases of increasing pandemic threat, China continues the positive work it has done so far with H7N9 surveillance into its control measures.

The Evident, But Bumpy, Transition

Australia’s leadership in revising the IHR was but the first step in the new global public health order. Global health security in the Asia-Pacific region requires all states to work together to prevent, protect against, control and provide a public health response to the international spread of disease. China’s role is paramount in this endeavour. From once being seen as irresponsible in its approach to preventing international health risks with SARS, China has not only done an excellent job in addressing the criticisms it once deservedly received, but has also demonstrated, such as with the recent declaration of the 2014 Ebola outbreak as a PHEIC, that it can take a more prominent role in combatting global health threats in other states. Nevertheless, it is important that with emerging new disease threats, China acknowledges that there is still more that it can do. China must continue to improve accessibility to its domestic health system, in particular in rural areas and for the poorest and most vulnerable members of its society.

It is important also that in any future outbreaks of disease threats, China’s public health measures are consistent with human rights and have legitimate scientific basis. The quarantine and shut-down of large parts of Yumen in July 2014, due to a man’s death from bubonic plague, demonstrates how China’s post-SARS anxiety to mount a quick response may inadvertently result in unnecessarily severe public health measures.56 According to Yanzhong Huang, Senior Fellow for Global Health at the Council for Foreign Relations, “[SARS] taught Chinese leaders the importance of acting swiftly when handling a disease outbreak...But I think, in doing so, they also drew the wrong lesson – that quarantine was the magic bullet in addressing any major infectious disease outbreak”.57 With bubonic plague easily treated with antibiotics, and with only one confirmed death, quarantine (and its potential infringement on human rights) may not have been a legitimate control measure under the IHR in this situation. It is important that, in addressing disease threats, China does not only partially satisfy its obligations under the IHR, but also implements measures that have a legitimate scientific basis.

China’s transition to global citizenship, while bumpy, is still clearly evident. Its efforts so far in contributing to the response to Ebola demonstrate that equity and justice are driving forces in contemporary China’s approach to public health. It is essential, not just for China’s own people, but for the people of the world, that China continues this transition to a country that promotes openness, justice, equity and health for all.

57 Ibid.
Australia-China Cooperation in the Australian LNG Industry

Peter Chang Liu

Peter Chang Liu is a recent honours graduate in chemical engineering from Curtin University. Besides his technical background, Peter also possesses a keen interest in energy and resources market analysis and commercial collaboration between Australia and China, particularly in the LNG industry.

Introduction

In May, the signing of a massive natural gas sales and purchase agreement (SPA) between the People’s Republic of China (PRC, henceforth ‘China’) and Russia attracted public attention to China’s huge domestic demand for natural gas. Under the US$400 billion agreement, Russia will supply liquid natural gas (LNG) equivalent to 27.55 million tons per annum (mtpa) to China via its ‘eastern route’ pipeline, every year for 30 years from 2018.1 Notably, it is estimated that Russian natural gas coming to China is at least 30% cheaper than LNG shipped from Australia.2 Considering China’s diversifying natural gas import sources, as well as Australian project delays and budget blowouts, the questions arises as to whether the Australian LNG industry can remain competitive in attracting Chinese capital?

This essay offers an insight into the Australian LNG industry, linking China’s strong demand for natural gas with Australia’s large LNG supply capacity. In the next section, the existing cooperation between Australia and China in the Australian LNG industry is outlined, and the current investment climate is discussed with reference to case studies. In conclusion, seven practical suggestions for a better investment environment are advanced. Overall, this essay concludes that Australian LNG projects can still be competitive for Chinese investors, but that effective measures should be taken to deal with current challenges.

Australian LNG industry Overview

As Australia’s customers for long-term LNG contracts are all located in Asia (Japan, China, South Korea and India), long-distance pipeline gas transmission (i.e. beyond 4750 kilometres) is uneconomic, and therefore LNG is Australia’s only economically feasible option to export surplus gas.3 4 Australia’s LNG export status seems secure into the future due to massive gas reserves, a relatively small domestic gas market, and predictions of limited future growth in domestic demand.5 LNG exports also bring significant benefits to the nation: they increase employment; LNG is clean energy and contributes to environmentally friendly growth; and,

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according to the *Australia in the Asian Century White Paper*, exporting LNG to Asian countries will help Australia become generally more economically and politically proactive and adept at operating in the Asia-Pacific region.

Australia has been exporting LNG for 20 years. At present, there are seven LNG projects under construction in Australia, out of 16 globally.\(^6\) The existing and proposed LNG projects are predominately located either on the northwest coast and offshore regions of Western Australia (WA) or the Northern Territory (NT), plus Curtis Island off Queensland.\(^7\) There are 19 LNG projects in various phases throughout Australia.\(^8\) Three have started production, and possess a LNG production capacity of 24.3 mtpa. Seven are under construction, with a total investment of A$195 billion and expected full capacity of 61.8 mtpa, and are set to contribute A$66.3 billion to Australian government finances, meaning that LNG will become the national governments’ second-highest income source. Four projects are in the Front-End-Engineering-Design (FEED) stage or awaiting Final Investment Decisions (FIDs), with these projects set to add another 21.6 mtpa of capacity. Another five projects have been publicly announced, with a combined planned capacity of 24 mtpa.

Once all 19 LNG projects are in the production phase, Australia’s LNG export capacity will reach about 130 mtpa, amounting to 21% of the global LNG exports market. The Bureau of Resources and Energy Economics (BREE) predicts that Australia will overtake Qatar as the world’s largest LNG exporter by 2017, as the result of LNG capacity expanding to 86 mtpa. Australia is currently the third-largest LNG exporter, behind Qatar and Malaysia (Figure 1).\(^9\) Besides traditional natural gas-to-LNG projects, Coal Seam Gas (CSG)-to-LNG projects in Queensland are also remarkable. The Queensland Curtis LNG (QCLNG) project could become the world’s first feasible CSG-to-LNG operation of its kind, and is expected to start production no later than 2014.

**Figure 1:** 2013 LNG Export by Country and Incremental Change Relative to 2012, mtpa\(^{10}\)

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\(^{7}\) US Energy Information Administration, ‘Australia’.


\(^{9}\) Ibid.

China’s Increasing Demand for Natural Gas

Although China can rely to some extent on its rich coal, oil and gas reserves, LNG imports to China have been increasing dramatically due mainly to two reasons: firstly, natural gas is capable of easing increasingly severe air pollution in China, as it emits far less carbon dioxide compared with conventional fossil fuels; secondly, LNG imports can effectively support the nation’s development, especially in coastal regions at the frontline of China’s rapid economic growth, but which are far from major domestic natural gas rich regions like Sichuan and Shaanxi.11

Research results show that natural gas consumption in China will nearly double to the equivalent to 228.3 mtpa of LNG by 2019.12 BP estimates China will become the largest gas consumer globally by 2025.13 In 2013, China imported pipeline gas equivalent to 19.9 mtpa of LNG and 17.8 mtpa of LNG (with 3.5 mtpa coming from Australia).14 As Figure 2 shows, Australia ranked as China’s second largest LNG importer (3.43 mtpa) in 2013, after Qatar’s 7.02mtpa. Before 2020, there will be 20 LNG import terminals along China’s coastline, with an overall LNG receiving capacity of 85.05 mtpa (after full expansion) if all terminals are fully operational. Notably, eight of these terminals are directed at Australian LNG suppliers.15

Figure 2: 2013 China LNG Import by Country16

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12 US Energy Information Administration, ‘Australia’.
Overview of Australia-China LNG Cooperation in Australia

Since 2005, Australia has been the foremost destination for Chinese Outbound Direct Investment (ODI), though it was overtaken by the US in 2013. Despite this, Australia ranked second for accumulated Chinese investment (again behind the US), attracting US$57.25 billion over 2005-2013. The Australian gas sector was the second-most favoured investment destination for Chinese companies within energy industry during 2012, occupying 43.05% of the total, mostly accounted for by LNG.

China National Offshore Oil Corporation (CNOOC) and North West Shelf (NWS) signed a LNG SPA in 2002, which would last for a 25-year period starting from 2006, representing the beginning of Australia-China LNG collaborations. Today, China’s National Oil Companies (NOCs), such as China Petroleum & Chemical Corporation (Sinopec), China National Petroleum Corporation (CNPC) and CNOOC have formed several Joint Ventures (JVs) with International Oil Companies (IOCs) and local independent oil companies to co-develop Australian LNG projects. Chinese companies have now participated in six such projects, as summarised in Table 1.

Table 1: Australian LNG Projects Involving Chinese Capital

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Project/Contract Sign Time (M/Y)</th>
<th>Chinese Partner (Interest %)</th>
<th>Operator (Interest %)</th>
<th>Start – up Year</th>
<th>(Est.) LNG Production Capacity (mtpa)</th>
<th>Project Budget (US$ bn)</th>
<th>Main Agreements Listed As</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NWS LNG / (12/04)</td>
<td>CNOOC (16.7%)</td>
<td>Woodside (16.7%)</td>
<td>1989</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>50 (as in 2012)</td>
<td>1. 25%, China LNG JV; 5.3%, NWS; 2.25 years, from 2006.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QCLNG/ (11/13)</td>
<td>CNOOC (50% in T1)</td>
<td>T1: BG* (50%), T2: BG* (97.5%) *QGC is operator</td>
<td>2014</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>20.4</td>
<td>1. 50%, QCLNG T1; 2. 20 years, from 2015, 5 mtpa;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia Pacific LNG (APLNG)/ (01/12)</td>
<td>Sinopec (25%)</td>
<td>Origin Energy (37.5%), ConocoPhillips (37.5%)</td>
<td>2015</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>24.7</td>
<td>1. 25%, APLNG; 2. 20 years, 7.6 mtpa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gorgon LNG/ (Shell: 11/08 ExconMobil 08/09)</td>
<td>PetroChina, subsidiary of CNPC (47.33%)</td>
<td>Chevron (47.33%)</td>
<td>2015</td>
<td>15.6</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>2-1. ExxonMobil: 20 years, 2.25 mtpa; 2-2. Shell: 20 years, 2 mtpa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arrow LNG/ (08/10)</td>
<td>PetroChina (50%)</td>
<td>Shell (50%), PetroChina</td>
<td>2018</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>24.2</td>
<td>Arrow’s &amp; Shell’s CSG asset in QLD; Future LNG project in Curtis Island.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Browse FLNG/ (06/13)</td>
<td>CNPC (10.23%)</td>
<td>Woodside (31.23%)</td>
<td>2020</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>1.833%, BHP Billiton, East Browse JV; 20%, BHP Billiton, West Browse JV.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Source: Company websites and public statements.

Investment Merits

To judge Australia’s competitiveness in LNG project development over its competitors, it is necessary to examine comparative data from other major LNG exporters, including Canada, Russia, the US and Mozambique. The key advantages of investment in Australia are:

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19 US Energy Information Administration, ‘Australia’.
China-Australia Free Trade Agreement (CHAFTA)\(^{20}\)

With two-way trade valued at A$150.9 billion in 2013, China has become Australia’s foremost trading partner, leading to the two nations agreeing to a long-awaited FTA in November 2014. The FTA will bring about tremendous trade and economic benefits for both countries. The issue most relevant to the Australian energy sector or LNG industry should be the investment review policy for Chinese State-Owned Enterprises (SOEs) such as the NOCs. The Chinese government would ideally like SOEs that invest below the A$1.08 billion threshold granted to private Chinese firms to also avoid the otherwise obligatory, and time-consuming, Foreign Investment Review Board ‘national interest’ test. Canberra has been considering this request carefully, and whilst it was not granted in November, it remains something that could be further discussed when the original agreement is revisited in three years time. Regardless, the CHAFTA is a positive signal to attract more Chinese companies to fund projects in Australia. None of Australia’s LNG export competitors have signed an FTA with China, distinguishing Australia from the crowd.

**Stable Foundation for Long-Term LNG Production**

Australian reserves are summarised in Table 2. Australia possesses the largest proven natural gas reserves in the Asia-Pacific region, with new discoveries dramatically increasing over the last decade.\(^{21}\) CSG resources in Queensland will be commercially exploited by at least three LNG projects on Curtis Island. Economic shale gas production is currently quite difficult, as its major base, Cooper Basin, is still at the early exploration phase.\(^{22}\) As Table 2 shows, even calculated in a conservative manner, the quantity of total EDR gas sources in Australia is equivalent to 2640 mt of LNG. Under current production rates, such huge reserves will ensure Australia has another 109 years of LNG production. Australia has a small market for gas consumption, equivalent to only 20.59 mt of LNG in 2012-2013, and there are no predictions of major domestic demands for gas in the near future.\(^{23}\)

**Table 2: Australia’s Conventional and Unconventional Gas Resources**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Resources Category</th>
<th>Conventional Gas/ Equivalent to mt of LNG</th>
<th>CSG/ Equivalent to mt of LNG</th>
<th>Tight Gas/ Equivalent to mt of LNG</th>
<th>Shale Gas/ Equivalent to mt of LNG</th>
<th>Total Gas/ Equivalent to mt of LNG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>EDR*</td>
<td>1980</td>
<td>660</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2640</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SDR*</td>
<td>1140</td>
<td>1200</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>2380</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inferred</td>
<td>~200</td>
<td>2220</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>~2820</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Identified</td>
<td>3320</td>
<td>4060</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>7840</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*EDR: Economic Demonstrated Resources. It is the key indicator to estimate the quantity of a resource able to be produced economically over an extended period.

*SDR: Subeconomic Demonstrated Resources. It refers to resources that are currently unable to be economically produced.

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Ease of Doing Business

Australia ranked 11th out of 189 countries on the World Bank’s 2014 ‘Ease of Doing Business’ index.24 The report scored ten different criteria relating to investment in each economy. The rankings reflect the relative ease in a certain country of starting a business, dealing with construction permits, getting electricity, registering property, getting credit, protecting investors, paying taxes, trading across borders, enforcing contracts, and resolving insolvency. With the exception of the US at 7th, Australia’s major LNG export competitors all ranked below it: Canada was 16th, Russia 62nd, and Mozambique 127th.

Carbon Tax Repeal

On 17 July 2014, the Abbott administration repealed the carbon tax introduced by the previous Australian government. David Byers, Chief Executive Officer of the Australian Petroleum Production and Exploration Association (APPEA), claimed that the removal of the previous A$24.15/tonne tax on carbon emissions would be beneficial to the Australian LNG industry and further enhance companies’ global competitiveness, as the tax did not apply to other countries exporting LNG to China.25 Conversely, in the US and Canada, a number of states and provinces have implemented a carbon tax or emission trading system.26

Close to Major Markets

Australia’s geographic location ensures it can deliver LNG to Asian customers in a fast and cost-efficient manner.27 Table 3 lists comparable shipping distances and timing to export LNG into China. Australian projects have an average shipping distance of 6,572 km and timing of 7.6 days, both far shorter than all five existing and potential competitor countries (the case of Russia and the US will be discussed later). A shorter transportation distance generally corresponds to lower shipping expenditure. For example, typical LNG shipping expenditure from Australia to Shanghai is less than half of that from Qatar and Yemen (US$0.57/MMbtu vs. US$1.19/MMbtu).28

Table 3: Typical Shipping Distance and Timing from Various Ports to China29

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Export Port</th>
<th>Import Port 1: Zhanjiang, South China</th>
<th>Import Port 2: Dalian, North China</th>
<th>Average Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sabetta Port, Russia*1</td>
<td>Distance (km): -</td>
<td>Timing (days): -</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doha, Qatar*2</td>
<td>9125</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>11532</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dampier, Australia</td>
<td>5304</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>6862</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gladstone, Australia</td>
<td>6282</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>7840</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coos Bay, US*3</td>
<td>9260</td>
<td>10.7</td>
<td>7710</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Port Arthur, US*4</td>
<td>20272</td>
<td>23.4</td>
<td>18792</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kitimat, Canada</td>
<td>10512</td>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>8962</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pemb, Mozambique*5</td>
<td>9971</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>12379</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Based on the primary trading route and a maximum vessel speed of 19.5 knots.

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28 Department of State Development, ‘Western Australia Liquefied Natural Gas Industry Profile March 2014’.
Investment Challenges

Chinese companies in the Australian LNG industry also face a range of existing and potential challenges:

Project Cost Overrun
Six out of seven ongoing LNG projects in Australia (the exception being the Prelude FLNG) have experienced budget overrun, with cost increases ranging from 13% to 46% compared to initial budgets when FIDs were made (see Table 4). The most well-known cost blowout case is Chevron’s Gorgon project, which saw its budget increase by 46%, from US$37 billion in 2009 to US$54 billion in 2014. Table 4 also suggests that the average cost overrun for all seven projects is about 25%, equivalent to US$40.7 billion above initial estimations. A 2012 Credit Suisse report also found that North America and East Africa only spent US$1500-2200/ton of LNG, while Australian projects cost US$2500-3500/ton of LNG.30

Table 4: Australian Projects under Construction- Cost Escalation and Time Delay*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Project</th>
<th>FID Date M/Y</th>
<th>Est. Start Date at FID</th>
<th>Est. Start Date at June 2014</th>
<th>LNG Capacity /mtpa</th>
<th>Budget at FID /US$bn.</th>
<th>Budget at June 2014 /US$bn.</th>
<th>% increase of budget</th>
<th>US$/mt Capacity At June 2014</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gorgon</td>
<td>09/09</td>
<td>2014</td>
<td>2015</td>
<td>15.6</td>
<td>37.0</td>
<td>54.0</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>3460</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wheatone</td>
<td>09/11</td>
<td>2016</td>
<td>2017</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>26.4</td>
<td>29.7</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>3300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prelude</td>
<td>05/11</td>
<td>2016</td>
<td>2017</td>
<td>3.6/5.31</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3330/22601</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ichthys</td>
<td>01/12</td>
<td>2016</td>
<td>2017</td>
<td>8.4/14.052</td>
<td>34.0</td>
<td>44.0</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>5240/31302</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QCLNG</td>
<td>10/10</td>
<td>2014</td>
<td>2014</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>20.4</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>2370</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GLNG</td>
<td>01/11</td>
<td>2015</td>
<td>2015</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>16.0</td>
<td>23.5</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>2310</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APLNG</td>
<td>07/11</td>
<td>2015</td>
<td>2016</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>22.5</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>2500</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Ichthys project will also produce 1.6 mtpa of liquefied petroleum gas (LPG) and 100 000 barrels of condensate per day at peak (4.05 mtpa). Therefore the maximum liquid production capacity is equivalent to 14.05 mtpa.
2 Prelude project will also produce 1.3 mtpa of condensate, 0.4 mtpa of LPG. Therefore the overall liquid production capacity is equivalent to 5.3 mtpa.
* Source: Company websites and public statements.

There are three main reasons that have caused elevated budgets in Australia:

Strong Australian Dollar

When the Gorgon FID was made in September 2009, the A$/US$ exchange rate was about 0.9. Over the next four years, the exchange rate strengthened by over 20% at its peak.31 Workforce costs directly account for 20%-27% of overall LNG project capital expenditure, and shareholder plus project management costs push this value further towards 40%-50%.32 These costs are paid in Australian dollars, while funding sources are generally

30 See: Carlson, ‘Australia: The World’s Next LNG Leader’.
31 Ledesma, ‘The Future of Australian LNG Exports’.
32 Heinz Kotzot et al, ‘LNG Liquefaction – Not All Plants Are Created Equal, KBR Paper PS4-1, 2014,
calculated in US dollars. Thus, a stronger Australian dollar leads to a more expensive US dollar, and increases overall projects costs.

**Figure 3: A$/US$ Exchange Rate from 2008 to Present**

![Graph showing A$/US$ exchange rate from 2008 to 2014]

**High Taxation**

Since 2000, the Australia Taxation Office (ATO) has collected a 30% corporate income tax rate from both resident and non-resident companies operating in Australia. This rate is well above the OECD average of 24.11% and the global average of 23.57%. The Australian oil and gas industry contributed A$8.8 billion in taxes to both federal and state governments during 2011-2012, and this figure could be as high as $A13 billion by 2020. The industry has also paid 48% of its pre-tax earnings into tax purposes over 2002-2012. In addition, the Federal Government commenced a Petroleum Resources Rent Tax (PRRT) from July 2012, which charges further tax on onshore oil and gas projects.

**Costly Labour**

Hays, a global recruiting agency, claims that workers in the Australian oil and gas industry receive the highest average salary of 53 countries surveyed in 2013. The considerably high pay rate in Australian, averaging A$163,600 per annum in 2013, was nearly twice the global average. Operating companies have to pay more to attract qualified labours to catch up with construction schedules, due to the tight domestic labour market in the LNG industry. During meetings with Prime Minister Tony Abbott and Trade Minister Andrew Robb in the US, senior representatives from ExxonMobil, Chevron, and ConocoPhillips expressed their worry and

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hesitation to launch any prospective LNG projects in Australia due to blowouts in labour expenditures.\(^\text{38}\)

**Lack of Basic Infrastructure**

Almost every single Australian LNG project is located in a remote area, necessitating a new round of infrastructure construction, including roads, jetties, pipelines, production platforms, LNG processing plants, and storage facilities. Companies may have to construct their own infrastructure if government is not willing to bear the cost.\(^\text{39}\) Some existing infrastructure may not meet the challenging requirements of large-scale modern LNG projects, or existing infrastructure owners may be unwilling to share. Consequently, significant additional cost and time may be required to construct new or upgrade old infrastructure.

**Prudent Environmental Protection**

The development of CSG-to-LNG projects involves the possibility of causing severe environmental damage.\(^\text{40}\) For example, hydraulic fracturing may release untreated water from reservoirs to the surface or contaminate underground aquifers, though there is not yet conclusive evidence of correlation. Such environmental doubt delays government approvals for further CSG project development.\(^\text{41}\) Furthermore, fresh water consumption in CSG projects in Queensland was large enough to make it the second largest water consumer in the state. Considering Australia's dry environment, this may lead to further opposition.\(^\text{42}\)

**Project Delay**

Due to the combined effect of all the factors discussed above, most LNG projects under construction have experienced significant delays. Even for the operational Pluto project, the first shipment of LNG was actually delivered 15 month later than initially planned.\(^\text{43}\) Potential delays on project start-up dates could have a hazardous influence on project economics and put many LNG SPAs at risk. For example, due to delays in the Browse project FID, PetroChina and Japanese company MIMI did not extend their prospective SPA with the Australian project partners.\(^\text{44,45}\) Furthermore, the Independent Project Analysis (IPA) found that for the same projects, Australian workers take 30% more time than workers on the US Gulf Coast.\(^\text{46}\)

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\(^\text{41}\) Ibid.

\(^\text{42}\) Ledesma, ‘The Future of Australian LNG Exports’.

\(^\text{43}\) Ibid.


\(^\text{46}\) Ledesma, ‘The Future of Australian LNG Exports’.
**Estimated International Competition**

It is predicted that by 2025, global LNG export capacity will reach 650 mtpa, far in excess of the expected demand of 450 mtpa.\(^{47}\) Given this circumstance, China has broadened its import options to optimise national benefits. In 2006, WA was the sole supplier of China’s imported LNG, to the tune of 0.7 mtpa, but by 2012 WA’s share of China’s imports was diluted to only 24% (3.6 mt).\(^{48}\) Australia has to compete with many other countries for LNG export opportunities into China. Looking at Figure 5, data from the Oxford Institute for Energy Studies provides an overall view towards the cost of imported LNG to Japan. Except for freight costs, other cost components can be used for the estimation of China’s LNG import costs. The comparison indicates that Australian Greenfield projects cannot compete with US Gulf regasification conversion projects, West Coast Canada projects, or East Africa Greenfield projects due to far higher expenditure, especially in liquefaction (over US$3/MMbtu). However, Australia’s brownfield expansion projects could be competitive.

**Figure 5: Comparison of Delivered Costs of LNG to Japan in 2013**

![Comparison of Delivered Costs of LNG to Japan in 2013](image)

**Canada**

Canada has technically recoverable shale gas equivalent to 11,460 mt of LNG. Ten of the nation’s proposed LNG projects will reach 120 mtpa capacity when fully operational.\(^{49}\) Its acquisition of Nexon creates more business opportunities in Canada for CNOOC, and Nexon will make a FID for the proposed LNG project at Prince Rupert in 2017. PetroChina has also been a co-venturer for the LNG Canada project at Kitimat, and signed an SPA for future LNG imports.\(^{50,51}\) The major problems for Canadian LNG projects is the massive cost for new

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\(^{47}\) Gao et al, ‘Gas Potential and Challenges to LNG Industry in Australia’.

\(^{48}\) Department of State Development, ‘Western Australia Liquefied Natural Gas Industry Profile March 2014’.


infrastructure, especially as a number of onshore transmission pipelines are required both on the West Coast and East Coast to ensure sufficient feed gas supply.52

Russia

Russia has a proven natural gas reserves equivalent to 22,690.3 mt of LNG, with a world share of 16.8% (second in volume), and was the world’s second largest natural gas producer at the end of 2013.53 There will be three LNG projects with a total capacity of 45 mtpa coming into operation phase around 2025.54 Following its equity interest acquisition of the Yamal Project, CNPC has signed an LNG SPA. However, for Yamal or any other potential Russian LNG projects along the Arctic Ocean, two unavoidable issues arise with LNG delivery to China: long transport distances and extremely tough weather conditions. This is because LNG from that region has to pass through the Arctic Ocean and the Bering Strait, usually with the help of ice-breakers.55 Transportation cost and security issues will hinder China from importing huge volumes of Russian LNG through sea freight.

USA

The US has a large quantity of existing gas infrastructure that could be rapidly upgraded and extended to expand LNG exports. The American shale gas revolution has boosted its overall gas production capacity dramatically; the US is in a transitional phase from net-importer of LNG to net-exporter.56 Given US LNG was approved for export in May 2011, its Henry Hub-linked low gas price (around US$4/MMbtu) will deliver enormous economic benefits once gas is exported to regions with higher gas prices, such as Asia (around US$15/MMbtu). As of November 2013, there were 34 LNG projects awaiting approvals, utilising shale gas as the feed gas with a total LNG capacity of 240 mtpa. It should be noted, however, that due to national security concerns and strategic planning in both the US and China, it is unlikely that China will sign SPAs with the US. China is still wary of the failure of CNOOC’s bid to acquire American petroleum explorer Unocal due to political barriers from the US government.57

Consequences

Prospective investment up to A$150 billion for further LNG capacity expansion in Australia might be driven away due to the current tough investment climate, as the Managing Director of Chevron Australia, Roy Krzywosinski, has indicated.58

Proposals

To effectively enhance collaboration between Australia-based companies and Chinese companies in the Australian LNG industry, seven proposals are put forward and discussed in detail.

Australian Government: Flexible Regulations and Politics

Australia’s rigorous regulations and policies have blocked its current LNG projects from being more competitive, and cause prospective investors to hesitate. One heated debate is the issue of bringing in overseas workers. Qualified foreign workers with English proficiency and relevant work experience should be able to obtain their 457 visas easily and be welcomed to work in Australia. This will effectively ease the shortage of domestic labour. Moreover, labour productivity could be boosted and overly high pay rates could be reduced through positive competition. From Chinese companies’ perspective, Chinese labourers are highly favoured due to ease of cooperation and shared culture. Furthermore, Australian governments could further invest in infrastructure construction to accelerate the development of LNG projects. By doing so, they will boost Australia’s international investment reputation and thereby generate further investment opportunities.

Australian Government: Initiative on Bilateral Cooperation

Federal and State Governments should show stronger enthusiasm to attract more prospective Chinese investors for LNG projects. They could host LNG investment conferences, inviting key stakeholders from IOCs, NOCs, and independent oil and gas companies based in Australia and China to deepen mutual understanding and potential collaboration through face-to-face communications and high-level networking.

Operating Companies: Infrastructure Sharing and Offshore Manufacturing

As Australian LNG projects are concentrated on the northwest coast of WA (near Dampier), northern NT (near Darwin), and eastern Queensland (Curtis Island), it is highly advisable that operating companies share infrastructure amongst nearby projects, aiming to reduce budgets and accelerate project progress. In 2013, Santos and BP agreed to connect their individual pipelines at Gladstone to supply feed gas for each project. Arrow LNG will co-construct water treatment facilities with APLNG. A lower expenditure could also be achieved through constructing plant modules in Asia. Peter Voser, CEO of Shell, claims that the Prelude FLNG project has not encountered budgetary pressures mainly because the construction of the FLNG vessel is being undertaken in South Korea. China Offshore Oil Engineering Corporation (C COOEC) has constructed 164 modules for the Gorgon project in China. Within three years, approximately 14 million hours of labour with about 10,000 people have been involved in this construction. Cost would be significantly higher if the construction work was conducted onshore in Australia.

61 Ibid.
FLNG integrates gas production and liquefaction followed by LNG storage and transportation on one offshore vessel. Currently there are over 20 FLNG projects in different development phases across the world, and Shell’s Prelude project in Australia is going to be the very first FLNG of its kind.63 Currently, besides Prelude, another four FLNG projects in Australia are either under construction or waiting for FIDs. The construction of pricey onshore LNG processing plants is unnecessary and furthermore requires associated infrastructures, like subsea pipelines, roads, export terminals, and more.64 Meanwhile, construction work on FLNG vessels could be shifted to Asian countries to reduce budget expenditures, and FLNG vessels can also be moved to new fields and reused in future projects. Furthermore, CNOOC has been conducting feasibility studies on FLNG in China, which could be potentially used for natural gas production in the South China Sea.65 Investing in FLNG could not only significantly reduce project budgets, but more importantly, Chinese companies could gain access to state-of-the-art FLNG techniques through cooperation with pioneering IOCs like Shell.

While FLNG is quite attractive, the WA government is not happy about its development. WA Premier Colin Barnett is strongly opposed the idea of FLNG in WA, as FLNG requires many fewer local WA workers66 and taxation on FLNG will flow more to the Federal Government rather than WA because the Federal Governments owns petroleum resources more than 5.556km away from the State coastline.67

Chinese Investors: Local Talent Acquisition

There are many differences in policy, economy, culture, and law between Australia and China, which could potentially create trouble when Chinese companies invest in the Australian LNG industry. A number of Australia-based firms have teams of experts for professional consulting, financial, commercial, and legal services, which possess accumulated local experience in dealing with Australia-China cooperation in the energy or LNG industry. Examples could include but are not limited to KPMG, King & Wood Mallesons, Deloitte, Minter Ellison, and Ernst & Young. Chinese companies highly favour airdropping Chinese personnel from their parent companies into Australian JVs or subsidiaries. However, they should instead consider recruiting bilingual and locally experienced staff. Their cross-cultural skills make it is far easier for them to collaborate with people from both China and Australia. Furthermore, they have built their own network in the sector they are in.

Non-Governmental Organisations: Accelerate the Cooperation

APPEA is the peak industry organisation in Australia’s oil and gas sector, and regularly hosts conferences and forums on technical issues and commercial opportunities, and negotiate with

government for a better development environment. All LNG operating companies in Australia are APPEA members, but as of yet there has been no participation from Chinese companies. In 2016, APPEA will support the 18th International Conference & Exhibition on Liquefied Natural Gas (LNG18) in Perth, the most significant global LNG event. This will be an invaluable platform for Chinese oil and gas players to gain up-to-date industrial knowledge, and seek potential investment opportunities in Australia. It would be beneficial for Chinese companies to become full members of APPEA, as well as take advantage of APPEA’s events. Other bilateral organisations can also be supportive. For example, the Australia-China Young Professionals Initiative (ACYPI) invited CNOOC Australia to deliver a seminar on the Australian LNG industry in Perth in December 2013. Many attendees were young legal and commercial elites working in Australia-China energy collaboration.

**Education and Training: the Cradle for Future Professionals**

The Australia-China Natural Gas Technology Partnership Fund seeks to provide scholarships, training opportunities, research projects, and technology transfer between China and Australia on natural gas and LNG. The Australian Training Centre aims at providing up-to-date natural gas (including LNG) training programs for senior officers from both Chinese oil and gas companies and the Chinese Government.

**Conclusion and Future Outlook**

Australia is a traditional investment destination for Chinese capital, and three Chinese NOCs have been involved in both conventional and unconventional gas-to-LNG projects via equity interest acquisition and LNG SPA, to meet China’s rapidly growing demand for natural gas. Since LNG projects are based on multi-billion dollar investments and carry a number of risks, Chinese companies need to pursue deeper insights into and presence in the Australian investment climate through multiple approaches. The Australian Government should be expected to modify certain policies that may prevent Chinese ODIs into Australia, and potentially weaken its leading position in the global LNG export industry. FLNG is very competitive, and should be prioritised by companies. Every participant in the LNG industry should cooperate together to ensure that Australia becomes the gas hub of China, and implement effective measures to resolve any challenges.

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Imperialism Within the Academy: The Historiography of Nineteenth-Century Western Imperialism in China

Adrian Raftery

Adrian Raftery first became interested in China after taking a course in Chinese history at the University of Queensland. His Honours thesis examined European perceptions of China during the early nineteenth-century. Adrian possesses an academic interest in Chinese political history, particularly the relationship between central and provincial government during the late Qing and early Republican periods. He is currently working in Beijing.

Scholars of Chinese history have long recognised the impact that nineteenth century European and American military aggression had upon the course of China’s development. Beginning with the signing of the Treaty of Nanking in 1842 following China’s defeat in the First Opium War, and extending to subsequent ‘unequal treaties’ that granted increased privileges to Japanese and Western powers over China throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the so-called ‘Hundred Years of National Humiliation’ (bainian guozi 百年国耻) has served in China as an important narrative for both national development and ideological cohesion. For China, the numerous diplomatic and commercial concessions granted to the imperial powers were perceived as an indication of its own military and political weakness, and provided stark evidence of Japanese and Western power. It has been argued that the events of the nineteenth century have played such a pivotal role in Chinese historical memory that contemporary foreign policy, political discourse and education is shaped and informed by the incidents of that century.¹

At a time when the relationship between China and the USA has the capacity to substantially influence Australian foreign policy, it is important to identify how major American scholars of Chinese history have understood the role played by Western powers in China’s development.² Historical methodology has the capacity to fundamentally alter discourse and function as dialectic, with past events shaping present concerns and vice versa. Given the importance the nineteenth century holds in contemporary Chinese thought, education, politics and culture, developing a nuanced knowledge of how this century of Chinese history has been portrayed to Western audiences is crucial. Understanding how the issues have been constructed and presented by historians of China, and particularly the choice of interpretive methods that have grappled with this complex legacy, can provide valuable lessons for anyone who wants to appreciate the intricacies of China’s historical and contemporary international relations.

By examining the progression of methodological approaches to Chinese history that occurred over the course of the twentieth century, this paper will demonstrate how the contemporaneous anxieties of Western historians over American foreign policy during the 1960s and 1970s provided the impetus for a more critical analysis of Western involvement in nineteenth century China. The works of influential China scholars H.B. Morse, John King

² The most publicised debate concerning Australia’s international relations is whether closer economic ties with China can be reconciled with a strategic alliance with the USA. For a brief overview of two competing schools of thought, see: http://www.aspiestrategist.org.au/author/hugh-white/.
Fairbank, James Peck and Phillip Kuhn will be used to analyse how these changes have influenced notions of imperialism in Chinese historiography.

The Early Twentieth Century: Challenging the Imperial Legacy

The first significant challenge in the USA to arguments supporting Western imperialism in nineteenth century China occurred during the 1930s. Led by a future doyen of Chinese history, John King Fairbank, interpretations of Western nations’ culpability in determining the course of China’s history by means of their military and economic aggression was advanced through employing a novel methodological approach. Late nineteenth and early twentieth century analyses of late Qing dynasty history were delineated through a lens almost devoid of self-critical examination. The bright-eyed confidence in these writings was symptomatic of an emerging academic field content with conveying the history of an empire still relatively unknown outside of East Asia. The Opium Wars, the opening of treaty ports and the Taiping and Boxer Rebellions were all examined from the perspective of how the peripheral forces of Western intervention had awakened the slumbering dragon from its static existence and provided the necessary preconditions for modernisation, in the form of industrialisation and capital investment. There was only one path to the modern world, and that was path that had been trodden by the Western powers.

H.B. Morse published the archetype of this Western-centric approach to Chinese history in the early decades of the twentieth-century: three tome-length books entitled The International Relations of the Chinese Empire, Volumes 1-3. Authoritative in tone and following the dictum of Ranke-inspired empiricism, Morse’s work was considered the definitive publication on nineteenth-century Chinese history. A reviewer in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society wrote in January 1919 that:

*It may be said without exaggeration that the general reader, and indeed also the specialist in the Far East, once provided with these three volumes, may consider himself furnished with an unfailing vade mecum and encyclopaedia in all essential matters connected with Chinese trade, foreign relations, diplomacy, Consular administration, Customs methods, and international competition.*

Through his position in the Chinese Imperial Maritime Customs Service from 1874 to 1908, Morse had developed a comprehensive knowledge of Western and Chinese commercial and governmental interactions during the final years of the Qing. Despite his proximity to these interactions, however, his work remained untainted by the cultural-elitist preconceptions characteristic of many European and American traders and civil servants in China in the nineteenth century. We hear from a student of Morse at the University of Oxford that,

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“though he lived through the decades of foreign imperialism and the collapse of the Chinese Empire, his historical work avoids the obtrusive chauvinism of the Western treaty port community of that period.” Morse cannot be faulted for a lack of objectivity, but rather his intellectual lineage and source selection. His publications built upon the scholarship of earlier European and American missionaries, diplomats and traders whose works trumpeted Western ideals as the defining influence in nineteenth-century Chinese history. Although he may have circumvented such a notion through an unprejudiced depiction of the final century of the Qing, Morse nevertheless constructed a narrative of Chinese history that was based almost solely upon Western influence. The Chinese side of the story was neglected.

Morse’s approach to nineteenth century Chinese history was contested by a former student of his, John King Fairbank, in a 1953 publication developed from his doctoral dissertation, titled: *Trade and Diplomacy on the China Coast: The Opening of the Treaty Ports, 1842-1854*. Fairbank was critical of how Chinese history was conveyed through a disproportionate focus upon external factors, to the neglect of domestic influences. He suggested that although previous scholarship had “been studied almost entirely from the alien view of Western invaders...Nothing is more plain, however, that the key to the story lies within.”

Following his desire to write a more inclusive interpretation of nineteenth century Chinese history, Fairbank begins by outlining the traditional practice of Chinese trade known as the tributary system. Although the Chinese Empire had been divided and united numerous times throughout history, Fairbank claims that its abundance of resources and the tenacity of its institutions to assimilate the cultural practices of foreign conquerors provided the necessary ingredients for regional power and a self-belief in China’s innate cultural superiority. As such, the rulers of China conducted foreign relations according to their own perceived pre-eminence by insisting foreign envoys conform to specific rituals, thereby becoming submissive to Chinese custom. The second function of the tributary system was to control trade. Access to China’s markets was restricted through regulatory policy that dictated the type and quantity of goods that could be traded at any time. When European traders first encountered this tributary system during the eighteenth century, China’s brusque reaction to uninitiated Western merchants was “predetermined by an ideological structure of assumptions, expectations and evaluations inherited from China’s long history and institutionalised in the tribute system.” Conflicting attitudes towards commerce, and particularly the import of opium during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, contributed to the First Opium War of 1839-1842.

The second section of Fairbank’s monograph explores the implementation by the imperial powers of a diplomatic system that became known as the ‘Treaty ports’. After China’s defeat in the First Opium War, the Treaty of Nanking was ratified, which, amongst other clauses stipulating indemnity payments and the annexation of Hong Kong, opened five ports along the eastern coast of China to Western trade. These ports became hubs of Western investment

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9 Ibid, p. 31.
10 Ibid, p. 32.
11 Ibid, p. 23.
and commerce, leaving China open to economic exploitation. As a result, traditional Chinese institutions and ideologies were destabilised. Despite his recognition of the Western influence in nineteenth century China, Fairbank’s narrative is not dominated by an apologist sentiment for imperial expansion. He posits instead that the treaty port system was implemented in line with the traditional Chinese notion of ‘controlling the barbarians using commerce’ (yi shang zhi yi 以商治夷).\(^\text{13}\)

Pioneering this new methodology, Fairbank utilises Chinese primary source material in conjunction with European and American official documents in order to construct his hybrid history of nineteenth century China. Correspondence between Beijing and Chinese provincial authorities, The Peking Gazette and Collected Statutes of the Great Qing (Da Qing Huidian 大清会典) are all drawn upon to balance the previous overemphasis on Western commercial, evangelical and bureaucratic sources.\(^\text{14}\) By choosing to include and emphasise Chinese documents, Fairbank hoped to more accurately convey “the nature of Chinese society and its response to the West.”\(^\text{15}\)

Fairbank acknowledged that there were limitations to this method of study. He states that because historians had imperfectly understood Chinese society, it would thus always be difficult to gauge the extent of Western impact upon nineteenth century China.\(^\text{16}\) Nevertheless, he asserts that with the political and economic development of the West over the course of the previous centuries, “the incorporation of China into this nascent world order has proved unusually difficult.”\(^\text{17}\) This was perhaps due to the fundamental difference in the institutions of China to those of the West—development in China was limited by the differing course of its institutional growth. Furthermore, Fairbank claimed that Western intrusion should not be depicted or understood as an ‘impact’, but rather a stimulus to China’s modernisation. He asserts that “personal contact in the treaty ports and mission stations, material changes in economic life and social custom, led to the eventual metamorphosis of Chinese institutions.”\(^\text{18}\) Fairbank’s notion of China’s metamorphosis was not merely the projection of Western ideals and establishments onto a weakened though resilient society. It was instead a symbiotic relationship that created a “hybrid society” in the treaty ports, where “Western forms of law, finance, industry, and individualism have been subtly modified” to incorporate aspects of traditional Chinese customs.\(^\text{19}\) The term he coined for this practice was “synarchy”. In essence, it was a partnership between China and the Western powers that resulted in the breakdown of the tributary system and provided China with the necessary tools to undergo the process of modernisation, as defined by the Western trajectory.\(^\text{20}\)

Fairbank anticipated that subsequent scholars would adopt his alternate approach to nineteenth century Chinese history. He writes in the first pages of his bibliography that through his use of Chinese documents he hoped “many more volumes will be based on them...the present volume adumbrates only faintly the vast scope of the records awaiting study.”\(^\text{21}\) Fairbank successfully paved the way for a more inclusive approach to depicting the interaction between the Western powers and China.

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\(^{13}\) Fairbank, Trade and Diplomacy on the China Coast.

\(^{14}\) Ibid, p. 68.

\(^{15}\) Ibid, p. 6.

\(^{16}\) Ibid.

\(^{17}\) Ibid.

\(^{18}\) Ibid.

\(^{19}\) Ibid.


\(^{21}\) Ibid, p. 62.
Appended in Fairbank’s biographical study of his mentor, there is a letter addressed to Fairbank by H.B. Morse. Recognising the historiographical significance of Fairbank’s approach to Chinese history, Morse writes that:

when some Harvard student, grandson of the grandson of a member of the class of 1874, shall desire to refute the erroneous and senile deduction of his professor John King Fairbank (A.B. Harv., B.Litt. & D.Phil Oxon.) soon to be Emeritus, and should refer his aged professor to his work, written in the freshness and elasticity of youth, on British Policy in China etc. they will note with pride the fact... that it was to some extent inspired by a classmate of his own great great grandfather.22

Although the criticism did not come from the great-great grandson of an 1874 Harvard graduate, sixteen years after Fairbank received permission to dedicate his publication to his former teacher, his methodology was indeed critiqued.

**China’s Modernisation in 1960s American Scholarship**

In 1969, amidst America’s increasing involvement in the Vietnam War, a young graduate student acerbically challenged Fairbank’s method, which he believed had portrayed the Sino-Western relationship in nineteenth-century China as a relatively benign interaction. James Peck was the author of an article published in the *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars* in 1969 entitled ‘The Roots of Rhetoric: The Professional Ideology of America’s China Watchers’.23 Peck argued that scholars of nineteenth century Chinese history had adopted a similar framework for all of their interpretative exercises, which attempted to excuse or obfuscate Western imperialism.

This supposedly insidious methodology came in the form of ‘modernisation theory’. Boiled down to its essence, modernisation theory contends that societies can be divided into two categories: ‘traditional’ and ‘modern’. In order for a society to develop beyond its ‘traditional’ form, it must undergo a series of social, political and economic changes. These stages of structural evolution mark a society’s journey into a ‘modern’—and therefore more advanced—form. There is an underlying assumption that, with adequate assistance, less developed nations are able to progress beyond their rudimentary structure to become like highly developed countries. China, with its apparently static societal arrangement, belonged to the ‘traditional’ group. Although there is a vast corpus of literature analysing modernisation theory, Peck basically believed that American historians of China mistook this theory of sociological interpretation as historical method, which consequently allowed them to neglect Chinese victimisation at the hands of Western imperialists and then propose that China must adopt certain Western features in order to reach modernity.24 Furthermore, modernisation theory was not merely an intellectual construct, but rather “an ideological construct used by leading China specialists to justify America’s political, military and economic intervention in Asia in the postwar era”.25

In an article laced with derision, Peck contends that scholars of Chinese history had claimed Western expansion and dominance occurred due to a “unique constellation of pre-

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22 Fairbank, Coolidge and Smith, *H.B. Morse, Customs Commissioner and Historian of China*, p. 2.
conditions.”

Through these pre-conditions, the “nation-states in the West succeeded in unleashing an almost Faustian power, an exaltation of energy symbolised by the enormous “rationalization” of man’s economic and social machinery” upon China in the nineteenth-century. After the West had provided China with the necessary means, then China would subsequently be able to modernise. Peck goes on to state that, unlike the West, where industrialisation and scientific thought had occurred through a natural evolutionary process, by describing China’s “response” to a Western “impact”, scholars had intrinsically dismissed China’s self-determination and instead used foreign ideals as the baseline for development and modernisation. By utilising this ‘impact-response’ method to understand Chinese history, the cultural plight experienced by the Chinese through having to completely dismiss or reinterpret their traditional heritage in order to conform to modern notions is dispassionately neglected.

After establishing that previous historical interpretations had erroneously claimed that China was unable to modernise without the “stimulus” of the West, Peck argues that Japan is unjustly used in comparison to China as a country that was able to successfully modernise through Western intervention. We are told by Fairbank that:

*Nationalism and industrialism, which triumphed so easily in Japan, were retarded in the Middle Kingdom. Neither the scientific method nor the rule of law, the inventor or the entrepreneur, have yet to have their heyday in this strangely different society. Perhaps the very maturity and stability of Chinese social structure and political institutions have proved a handicap.*

Peck proposed the opposite: that it was not cultural resilience that accounted for China’s inability to effectively modernise, but rather that Western imperialism had not penetrated nineteenth-century Japan to the same degree. This allowed Japan to more effectively adapt to external circumstances beyond its control, and on its own terms. Western historians, rather than admitting the true nature of Western expansion into China during the nineteenth century, held internal factors to blame. According to Peck, previous scholars had variously identified ethnocentrism, self-sufficiency and institutional durability as aspects of Chinese society that prevented it from ‘modernising’. Imperialism was quietly swept aside.

During the 1950s and 1960s there was, however, one demographic that was very vocal in its criticism of Western imperialism in China: the Chinese. For Peck, scholars of nineteenth century China had casually dismissed Chinese grievances as fundamentally at odds with accurate depictions of Chinese history. Their views were merely a psychological balm perpetuated by a communist country’s agenda “at variance with the general trend of modern historical understanding of the international world.” To this end, we hear from Fairbank that, as contemporary scholars of China:

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27 Ibid.
28 Ibid, p. 60.
29 Ibid.
30 Fairbank, *Trade and Diplomacy on the China Coast*, p. 4.

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we find ourselves ‘American imperialists,’ caught in a role which has been partly thrust upon us and which we do not want: that of the outside oppressor, last target of Mao’s revolution, tied in with the evils of China’s past, cause of her inadequacies and obstacle to her rise.\textsuperscript{34}

Peck’s scathing attack did not stop at the nineteenth century. He believed that contemporary academics and policymakers were upholding certain notions about China in order to rationalise post-WWII American involvement in Asia.\textsuperscript{35} After all, the US was a nation that fervently believed the most successful way to modernise was through “contact, [an] open society, pluralism and the international trading world.”\textsuperscript{36} Peck asserted instead that imperialism was veiled by scholars of China in terms of modernisation, who held that it was China’s inability to adapt and internal institutional factors that rendered China unwilling or unable to effectively assimilate superior Western ideals, and prevented China from modernising. Their professed victimisation was used as a subversive guise to vent “over-simplified and emotional explanations”.\textsuperscript{37} Peck proposed that to more accurately depict Chinese history, it should be done along Marxist-Leninist lines.

In the subsequent issue of the Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars, Fairbank wrote a rejoinder to Peck’s essay. After praising the “critical spirit” of Peck’s argument and stating that it was a welcome change of pace from the self-professed China experts who seemed to have mushroomed around American foreign policy discourse since the founding of the People’s Republic of China in 1949, Fairbank presents his rebuttal.\textsuperscript{38} Concerning the reinterpretation of nineteenth century Chinese history, Fairbank sees Peck’s exhortation to use “Revolutionary Marxism” as an alternative to modernisation theory as misguided. Revolutionary Marxism was an “action-oriented creed” that uses “research for practical purposes” in order to marshal likeminded followers to pursue revolutionary action and affect a change of government.\textsuperscript{39} Furthermore, the notions of feudalism, capitalism and socialism are “nineteenth-century terms that have long since taken on the smell of grandfather’s mothballs.”\textsuperscript{40} Although Fairbank recognised that there was certainly merit in applying Marxist-Leninist theory to Chinese history—many American scholars of China have devoted significant time to this very issue—it was but one theory of history and therefore not the only alternative to modernisation theory. In terms of intellectual method, ‘modernisation theory’ was essentially a meaningless term, a collection of theories used purely for academic interpretation and only gaining in intrinsic value as an interpretative method when coupled with political modernisation, economic modernisation, etc.\textsuperscript{41} It was a broad church that did not signify any attempt to disguise Western imperialism, but rather “a collection of bits and pieces, analysis orientated.”\textsuperscript{42}

Fairbank also detects in Peck’s essay a cyclical historiographical turn. He outlines his own methodological challenge to his mentor H.B. Morse in the 1930s that “tried hard to get beyond

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{34} Peck, ‘The Roots of Rhetoric’, p. 61.
\item \textsuperscript{35} Ibid, p. 62.
\item \textsuperscript{37} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{39} Cohen, Discovering History in China, p. 101; Fairbank, ‘An Exchange’, p. 52.
\item \textsuperscript{40} Fairbank, ‘An Exchange’, p. 52.
\item \textsuperscript{41} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{42} Ibid.
\end{itemize}
the foreign-documented bluebook history” of The International Relations of the Chinese Empire.\(^4\) Morse’s publication documented foreign activities in China, what they did, and how their actions affected China. External factors were the methodological focus. By comparison, Fairbank’s own work placed greater emphasis upon internal influences by examining local government structures, cultural and historical precedents for certain events, official government documentation; essentially, endeavouring to include the Chinese narrative whilst exploring Western contact. The methodological trend of investigating internal issues in China’s history had also expanded in recent years into “studies of major traditional institutions, of indigenous rebellions, provincial developments, thought, and all the rest, not merely ‘modernisation’”.\(^4\) Fairbank viewed Peck’s argument as a return to prioritising external factors in Chinese history, stimulated by the broad identification that the primary challenge to humankind is always “growth and expansion itself.”\(^4\) Concerning Peck’s claim that revolutionary Marxism was the definitive methodology that should be adopted to explore Western imperialism, Fairbank countered that an examination of imperialism itself was sufficient to understand the roots of twentieth century expansion. It was a secondary consideration whether this was addressed through revolutionary Marxism, modernisation theory, or even just international relations.\(^4\)

The final word in the exchange belonged to Peck. Appended in the same issue as Fairbank’s response, Peck stated that Fairbank had merely served to demonstrate his claim: scholars of Chinese history and American policymakers engaged in a “rhetoric of apology” as a way to disguise reality and put in place “an obstacle to understanding and significant action.”\(^4\) Although his response was not as concise as Fairbank’s, he mounts a convincing argument that previous methodological approaches camouflaged Western imperialism in nineteenth century China. Furthermore, Peck sees the continuation of this rhetoric in 1950s American politics as a means to justify contemporary expansionist ambitions and anti-communist crusades.\(^4\) Invoking George Orwell’s 1949 essay Politics of the English Language, which argued that political expressions were used to temper atrocious occurrences, Peck states:

> For the China specialists spoke of America’s international responsibilities and her global role (instead of the American empire), of modernization and nation building (instead of imperialism and neocolonialism), of non-violent change and stability (instead of counterrevolution and institutionalized violence), and of foreign aid and economic investment (instead of an international capitalist system).\(^4\)

In Peck’s opinion, this approach to Chinese history and contemporary foreign policy needed to be first acknowledged, and then it could be addressed.

**Phillip Kuhn and Nineteenth-Century Chinese Militarisation**

There was one significant problem regarding Western imperialism that remained elusive for scholars of China: when “China was victimized by the foreign powers... [it] leaves unanswered the basic and prior question – why did China not respond to foreign encroachment earlier and

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\(^4\) Ibid, p. 53

\(^4\) Ibid.

\(^4\) Ibid.

\(^4\) Ibid.

\(^4\) Ibid.


\(^4\) Ibid, p. 56.

\(^4\) Ibid, p. 66.
more vigorously?\textsuperscript{50} Implicit in this statement by Fairbank is the assumption that Western military aggression was the catalyst for Chinese militarisation. Previous analyses had emphasised political organisation, rather than militarisation, being the fundamental priority of Chinese governance, therefore accounting for China’s inability to withstand Western military force. As previously mentioned, Fairbank reasoned that the resilience of the Chinese administrative structure had served as a bedrock which helped to ensure the Middle Kingdom’s longevity. Conquerors of China eventually became Sinified because, although they may have possessed military might, invaders “lacked the clerical personnel and local roots necessary to conduct the bureaucratic administration of populous Chinese territory...and so had to rely upon Chinese partnership in government.”\textsuperscript{51} In 1970, Phillip Kuhn published \textit{Rebellion and Its Enemies in Late Imperial China: Militarisation and Social Structure, 1796-1864}, which expanded upon Fairbank’s approach to examine internal factors in nineteenth century Chinese history. He challenged the assertion that China only began to strengthen its military as a result of Western aggression from the mid-nineteenth-century onward.\textsuperscript{52}

Kuhn’s analysis begins with a thorough examination of local conditions in eighteenth century China. He states that the demographic boom of the eighteenth century and the mass internal migration that resulted from overcrowding in certain regions fostered sectarian violence that was articulated in the form of peasant rebellions.\textsuperscript{53} Amidst this large migratory movement, traditional measures of social control such as the \textit{baojia} system (保家)—used for population censuses, surveillance and security—became ineffective.\textsuperscript{54} The problems associated with inadequate defence were brought to the Qing government’s attention by the White Lotus Rebellion, which lasted from 1796-1805 and substantially destabilised the social and political order.\textsuperscript{55} Due to the sheer size of the Chinese Empire under the Qing, central government authorities were heavily reliant upon local militia to quell social unrest. Faced with internal popular rebellions, the imperial throne recognised the necessity of allowing provincial officials or influential scholar-gentry to bolster their regional militaries in order to sufficiently deal with threats to social stability. The central authorities’ paranoia about ceding influence to regional powers was overcome only by their recognition that the gravity of the threat facing their sovereignty outweighed their suspicion of regional administrators entrenching local powerbases.\textsuperscript{56}

Kuhn demonstrates that the process of militarisation in China was also a response to local issues, rather than wholly the result of nineteenth century Western imperialism. In the introduction to his book, Kuhn outlines some of the methodological problems that he believed contributed towards misrepresentations of Chinese history. He states that both the dynastic cycle and designations of ‘modern’ Chinese history have led to inherent interpretative problems. Concerning the dynastic cycle, an intrinsic philosophy of Chinese political culture that extols China’s innate capacity to withstand dynastic decline, Kuhn believes that this notion gives the erroneous impression of long-term stability within “Chinese political institutions...[and] factors of continuity in local society.”\textsuperscript{57} That being the Chinese Empire


\textsuperscript{51} Fairbank, \textit{Trade and Diplomacy on the China Coast}, pp. 24-25.

\textsuperscript{52} Phillip Kuhn, \textit{Rebellion and Its Enemies in Late Imperial China: Militarization and Social Structure, 1796-1864}, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1970. Phillip Kuhn was a doctoral student of John King Fairbank.

\textsuperscript{53} Ibid, p. 51.

\textsuperscript{54} Ibid, p. 39.

\textsuperscript{55} Ibid, p. 37.

\textsuperscript{56} Ibid, p. 217.

\textsuperscript{57} Ibid, p. 3.
existed in a state of invariability, “the rise and fall of regimes, the clash of cliques in high state affairs, were but surface waves on a deep pool of stability.” 58 Fairbank's pre-1970s publications arguably fall victim to this trope and Kuhn believed that the notion of a cyclically changing China prevents an adequate periodisation of the point at which external forces, in the form of Western imperialism, “become a decisive force in the evolution of Chinese history.” 59 The idea that ‘modern’ China began with “the period in which the motion of history... governed primarily by forces exogenous to Chinese society and Chinese tradition” was misleading. 60 Although it served as a useful demarcation, this designation had the potential to overstate the role of Western intrusion and label certain social and political movements as responses to external forces, rather than recognising that these occurrences were also tied to domestic issues. It is beyond doubt that Western military expansion influenced Chinese society. The questions to be asked are how much and to what degree?

By emphasising the militarisation of provincial regions in China as a response to internal threats, Kuhn shows that Western imperialism during the nineteenth century was not the defining influence in Chinese politics during this period. Although the British-facilitated opium trade during the 1830s disrupted security arrangements and forced local communities to raise regional militia forces, “these trends were the early stages of a larger process of militarisation that has lasted into the present [nineteenth] century.” 61 Furthermore, through examining internal processes that occurred independently of Western imperialism and were already threatening the social and political stability of China, Kuhn reveals why the empire was already weak by the time Western forces arrived on China’s shores. These forces did, however, accelerate the decline of this already imperilled empire. 62

Conclusion

During the 1960s and 1970s, political elites in the USA were pilloried for being out of touch with the interests of their people. It was believed they sought to pursue an imperialist agenda fundamentally at odds with popular opinion. Their ‘war against communism’ did not cease after the failed Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba: the ‘red tide’ was ‘marching south’ from China, and American politicians and bureaucrats were determined to halt its spread into South-East Asia. Evidence of direct and indirect conflict with Cambodia and Thailand, culminating in the Vietnam War, provided the American populace with stark evidence that imperialism was alive and well. The events of the 1960s forced Americans to examine their own imperial agenda, which thus prompted interest in its historical roots.

Many scholars and students alike were outraged by the government’s actions. For some, however, American military expansion represented a more sinister continuation of nineteenth century imperial ambitions. Scholars of China began to identify parallels between contemporary foreign policy and America’s involvement in China during the last century of Qing rule. More worryingly for researchers like Peck was the appearance of a complete denial on the behalf of China historians regarding Western culpability for Chinese history. America was exonerated of its wrongdoing through discourses that identified internal factors as the reasons for China’s inability to modernise. Defending his methodology, Fairbank believed that Peck’s outrage was a manifestation of popular opinion: “self criticism is the new mood”, and

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58 Ibid.
60 Ibid, p. 2
61 Ibid, p. 9
62 Ibid, p. 1

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these musings represented an effort to explore “our general guilt over Vietnam.” Nevertheless, Fairbank admitted that questions regarding imperialism “must be a starting point for new policy efforts.”

Contemporaneous with American military aggression during the 1960s, scholars of China began to examine the history of Western imperialism in Asia. Some were confronted by what was seen as attempts to brush over the Western imperialist legacy. Others believed that their methodological approach was merely an effort to understand a complex past that intertwined both Western and domestic influences. Thanks to the work of scores of scholars continuously questioning their predecessors’ methods, we are able to move towards an increasingly impartial evaluation of the role played by the West in China’s history.

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64 Ibid, p. 54.
The Culture of Immigration: Australia's Chinese Community and their Daily Life (1850-Present)

Xiaolu Wu

This essay was awarded the 2014 ACYA Prize for Youth Scholarship (Chinese).

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Translated into English from the original Chinese by Declan Fry.

The Culture of Australia's Chinese Community

Defining the Concept of Chinese Culture and Daily Life

The concept of culture includes several meanings, with some scholars having divided these into four different possible understandings. One of these, ‘refined culture’, refers to the culture and arts enjoyed by the population during peacetime. A second takes account of the concept of self-cultivation and an individual's education level. A third understanding takes note of particular cultural products and art forms. Fourth and finally, culture may refer to the particular ways of life of a group of people.¹

This last meaning implies that culture signifies the specific ways of thinking and feeling, and beliefs and performances, which are attributed to a particular group or community as opposed to other groups. In the history of contemporary cultural studies, the concept of culture tends to point toward this last type: the attitudes and values of a particular group.

These cultural values are often embodied in the daily lives of ordinary people, exerting a major influence on how their actions and behaviour are shaped. Politics, Culture and Class During the French Revolution, the major work of Lynn Hunt, a leading figure in contemporary cultural studies, takes these expressions as models of collective intent and behaviour.²

Therefore, what this essay calls ‘Chinese culture’ is to be understood as nothing other than the particular system of values permeating the daily life of the Chinese, the system of attitudes and behaviours that influence their daily life. They provide the foundation for a sense of belonging and self-identification with a particular ethnicity.

An Overview of Australia's Chinese Immigrants and Research Methods

Australia is the largest immigrant country in the Southern Hemisphere, and since its early beginnings in the nineteenth century, Chinese have migrated to the country. The early 1850s

mark the period when Chinese began entering Australia in large numbers, even causing a small surge in Chinese immigration. The later stages of the nineteenth century saw Chinese discovering gold at various mine sites. However, owing to the migration restrictions of the White Australia policy, the number of Chinese in Australia fell, and earlier migrants, owing to gradual assimilation, became harder to find.

Following the abolition of the White Australia policy in the early 1970s, a new wave of Chinese migration began. According to statistics, there are currently around a million Chinese in Australia, comprising almost one out of every twenty members of the total population.3

Owing to the vast cultural differences between China and the West, the first Chinese migrants to Australia were faced with the issue of whether to assimilate or maintain their culture. As an easily identifiable trait, the fact of belonging to a particular ethnic group functioned as a symbol of community for those Chinese who migrated overseas, marked upon their bodies.

According to the recent ‘segmented assimilation theory’, wholly abandoning one's ancestral home, culture and language is not necessarily a good recipe for improving the position of a migrant and their children’s social status. Rather, in coming into contact with a new culture, there is a need to remain conscious of the importance of maintaining one's own mother tongue and cultural traditions.4 In this process, the migrant gains self-confidence by honouring the distinctive traits and characteristics of their original culture and creates a more welcoming environment for new migrants entering the country.

In recent years, a new wave of Chinese migration has occurred in Australia, leading to the expansion of Chinese cultural influence. This has seen Chinese culture become but one of the many cultures that comprise Australia’s multicultural environment. What I wish to ask in this essay is, from the early sporadic migrations of Chinese, through to the contemporary emergence of large Chinese communities, how has migration to Australia influenced and affected Chinese culture? Using data collected in the gold mining regions of northern Queensland, I attempt here a new cultural history, tracing the various changes and influences that have occurred within Australian-Chinese culture and daily life.

**Early Migrants: The Gold Rush and Difficulties of Assimilation for Chinese Labourers**

*The Gold Rush and Importation of Chinese Labour*

The earliest Chinese migration to Australia was sporadic, with the Cantonese who arrived in 1818 considered the earliest migrants. A larger wave of Chinese entered Australia around 1850-1860, with the discovery of gold in New South Wales (NSW) and Victoria attracting a great number of Chinese labourers. In October 1848, some sources believe that 120 labourers arrived in Sydney from Xiamen, Fujian Province, alone.

Following this, a steady stream of Chinese miners continued to arrive. In Ballarat, the 2,000-strong Chinese population in 1853 soared to 25,000 just three years later, with most arrivals coming from southern China, particularly Guangdong province.5

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Owing to their hardworking nature and ability to endure hardship, the Chinese quickly took root across Australia. Their footprints were left not only upon NSW and Victoria, where gold was initially discovered, but as far as the remote and desolate reaches of the Northern Territory and Australia's southern and western regions. In 1877, Queensland was home to around 25,000 Chinese, who comprises a seventh of the state’s population. The majority of Chinese at this time moved according to kinship ties or native place ties, making mutual introductions as they came to Australia to seek their livelihood.

Owing to a lack of linguistic competence in English, it was difficult for many Chinese to interact with the local white population, to say nothing of attempting to assimilate. As a result, they often lived a life separate from the Europeans. Within their social circles they retained the local culture they brought with them, including habits of diet and housing. As their number gradually increased, they were able to form small communities, creating their own systems of culture and daily life. The communities of this period were influenced by the distinctive features of Chinese culture, particularly those of southern provinces such as Guangdong and Guangxi.

**Case Study: Examining the Historical Remains of Ravenswood's Chinese Labourers**

Ravenswood is situated in the north of Queensland, and is known as a famous gold mining site. After the discovery of gold there in 1868, a Gold Rush immediately spread through the area. In what was indeed a 'golden age', many Chinese miners arrived, with around 1,500-2,000 Chinese inhabiting the area (currently there are only around 6,000 residents). Local museums contain relatively complete burial records, from 1877 to 1940, of local Chinese labourers, most of which note the person’s full name, age and occupation.

According to cemetery records, a total of 54 Chinese labourers are buried in Ravenswood, most of who worked as miners. What is worth noting here is that the graves of Chinese labourers are arranged separately to those of European miners. Although the shape of the graves bears no relation to traditional Chinese graves, they nonetheless include Chinese tombstones written in traditional Chinese style. This indicates that the early Chinese migrants were greatly influenced by the culture of their provincial hometowns, and felt a strong sense of belonging to their ancestral homes.

The face of the tombstone above reads: ‘Here Lies Heda Ruan of Maowan’. According to local museum records, we can infer that this labourer, a male, came from a district situated within Xiangshan county in Guangdong province, now known as Zhongshan city.

What is worth pointing out here is that the occupant’s birthplace is marked on their tombstone, in much the same fashion as in the south of China. Furthermore, the indication of birthplace happens to exactly verify certain theories within academic circles regarding the ancestral homes of the overseas Chinese, which contend that many of the Chinese scattered across Australia were originally from Zhongshan city in Guangdong.

Those Chinese labourers working in the Ravenswood gold mines, in all aspects of their daily life, maintained a close-knit traditional Chinese community, as can be observed from their diet and living habits. According to blood ties and the existence of ancestral shrines, they organised themselves into small societies that can be seen as imitating familial structures.

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6 Ibid.
Some particularly strong evidence of this comes from Ravenswood. According to investigations carried out by the author in July 2014 in northern Queensland, the Chinese inhabiting the region in the 1880s created their own ancestral shrines, referred to by locals as ‘Chinese temples’.

**Figure 2: Remains of an abandoned Chinese temple by a gold mine in Ravenswood, northern Queensland.**

Above we can see the remains of stones used to create a Chinese stove, its design differing from the kitchens customarily used by European migrants. This site shows that the Chinese at that time continued to maintain the daily living habits typical of the southern Chinese.

As a symbol of familial bonds, the cultural significance of the ancestral shrine is reasonably self-evident. As a site for festive celebrations and as a gathering place, ancestral shrines provided a place for participants to practice traditional culture in their daily life. Looked at in this way, ancestral shrines can be seen as providing a link to Chinese culture, retained and passed on among the Chinese miners during the gold rush.
Returning to Work in the Motherland: The Homecoming of Australia’s Chinese

Accompanying the Gold Rush, the arrival of Chinese miners in Australia steadily increased between 1850 and 1880, particularly in the years between 1850 and 1860.

### Table 1: Chinese Population in Victoria and New South Wales 1854-1911

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Victoria</th>
<th>NSW</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1854</td>
<td>2,373</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1857</td>
<td>25,424</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td>24,732</td>
<td>12,988</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>17,953</td>
<td>7,220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>12,128</td>
<td>10,205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>9,377</td>
<td>14,156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>7,349</td>
<td>11,263</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>5,601</td>
<td>9,335</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As the table above shows, in the three year period between 1854 and 1857, the number of Chinese in Victoria leapt from just over 2,000 to over 25,000: a tenfold increase in just three years. Throughout the 1860s, the number of Chinese was stable at around 25,000, but from the beginning of the 1870s a clear drop is apparent, owing to increasingly racist reactions in Australia. For instance, in Bendigo, Victoria, during 1854, anti-Chinese sentiment was strong on the mine sites, and in 1855 policies were created to restrict the number of new Chinese labourers. For every ten tonnes of cargo arriving in Australia, only one Chinese person was allowed. This policy became the first in Australia to restrict the entry of Chinese.

At this time, Chinese communities who maintained their culture were actively censured. White racists characterised the Chinese communities’ lifestyle as being segregated from that of white society, and viewed it as leading to a kind of independent “administrative body” being created. Owing to this, since the 1860s the number of Chinese labourers rapidly decreased, and those remaining had no choice but to adopt the habits and customs of the white population. Unlike the earlier Chinese, who lived lives of complete separation from white society, many of those who stayed on began to study English and to learn the social customs of English-speaking society and culture, hoping by their efforts to enter Western society.

The occupations of the Chinese also gradually began to change. Originally most were miners, but owing to restrictions imposed by various laws and statutes, together with strikes by white miners aimed at expelling Chinese labour, many changed professions, becoming vegetable and fruit farmers, carpenters and so on. Because of the fact that many Chinese made a living from agriculture in their hometowns, they proved adept at farming. A number accumulated savings and went into business, working in trade and engaging in commercial activity between Australia and China. Although the overwhelming majority of Chinese continued to use a Chinese name phoneticised using the English alphabet, many also adopted English names.

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7 Guohong Zhu, China’s Overseas Migrants (Historical Research into International Migration Series), Shanghai: Fudan University Press, 1994, p. 216.

According to the recollections of the eldest son of the founder of the Xin Xin Company, Chengji Li, his father, Minzhou Li, arrived in Australia in 1898, and soon after began learning English and Australian culture from a local priest, in the hope of more easily fitting into English-speaking society.

At the same time, within his small family, Chinese cultural traditions continued to be maintained. His first wife, Qiwen Liang, the child of a second generation Chinese-Australian, was still able to speak the Zhongshan dialect, and excelled in Chinese cooking. According to the recollections of Chengji Li:

She [Qiwen Liang] had the independence and capable disposition of a woman raised in the West. Day and night she would engage with the older Chinese from the farms and, influenced by such surroundings, was also able to maintain the traditional virtues of a Chinese woman, respecting the old and cherishing the young (尊老爱幼). She was modest and amiable in her dealings with people. She could speak Zhongshan dialect and excelled in the culinary traditions of her hometown, particularly dishes such as steamed bread and thin pancake.\(^9\)

The Chinese of this period, owing to their work in agriculture and commerce, shook off the restrictive cultural traits of earlier migrants and accepted a greater degree of Western cultural thinking. At the same time, they continued in their daily lives to maintain certain traditional Chinese cultural ideas. Owing to the restrictions of the White Australia policy, some of those who possessed both Western and Chinese cultural backgrounds also began returning to China, participating in commercial activity there.

This contributed greatly to the modernisation and development of Chinese business that was occurring in China at that time. At the advent of the twentieth century, Australia's overseas Chinese were making an indelible contribution to the development of Chinese department stores, using capital and experience gained in Australia to rejuvenate the commercial practices of these and other businesses in China. The four major department stores of old Shanghai (Xianshi, Yongan, Xin Xin and Daxin) were all constructed using investments from Australia's overseas Chinese, with money from Australia's farms and orchards thus sowing the seeds of some of China's biggest businesses.

**Multiculturalism: Chinese Culture in Daily Life**

*Chinese Culture in a Multicultural Environment*

Following the abandonment of the White Australia policy, an increasing number of Asians began migrating to Australia, many of whom came from countries within the sphere of Chinese cultural influence, including Mainland China, Hong Kong, Macau, Taiwan, Singapore and Malaysia. At present, around a million Chinese reside in Australia, most of them within Australia's capital cities.

Unlike the early Chinese migrants, those who have arrived since the 1980s are primarily overseas students, and may lay claim to their own unique characteristics. They come from better family backgrounds, their command of English and understanding of English-speaking

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\(^9\) One of four major Shanghai companies during the Chinese Republic (1912-1949).

society and culture greater, and, owing to their higher levels of education, their income levels do not resemble the poverty-stricken conditions in which earlier Chinese migrants generally lived and laboured. They also work in a far wider range of occupations, employed at various administrative levels of Australian society. This is in stark contrast to early Chinese migrants, who tended to work solely in the fields of mining and farming.

In some recent works, this group is referred to as ‘new migrants’. Among them, those who have arrived after the 1980s account for an increasingly large proportion, with those arriving between 2000 and 2006 making up 39% of the total population of Chinese in Australia.\textsuperscript{11} Although their educational background, income level, and the depth and scope of their interaction with local society are all different from ‘old migrants’ who arrived during the 1850s, in at least one sphere they may be said to share similarities: culture. In their dietary and reading habits, in the festivals they celebrate, and in other areas, Chinese culture can invariably be said to wield a powerful influence.

In terms of reading habits, the dissemination of traditional media, such as free Chinese newspapers, as well as the Internet, deserves a few words. In Brisbane, for example, there are 6-7 different Chinese newspapers, including \textit{Huashang Weekly}, \textit{Huayou Weekly}, \textit{Australia-Chinese Times}, \textit{Queensland Daily} and \textit{Jingbao}, among others. These are all run by different companies and have different target audiences. \textit{Australia-Chinese Times}, for example, uses simplified Chinese characters and is aimed at a primarily Mainland audience. \textit{Huashang Weekly}, on the other hand, focuses on Hong Kong and Taiwanese audiences.

\textit{Jingbao} attempts to combine both older and newer forms of media, and is aimed at a more youthful audience, particularly those migrants and students born in the 1980s and 1990s. According to \textit{Jingbao}'s own data, at present the newspaper sells around 10,000 copies a week, which in turn are read by approximately 3-4 people each, placing their total readership at several tens of thousands of people.\textsuperscript{12} It also has subsidiary magazines, such as \textit{Australia-China Investment and Finance} (\textit{Zhong'ao Touzi Licai, 中澳投资理财}), which are aimed at resident Chinese in Australia involved in business. Together with other Chinese language newspapers, the free Chinese newspaper press covers most of Brisbane’s Chinese population.

In terms of publications aimed at newer and younger migrants, Jingbao Group have also opened Weibo and Weixin accounts, forms of new media which allow them to more effectively reach out to and connect with Australia’s younger Chinese population. These prominent examples of Chinese new media enjoy an increasingly high level of acceptance and are relied upon more and more by the younger generation of migrants in Australia’s Chinese communities.

In turning to the sphere of social activity and festive celebrations, their ceremonial nature can be said to render them one of the most distinctive forms of social and cultural identification, attracting and allowing new migrants to participate in their ritual. Whether they be the traditional Chinese holiday of the Dragon Boat Festival, or Chinese New Year/Spring Festival, they are celebrated in the Chinatowns of Brisbane and throughout other Australian capital cities.

In recent years, local governments have advocated a strengthening of support for multicultural affairs, which has included attaching increasing importance to the promotion of

\textsuperscript{11} Zhang and Zhang, ‘Social Characteristics of Contemporary Chinese Migrants to Australia’.

\textsuperscript{12} Lisa Lee, Editor-in-Chief, \textit{Jingbao}, conversation with the author, June 2014.
Chinese cultural events. Taking Brisbane as an example, the City Council frequently contributes to ensure the success of events such as Chinese New Year. During celebrations in 2014, performance troupes from the Wenshan Zhuang and Miao Autonomous Prefecture in Yunnan Province were invited to perform and were warmly received.

We find, therefore, that in their reading habits, social activities, festive customs and in other areas, what can be said to compose the daily life of contemporary Chinese migrants acts also as a source of ethnic belonging and self-identification. Lived out at a day-to-day level, it creates both an ‘identity’ (shenfen 身份) and an ‘image’ (xingxiang 形象) to which the Chinese in Australia can feel a sense of belonging.

The Changing Status of Chinese Culture in Australia

The Gold Rush of the 1850s saw a large influx of Chinese labourers entering Australia, forming the first period of Chinese migration into the country. During this period, white society attempted to isolate and exclude these migrants. The migrants of this time maintained the traditions of Chinese culture in their daily life, as well as its cultural values.

The end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth was a particularly hard period for these migrants in joining Australian society. Owing to the needs of their occupations, they began taking the initiative to learn and understand the English language and Western culture, while continuing to maintain Chinese language and customs at home.

The period between the abolition of the White Australia policy up to the present day can be considered the third period in the development of Chinese culture in Australia. During this time the maintenance of Chinese culture was not limited purely to the home, but extended to broader society. Indeed, it can be seen as becoming part of the wider multicultural environment, with some Chinese festivals and celebrations being aided financially by the government, thereby helping to promote a greater understanding of Chinese culture.

At the same time, the shape of Chinese culture is reflected in the daily lives of Australia’s Chinese communities. Taken as an expression of the patterns and habits of daily life, the act of reading Chinese newspapers, engaging in various dietary and culinary habits, festive rituals, social activities and so on, can all together be taken as expressing a particular cultural inheritance. This inheritance is one that has been passed on over the decades, gradually becoming a source of ethnic self-identification for the community.

**Figure 3:** Chinese Culture in Australian Society

**Figure 4:** Chinese Daily Life and the Construction of Ethnic Self-Identification
Conclusion

From early mutual isolation between the Chinese community and white society, through to one-sided polices of assimilation and culminating, finally, in the opportunity for the Chinese to become part of Australia's multicultural fabric, Chinese culture in Australia has witnessed an increasing degree of acceptance over the course of its long and varied history. Indeed, nowadays we might say that we are witnessing a realisation in contemporary society of the significance of a multicultural environment.

Throughout the course of this history, Chinese culture has remained deeply embodied in the daily lives of the Chinese community living in Australia. At present it enjoys an increasingly important influence, functioning as a powerful force in the promotion of ties between Australia and China.
A Brief Analysis of Chinese Political Participation in Post-War Australia: The Case of Cantonese Political Participation

Chungai Zhang

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Translated into English from the original Chinese by Asako Saito.

Introduction

The number of Chinese immigrants in Australia has risen sharply since the abolishment of the 'White Australia Policy' in the early 1970s. This increase in Australian-Chinese people, along with changes in the ethnic composition of migrants, has made more and more ethnic Chinese people in Australia conscious of the importance of protecting Australian-Chinese rights through political participation. Although the number of Chinese participating in Australian politics has been constantly rising, and an increasing number of Chinese have been making themselves heard within political circles, in many aspects ethnic Chinese political participation is still restricted due to the dominance of white culture in Australian society. The principal reason for this essay exploring the case of Cantonese political participation is because of the large proportion of Cantonese people amongst the Australian-Chinese population, and particularly due to the concentration of key Australian-Chinese politicians with ancestry from Guangdong and Guangxi provinces. The period from the 1970s onwards was chosen out of consideration of the fact that before the White Australia policy was abandoned the number of Australian-Chinese and Chinese immigrants was extremely low. During this period, ethnic Chinese faced discrimination and were subject to constraints, and neither did they have much opportunity to speak out against this social inequality. However, after the 1970s and following the implementation of policies favouring a multicultural Australia, more and more representatives of ethnic Chinese people have participated in political activities, achieving impressive results.

There has been some deal of research already conducted on the topic of Australian-Chinese political participation. For example, there is Ye Baozhong’s ‘Reviewing and Revisiting the Political Participation of Australian-Chinese in the 1990s’, Sun Shaofeng and Wang Yanshi’s ‘The Rise of Ethnic Chinese Political Participation’ and Huang Kunzhang’s ‘A Summary of Overseas Chinese and Ethnic Chinese in Australia’. In recent years, there has been a rise in the number of articles relating to Australian-Chinese in academic publications. Articles such as Wu Xingt’s ‘The Economic Development of Australian-Chinese since 1966’, Shi Hongling’s ‘An Economic Analysis of Australian-Chinese’ and the Guangdong Overseas Chinese Affairs Office publication entitled ‘A New Approach for Chinese Political Participation and How it Contributes to the Development of an Australian-Chinese Community’, are all great resource materials. With respect to non-Chinese sources, although many resource materials relate to Chinese immigration, those that discuss this issue from a political participation perspective are few and far between, but many are still valuable sources for the research of political participation in Australia. An example is Andrew Markus’ ‘Ethnic Chinese in Australian History’. Apart from these papers and essays, this text also refers to many online sources.
These are mainly websites related to Chinese political participation, such as the Guangdong Overseas Chinese Affairs website, China.org.cn and Chinanews.com. This text mainly adopts historical research methods, and primarily explores the development of Chinese political participation in Australia since the 1970s.

This essay is divided into two main parts. Firstly, it provides a brief analysis of Chinese political participation upon consideration of the methods employed by ethnic Chinese in their political participation, as well as the reasons for the development of such activity. The second part discusses how, although there is still more to desire of Chinese political participation in terms of its range and scale, the increasing number of political candidates with Chinese descent is sure to bring more distinguished Chinese people into the political arena. These elites will gradually become a major force in mainstream society, and contribute to the advancement and prosperity of Australian society.

The Main Types of Chinese Political Participation

There are many ways in which Chinese people can participate in Australian politics; the most direct method of which is by being elected to political posts such as a Member of Parliament or local mayor, were they can directly express their political views to government. Within Australian political circles, many exemplary Chinese people fight for the interests of their community, and have played important roles in the promotion of Australia-China relations. If we take a broad view of history, we can see that before the Second World War there were already some ‘Chinese’ holding important posts within political circles. For example, the Ballarat-born politician Thomas Bakhap, who was raised by an adoptive Chinese father and spoke Chinese, was elected as a Tasmanian Senator to the Commonwealth Parliament from 1913-1923. When he passed away, the Prime Minister at the time praised him as “The most capable and loyal politician in legislative politics”. Nevertheless, Chinese people only truly began to participate in politics in the 1970s.

Following the abandonment of the White Australia policy and the popularisation of multiculturalism, there has been an increasing presence of Chinese people in the Australian political arena. This phenomenon became apparent in the latter half of the 1980s. Alec Fong Lim, of Taishan, Guangdong ancestry, was born in the small town of Katherine in northern Australia in February 1931. He was a third-generation Chinese-Australian. He became involved in politics in 1982, when he ran for a position in the local government. In 1984, he was elected Lord Mayor of Darwin at his first attempt, making him the first local mayor of Chinese ancestry in Australian history. Another example is Helen Sham-Ho, of Bao’an ancestry. A lawyer by profession, upon joining the Liberal Party she was nominated to run for the New South Wales Senate as a representative of ethnic minorities. She became the first Chinese politician to be elected into an Australian state parliament, and in this position she proved herself to be extremely capable. She made a great contribution towards many causes;

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she opposed racial discrimination, fought for equality, promoted the voice of the government, and advocated for the implementation of multicultural policies.4

Following increases in the Chinese population, as well as enhanced political awareness and enthusiasm amongst the Chinese community, the 1990s saw a relative surge in Chinese political participation. Many distinguished Chinese attained success in Australian politics. Bill O’Chee, whose father is of Zhongshan, Guangdong ancestry, was National Party Senator for Queensland from 1990-1999, becoming the first person of Chinese heritage in Australian Federal Parliament. Spencer Wu, a dentist, emigrated from Hong Kong to Australia in 1974, practising dentistry since then at a clinic in Sydney’s Chinatown. Responding to Chinese migrant concerns about lower social status, discrimination and oppression due to language barriers, Wu decided to go into politics to fight for equal rights and interests of the Chinese community. Wu successfully became the first Chinese Independent councillor on the Ashfield Municipal Council in 1995. During his term he made a significant contribution to the local Chinese community and accumulated great experience in the management of local politics. Wu was also the first Chinese person to become an Australian Democrats candidate—for Lord Mayor of Sydney in 2004.5 There are still many more outstanding Chinese people in Australia who have devoted themselves to fighting for the interests and rights to political participation of their people.

It has only been about thirty years since Chinese people began to make strides in Australian politics. Although there is an active presence of Chinese representatives in local and state governments, the situation is not as hopeful at the federal level. Apart from Finance Minister Penny Wong there are no other Chinese people in federal politics in 2013.6 But, overall, there is a rising trend in Chinese political participation. Firstly, the number of Chinese people entering politics is constantly increasing and there are Chinese people at every level of government. Moreover, Chinese political participation has already surpassed the limitations of being a minority representative, and participants can rely on their own capabilities to climb the political ladder. For example, Penny Wong, whose father is of Malaysian-Chinese heritage, was successfully elected Australian Labor Party (ALP) Senator for South Australia at the 2001 federal election. Later, ALP leader Mark Latham appointed her Shadow Minister for Employment and Workforce Participation.

Furthermore, in 2001, Hong-Kong-born John So became the first Lord Mayor of Melbourne in history to be elected by the people. There were not many Chinese voters in this election, and so his appointment was entirely the result of his political skills and support from mainstream society. To prove this point, in 2004 John So was re-elected for another term.7 In the most recent Australian federal election in September 2013, ALP candidate Jason Yat-Sen Li became very popular in Sydney’s Bennelong division—a neighbourhood with many Chinese residents. According to the China News website, on the 9 September 2013, Sing Tao Daily reported that there were seven Chinese candidates for the House of Representatives, but none had succeeded. It declared this result a complete failure. Once again, Chinese people had no luck

7 Ibid.
with the lower house. Despite this, one cannot deny the continuous development of Chinese political participation at the federal level.

Chinese people do not only participate in Australia politics by joining major political parties. Following the awakening of the Australian-Chinese political consciousness, Chinese people have also participated in politics by establishing their own political parties. In June 1998, confronted by the rising popularity of the racial-nationalist One Nation Party and ambiguous silence from some government authorities, Dr Peter Wong formed the Unity Party. Dr Wong, of Zhaoqing, Guangdong ancestry, and then chairman of the Australian Chinese Charity Foundation and Chinese Migrant Welfare Association, made a resolute decision to form a political party opposed to racial discrimination. This was the first legally established political party in Australia with Chinese migrants as its core supporters, though it also expanded its remit to all ethnic minorities. After a short period of time, the Unity Party gained support from Chinese communities and increased its members to 3000 in three months. As Unity Party president, Dr Wong emphasised that his party aimed to protect the interests of ethnic minorities, to support multiculturalism and to oppose racial discrimination, and he was elected to the New South Wales Legislative Council from 1999-2007. Retiring at the 2007 state election, he called upon electors to vote for the Unity Party candidate Lily Lam. With ancestry from Shantou, Guangdong, Lam was born in Vietnam and migrated to Canada in the 1970s, before settling in Australia in 1988. But due to her inexperience and limited influence, she did not attract wide attention from society. As a result, she was no match for the candidates of the main political parties. However, as the first Chinese political party, the Unity Party played a significant part in the advancement of Chinese political participation.

Community participation is another form of political participation. While it does not involve holding a parliamentary position, this activity is significant in its support of Chinese participants in political matters. This is also the most common method of political participation amongst Chinese people. Many Chinese associations and societies not only organise for voters to register themselves on the electoral roll, but also host activities to assist candidates, encourage electors to vote, encourage them to make themselves heard and actively unite voters together. They also set up platforms to support Chinese people participating in politics and to encourage them to speak out. With regards to fundraising, the Unity Party raised more than $30,000 at one fundraising night in Sydney on the 22 August 1998. Many Chinese people celebrated the multicultural focus of the Unity Party and opposed Pauline Hanson’s ethnically discriminatory policies. In this way, Chinese people gathered together to become a collective force and to express their own views and positions in one voice. This allowed them to gain social influence. Certain joint associations, such as the Victorian Federation of Chinese Associations, the Chung Wah Association, Sydney’s Australian Chinese Community Association, and the Chinese Youth League of Australia, have already become important channels for dialogue between Chinese people, government and

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mainstream society. These organisations may have vastly different political views, but all fight for and protect the legal rights of Chinese people, develop social work for Chinese people and aim to impart knowledge of Chinese culture. The activities held by Chinese community groups have played an important role in reducing cultural misunderstandings between Chinese people and mainstream Australian society. Additionally, these communities also help to nurture Chinese participants in politics, and allow them to serve their Chinese community. According to research by the Guangdong Overseas Chinese Affairs Office, many Chinese people who have entered mainstream politics are either current or ex-community leaders. For example, Yarra city councillor Li Hiam Lai is the chairman of the Timor Ethnic Chinese Community. Similarly, Darebin city councillor Stanley Chiang is the president of the North Eastern Melbourne Chinese Association, and Whitehorse city mayor Robert Chong is a former chairman of the Victorian Federation of Chinese Associations. These communities provide Chinese people entering into politics with a public support base and act as a political training ground. They have proved to be increasingly important for the promotion of Chinese political participation.

Chinese people can also indirectly participate in politics by expressing their opinions through the media. In March 1982, the well-known Chinese newspaper Xinyue Daily took the lead and became the first company in Australia to establish a daily Chinese language newspaper. Afterwards, Voice of Overseas Chinese was established, which later became a bi-weekly publication upon a change of ownership, becoming the Voice of Overseas Chinese Daily in 1992, and then the Daily Chinese Herald. Australian Chinese Daily, a newspaper with connections to the Hong Kong Daily News, was established in Sydney in March 1987. There are now Chinese language newspapers and television programmes in all Australian states. They all contain columns in which Chinese people can express their views. They also provide ethnic Chinese with a platform in which they can communicate with and make themselves heard in mainstream society. There are specialised Chinese and English news publications established by people in politics about government policies and political commentary—such as Dr Wong’s News—that contact the Chinese community and members of the government for their opinions. Many Chinese media sources focus on politics during the period leading up to Australian elections. Some adopt methods similar to those of local English news sources and conduct public opinion surveys amongst the Chinese community, as well as attempt to understand their political orientations. There is no doubt that all of these things have stimulated Chinese people to comment on, participate in and take an interest in politics.

**Analysing the Reasons for the Development of Chinese Political Participation**

An essential prerequisite for Chinese political participation is an increase in the Australian-Chinese population. The White Australia policy was implemented right after the establishment of the Commonwealth of Australia in 1901. Because of the severe anti-Chinese sentiment of the time, it was difficult for Chinese people to remain in Australia, let alone become involved in politics. According to the 1891 census, there were 35,821 Chinese people in Australia at the time. By 1946, there were only 9144 Chinese people left, and 3700 of them were second- or third-generation Australian-born Chinese. Chinese immigration was in a state of stagnation from the founding of the Commonwealth until the end of the Second World

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14 Guangdong Overseas Chinese Affairs Office, 'Chinese Political Participation'.
15 Ye, 'Political Participation of Australian-Chinese in the 1990s’.
War. After the war, Australia was in need of a stronger labour force to develop its economy, and due to the instability of the European workforce, Australia began to consider looking at neighbouring Asia for labour. In 1966, Prime Minister Harold Holt changed the direction of Australia’s migration policies so that anyone who had special skills or who could help to develop the economy, as well as entrepreneurs who had previously made investments in the country, could migrate to Australia regardless of their nation of origin. Thus, ethnic Chinese people from Southeast Asia began to immigrate to Australia. The government further relaxed its limitations on immigration in 1973, and the Australian-Chinese population increased rapidly. According to research by the Department of Migration, the Chinese population was as large as 239,000 by 1990. If categorised by place of origin, there were approximately 83,000 from Indochina (mostly Vietnamese-Chinese), 50,000 from Malaysia and Singapore, 20,000 from other Southeast Asian countries, 30,000 from Hong Kong and 56,000 from Mainland China and Taiwan. After the Second World War, Chinese immigrants have come from various parts of Mainland China, Hong Kong and Macau, and the ancestry of Australian-Chinese has diversified to include such areas as Jiangsu, Zhejiang, Shandong and Xinjiang. Cantonese people still make up a large proportion of all Australian-Chinese people, and so Cantonese has become a popular dialect of this community.\(^\text{17}\)

In the twenty-first century, with more and more people looking to Australia for study and investment opportunities, students and businesspeople from all over Mainland China have come to Australia, further increasing the Australian-Chinese population. The ancestry of these new immigrants is not only limited to Guangdong and Guangxi provinces, and the origins of ethnically Chinese people have become much more diversified. Although many business people and students are only in Australia for a short period of time and may not concern themselves with politics, this increase in the Chinese population has magnified the importance of Chinese political participation. In the face of an increasingly large group of Chinese people, the only way to protect the rights and interests of fellow Chinese is to be more involved in political matters. Following the diversification of Chinese ancestry in Australia, the ancestry of Chinese political participants should also diversify.\(^\text{18}\) According to China News, in 2011, the *Australian Chinese Daily* reported that Australians who were born in Asia now exceed two million, and they are about to surpass the number of European-born Australians for the first time in history. The Australian Bureau of Statistics predicts that the number of Australian-Chinese people will double within ten years. By the middle of last year, this population had already increased from 148,000 to 380,000. It is clear that this increasingly large community should be properly represented in politics.

In regards to the ethnic composition of migrants, many Chinese immigrants from Hong Kong and Southeast Asia have been educated in the British Commonwealth system, and thus are more familiar with the legal and political institutions of Australia. Research finds that more than a third of Chinese people who enter into politics have Hong Kong origins. More than one in five are from Malaysia, and the rest have ancestry in countries such as Singapore, Vietnam, Cambodia, Macau and Taiwan. This data suggests that similar educational backgrounds allow immigrants from Hong Kong and Malaysia to easier integrate into mainstream Australian society.\(^\text{19}\) At the same time, many Chinese people have come to make Australia their home, and children who have been born and brought up in Australia often become fully


\(^{18}\) The author believes that Cantonese people from Guangdong and Guangxi provinces will continue to dominate Chinese political participation in Australia in the near future. But in time, it is possible that people from Mainland China, as well as second and third generation immigrants, will gradually begin to participate in politics.

\(^{19}\) Guangdong Overseas Chinese Affairs Office, ‘Chinese Political Participation’.
Westernised. According to Australian-Chinese academic Ling Luo, if one were to stay in Australia for over ten years, they would find that Australia is no longer the same country as it was when they first arrived.\(^{20}\) It is only when Chinese people are conscious of their position as Australian citizens, and feel the need to express their opinions, that they can be accepted into mainstream society and be able to participate in politics in a more meaningful way. Jason Yat-Sen Li made the following statement at a press conference: “In the fifteen years that I have been active in politics, I have never given up on my hopes to serve and give support to my fellow Chinese-Australians. I have spent the past ten years in business management, and now it is time to serve my community. It is time for my family and I to give back to this country which has given us so many opportunities”.\(^{21}\) Li stressed his own identity as an Australian, and Kevin Rudd holds him in high regard.

Long ago, it was common for members of the overseas Chinese community to disregard local political affairs and simply care for themselves. This resulted in Chinese people being seen as a “silent community”. But as their economic power has risen, Chinese people have started to actively speak their mind in Australian political affairs.\(^{22}\)

They have learnt from the anti-Chinese sentiment of the past. Amongst the Australian-Chinese migrant population, there is a portion of people from Southeast Asia. In these places anti-Chinese incidents were once very common, creating bitter experiences for the Chinese community. In the late 1970s, many Chinese people from Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia were given refugee status in Australia due to the anti-Chinese policies of their home countries. They arrived in Australia as per an agreement with the United Nations.\(^{23}\) The only way to avoid more disasters such as these is to take an interest in and participate in politics, as well as actively integrate into society.

Apart from the fact that Chinese people as a whole have matured in many aspects, the promotion of multicultural policies by the Australian government, the strengthening of Chinese-Australian economic cooperation and the continuous rise of the People’s Republic of China have all given impetus to the development of Chinese political participation in Australia.

**Conclusion**

In an Anglo-dominated Australia, the number of Chinese who directly participate in politics is still disproportionate to the overall number of Chinese people. By analysing the ancestral backgrounds of Chinese political participants, it has been found that the majority of these people have ancestry in the provinces of Guangdong and Guangxi. With the diversification of Chinese ancestral origins and the constant growth of the Chinese population, it is believed that the ancestral backgrounds of Chinese political participants will also diversify to a greater extent. In short, the range and scale of Chinese political participants are still lacking overall. However, with the popularisation of Chinese candidates in elections, it is expected that there will be more distinguished Chinese people entering political circles. They will constitute a major force in mainstream society and contribute to the advancement and prosperity of Australia.

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\(^{21}\) Sun and Wang, ‘The Rapid Expansion in Chinese Political Participation’.


The Origins and Development of Tea Culture in China and Australia

Si Liu

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Translated into English from the original Chinese by Declan Fry.

Introduction

In this essay I take Australia and China, two countries with relatively different cultural backgrounds, as contrasting subjects for the discussion of tea and the culture associated with it. I begin with an overview of the origins and development of the various customs and conventions associated with tea in these two countries, including a detailed analysis of the relationship between tea and Chinese traditional culture. I conclude with some remarks regarding the popularisation of tea and how we may envisage the future construction and development of a local tea culture within Australia.

The Evolution of the Term ‘Tea’ over Chinese History

In the literature of China’s ancient pre-Qin period (before the foundation of the Qin dynasty in 221BC), the word ‘tea’ (cha 茶) did not exist. Instead there was a character, tu 茶, denoting a bitter edible plant, glossed as the common sowthistle (sonchus oleraceus) by Xu Shen 许慎, the Han dynasty author of the first comprehensive Chinese character dictionary, the Shuowen 说文解字, in 121 AD.

China’s earliest work treating the subject of tea, the Erya 尔雅, a third century BC text and the first extant Chinese dictionary, offers many differing explanations for the term ‘tea’. In the initial chapter, ‘Of Herbs’, tu is explained as ‘sowthistle’ (kucai 苦菜) and later as ‘thatch flowers’ (maoxiu 茅秀).1 In another chapter, ‘On Trees’, the term is explained as kucha 苦茶 or ‘bitter herb’.

During the Eastern Jin Dynasty (317-420AD), Guo Pu 郭璞, one of China’s foremost commentators on ancient texts, in his annotations on the Erya, remarked that, “Many years ago, the character cha was used to signify tu. After the Song dynasty [960-1279] and the wider dissemination of tea culture, most called the substance cha or ming 著”.2 We can infer here that tea—cha 茶—as it is here understood, is not dissimilar to the understanding with which it is imbued today.

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2 Ibid.
With the passing of time, the development of tea also yielded other names, such as jia 檝 and ming 茗. Originally the character tu was not read with a rising tone (tū) but with an even tone (tū). Only later did the former reading become more common. During the Song dynasty, the scholar Wei Liaowen 魏了翁 noted in his Qiongzhou Xian Chaji 邛州先茶记 that, “As in the Erya and Shennong Bencao, Xu Kai, Southern Tang author of the first annotated edition of the Shuowen Jiezi, used the character tu. It was only after the work of authors like Lu Yu, Lu Tong and Zhao Zan, that the character tu was changed to cha”.3 During the Qing dynasty (1644-1911), the Confucian philosopher, linguist and historian Gu Yanwu 顾炎武 also performed detailed textual research, finding that the characters for tu and cha were originally undifferentiated. This illustrates that, although during the early Tang dynasty (618-907AD) the character tu was read as cha, its actual writing had yet to change. It was not until the mid-Tang and the publication of Lu Yu’s Chajing 茶经, the first monograph ever on tea and its culture, that the writing of ‘tea’ was officially changed to the cha 茶 with which we are familiar today.

The Origins and Development of Tea in China

Although the character cha for ‘tea’ did not appear until the Tang dynasty, the history of tea drinking in China is far longer. In Shennong Bencao 神农本草经 (The Classic of Herbal Medicine), a text from the Eastern Han dynasty (25-220AD), it is noted that: “Shennong [the Farmer God] sampled many varieties of Chinese herb, and in the process would every day encounter among them many poisonous weeds. However, Shennong was able to use tea to detoxify and relieve any fever”.4 Here we can infer that tea was originally intended for medicinal purposes. Over time, people gradually became conscious that the properties of tea that made it so useful for alleviating fever were also highly fragrant and capable of quenching thirst. Over time, tea would become associated more with drinking for pleasure than as a medicine. In the Chajing, Lu Yu remarks that, “For surely it must be granted that the tea plant is one of the finest plants of the south”.5

In the period between the Han and the Wei, Jin and North-South dynasties (206BC-589AD), the planting of tea and its consumption was gradually disseminated from the upper area of the Yangtze River down to the middle and lower reaches. The Record of the Three Kingdoms records the following story: “Every time Sun Hao, the fourth and final Emperor of the state of eastern Wu, held a banquet, he would invariably force his officials to consume wine. But since Wei Zhao, a famed local scholar and politician, had no gift for this particular pastime, Wei would frequently be inclined either to consume less alcohol, or take tea instead”.6

On the one hand, this goes to illustrate that the middle and lower reaches of the Yangtze had already taken up tea drinking. On the other hand, it demonstrates that tea consumption was restricted to the noble classes, and its consumption had yet to appear in the south of China. This situation only began to change towards the end of the Wei-Jin period (220-420AD). With an increasing number of tea plantations, the drink would gradually become a standard beverage in the south.

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Following the Eastern Jin dynasty (317-420 AD), tea became a symbol of prestige among high-ranking officials. According to Heng Wen's biography in the *Jinshu* 晉書 (Book of Jin), a history of the Jin dynasty compiled under the direction of the renowned chancellor Fang Xuanling 房玄龄 in the year 648 AD during the Tang dynasty, “The highest generals of the eastern Jin dynasty led a life typified by diligence and thrift. Every time they held a banquet they would only offer guests tea and fruit.” 7 After the construction of the Grand Canal during the Sui dynasty (581-617 AD), China’s North-South relations gradually became closer, and tea began to spread further throughout the North. Lu’s *Chajing* was published, the seminal work dealing with such subjects as the origins of tea drinking, production, tools used in tea cultivation, the process of making tea, how to fully appreciate the beverage and so on. Owing to the work of Lu and others like him, during the middle and later years of the Tang dynasty, tea became not only the favoured beverage of the upper classes, but also of the common people—indeed, of the entire nation.

Following the end of the Tang, interest in tea during the Song dynasty (960-1279 AD) grew and flourished. The process of tea making and its technologies improved, helping further spread and render commonplace its consumption. Wang Anshi 王安石 (1021-1086), a scholar, poet and reformer of the time, stated that: “Tea is as essential as fuel, rice, cooking oil and salt. It is a daily necessity. Indeed, it is impossible to spend but a single day without it.” Over the course of the subsequent Yuan, Ming and Qing dynasties, the consumption of tea would grow and firmly establish itself as a strong custom throughout China, as evidenced by a famous line in the popular Yuan dynasty musical *Yuhu Chun* 玉壺春: “Every day upon awaking, there are but seven things that are required for the day ahead: firewood, rice, oil, salt, soy, vinegar, and tea.” 8 It is clear from such passages that the practice of drinking tea was an indispensable part of people’s daily lives.

Looking back over the past few thousand years of tea’s history in China, it is evident that tea culture has undergone great changes. The inhabitants of pre-Qin China boiled the leaves of wild tea plants in large pots in order to make soup, tea being considered at that time a kind of edible vegetable. During the Han and Tang dynasties, processing methods such as pressing tealeaves and adding it to ointment began to appear. Rice flour was also used to create *chabing* 茶饼, or brick tea. *Chabing* were mashed for drinking, as well as being employed as a seasoning for frying and boiling food. During the Song dynasty, the process of steaming and dispersing the younger leaves of the tea plant was invented, allowing the whole tealeaf to then be used for drinking. This rendered the addition of any other flavouring unnecessary, and gave prominence to the natural flavour of the tea plant.

During the Ming and Qing dynasties, tea drinking reached a stage that resembles the way in which it is consumed today, with the practice of pouring boiling water upon the tea leaves becoming popular in the eastern coastal provinces of Jiangsu and Zhejiang. This method was comparatively simple and convenient, and allowed the nutrition within the tealeaves to be retained.

Herein lies the origin of the way in which we make and drink tea today. Indeed, when viewed from the perspective of contemporary knowledge, it is understood that the use of boiling water in making tea was relatively scientific. Indeed, it was one of the single most significant steps in the development of tea preparation.

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In terms of the employment of tea utensils, the ancient Chinese were chiefly concerned with their practical utility, and favoured a simple and unadorned design. Most of their utensils were manufactured from pig iron.

Although the outward appearance of such implements was far from refined or elegant, they were highly robust and durable. In the process of tea appreciation, also considered important was chali 茶礼, literally 'tea ceremony' or 'tea etiquette'. Lu Yu's Chajing quotes a line from the Shixi 食檄 in this regard: “When guests arrive, having met and exchanged greetings, one must promptly offer tea".9 Such politesse embodied the basic courtesies with which a host was expected to receive guests.

**Spiritual Aspects of Tea Culture in China**

The spiritual qualities associated with tea culture are thought to have come from the pre-Qin Confucian School. Advocating the graceful elegance embodied by the five elements (fire, wind, water, earth and metal), and taking cultivation in ethical values as a core foundation, they combined traditional arts—a fusion of tea, ethical codes and culture—into an organic whole, one that would be reflective of the true, the good and the beautiful, as encapsulated in the Chinese phrase zhen shan mei 真善美 ('truth, goodness and beauty'). This unique combination became one of the means by which the doctrines of the Confucian School were popularised and spread throughout China.

Indeed, tea culture is thought to encompass a number of different fields, including science, ethics, aesthetics, ceremony and propriety. Concepts such as chade 茶德 (literally, 'tea ethics') and chali, for example, are among the most central elements of Chinese tea culture. Lu Yu's Chajing stresses "character" or "quality" as essential to tea appreciation, as embodied in the character pin 品. Tea is seen in this regard as symbolic of the character of a person of good conduct, who is typically also regarded as frugal, deferential and respectful. The Chajing cites one classical allusion contained within the pages of the Book of Jin: during the Eastern Jin dynasty (317-420AD), the general and statesman Xie An travelled to Wuxing District in Zhejiang Province to visit the district's governor, Lu Na. Lu, however, only offered tea and fruit to the general. His nephew, Lu Shu, fearing this would be taken as a slight by their guest, secretly prepared a grand feast of dishes and brought them to the table. After Xie An had left, Lu Na hit and scolded his nephew: “Not only can such trifles do little to increase the general’s splendour, but now you want to go and wreck my reputation as a simple and honest person?”

Here we can see that, among the literati and scholars, to receive guests with a simple offering of tea was revealing of one's good character and conduct, embodying as it did the virtues of frugality and honest integrity.

In this way, tea culture, as a key element of Chinese traditional culture, embodies concepts such as: tianran heyi 天然合一, the theory that humankind is an integral part of nature; shi fa ziran 师法自然, referring to the natural, humble existence typified by Daoist works like Lao Zi's Dao De Jing 道德经 (Book of Dao); wuxing xietiao 五行协调, the harmony of the five elements; as well as mutually contributing to such precepts of the Confucian school as qingjing heyi 情景合一, a concept similar to that of tianran heyi; zhongyong 中庸, the Golden Mean; and neixing 内省, to remain introspective and cognisant of one's character and bearing. China's traditional culture has long stressed the 'pursuit of harmony' (zhuiqiu hexie 追求和谐)

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9 Yu Lu, Chajing.
and ‘seeking common ground while reserving differences’ (qiutong cunyi 求同存异). Particularly after the Confucianists established their position as the ‘solely venerated’ school (wei zun 唯尊), the Chinese literati did not construe their outer surrounding as belonging to them as sole individuals, but instead aimed to cultivate a natural and unaffected temperament, and to put this at the service of others. This act revealed the power of one's inner character and greatly strengthened people's connection with nature, together with society's sense of moral and ethical responsibility. In addition, the mutually intertwined relationship of 'heaven and humankind' (tianren 天人) resulted in a harmonisation of society's various social strata. It also had the effect of further popularising tea consumption and culture, in accordance with the Confucianists' belief in humankind’s unity with nature. Tea itself was taken to lead people toward a lucid transcendence, cultivating their character and rendering them indifferent to fame and wealth. It was believed to exert a subtle influence upon a persons’ character, elevating and opening the doors of their perception, which in turn led to serenity and stability in society. In this way, tea has won initiates to its culture and advocates for its virtues throughout the ages.

The Origin and Development of Tea Cultivation in Australia

Completely differing in its origins and history from China’s tea development, Australia has been greatly influenced by English tea culture, one of the most prominent tea consuming nations in the world. Australians generally prefer ‘black tea’ (hongcha 红茶), with the addition of milk and sugar to the brew. In Australia, tea is one of the basic essentials in family kitchen cupboards: per capita consumption was one kilogram per year at the turn of this century. Australia primarily depends on imports for its tea, and as a New World immigrant country, the development of both tea culture and tea planting are of relatively recent origin.

Australia’s first tea plantations were built in Queensland and date back to the late 1880s. During the mid-twentieth-century, the industry gradually developed, but at a relatively slow speed. Then, in the 1980s, output greatly increased, particularly on the plantations of northeastern Queensland, where the climate and soil proved particularly suitable for the cultivation of tea and the delivery of higher yields.

In the 1960s and 1970s, owing to the rise in popularity of coffee and teabags (as opposed to loose-leaf tea), Australia experienced a drop in tea imports. However, in recent years, thanks to rising health consciousness among the general population, together with the development of tourism and service industries, the consumption of tea has again ascended to a point of prominence, enjoying today a relatively established position in Australian culture.

The most prominent producers and marketers of tea in Australia are the three major tea companies—Bushells, Lan Choo and Nerada—all of whom use machinery to farm their tea leaves. The primary production region for tea in Australia is northeastern Queensland. Later, in the 1990s, experimental tea plantations cropped up in New South Wales, establishing a new region for tea cultivation. In view of Australia’s large market for tea, the industry has also attracted attention from overseas investors.

Although Australia's tea production has reached a relatively mature stage at present, it would be fair to say that the economy is more focused on developing its cereal and livestock agricultural industries. So whilst Australia enjoys a favourable environment for tea

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manufacturing, because technological skills in tea cultivation have not yet reached an advanced stage of development, there are barriers to the potential for expanded production. These barriers in turn limit yields and render Australia unable to meet domestic consumer demand through local teas alone.

Australia is a country comprised of migrants from all across the world and their respective cultures. This multicultural environment forms one of its most unique and distinctive features, and is also reflected in the country’s tea culture.

In terms of types, tea culture, generally speaking, may be divided into two: black tea and green tea. Black tea is representative of Australia’s older, more traditional tea culture, and was introduced by the European colonists. Filtering the leaves and adding milk to the brew, as well as other ingredients such as sugar or lemon, are commonplace. The English were particularly fond of a stronger, relatively bitter brew, deeply coloured after steeping.

The popularity of green tea meanwhile can be traced to Australia's Asian migrant communities, particularly those of Chinese descent, who maintain the tea customs of their native provinces. These communities have helped maintain and popularise the consumption of green tea throughout the world.

**Tea Customs and Culture in Australia**

The customs associated with tea consumption in Australia have been greatly influenced by those of England. As I have noted previously, unlike tea consumers in Asia, most of Australia’s tea consumers prefer a stronger, more pronounced flavour of tea, such as the brightly pungent brew produced by black tea. In Australia, owing to the relatively short time that has passed since tea's introduction, and the lack of a local culture of tea cultivation, there has yet to arise a kind of local tea culture such as those embodied in China’s culture of *chayi* or Japan’s tradition of *chadao*. Having said this, there remains in Australia, to a large extent, the continued custom of taking, as in England, 'afternoon tea'. For example, for a long time most of Australia's government departments included the position of 'tea server', that familiar figure who, halfway through the working day, pushes a cart containing sweet snacks and tea through the workplace, calling people to come and take a break. Later, as the burdens of work grew, the practice of retiring to enjoy tea and snacks began to appear, for the majority of people with fixed working hours, increasingly extravagant and wasteful, and so it gradually disappeared from the daily schedule.

There are nonetheless many who continue to maintain the practice of drinking afternoon tea. Toward the end of a long and tiring day, when people enjoy a cup of black tea's savoury and mellow brew, who can doubt the vitality and lift that this beverage brings?

**What Lessons Might Australia Take from the Development of Chinese Tea Culture?**

To conclude, the lessons that may be derived from the development of China's tea-drinking culture could be summarised as follows:

Firstly, although Australia’s tea production has built a stable foundation, its output is small and cannot satisfy the demands of the domestic market. If China's advanced cultivation technologies were introduced to Australia, there would undoubtedly be great development potential. Particularly given the relatively cheap price of land in Australia and the country's
fine ecosystem, it would be fair to say that the existing environment is well suited to the large-scale development of new kinds of tea, and the production and development of organic tea. Such possibilities present good future prospects, as they would not only comply with people’s increasingly strong health consciousness, but also inject dynamism into the local market.

Secondly, we might wish to further advertise the beneficial health effects of tea, as it would help cultivate an environment where tea is appreciated for its spiritual and nutritional aspects. Tea helps reduce the risk of developing illness and disease, and aids in lowering the incidence of diabetes and other illnesses. Unlike alcohol and soft drinks, tea is a pure and natural product. If, among the vast communities of Australia, a local atmosphere of tea drinking were established, and the regular habit of drinking and appreciating tea could be cultivated, this would surely bring great public health benefits.

Thirdly, Australia is a multicultural country, its business and political environment relatively free and democratic, all of which helps to encourage and promote the development of a local tea culture. Chinese tea culture connotes richness and abundance, particularly according to theories of the oneness of humanity and nature. There are similar theories advocated in the West of intimacy with nature; the resemblances of these two value systems is worth drawing upon and will undoubtedly merit more attention when Australia has developed its local tea culture further. It is possible to envisage a fusion of various different countries’ tea cultures all merging into Australia’s local culture. This could become the foundation for a uniquely localised tea culture, extending the reach of tea appreciation and broadening the scope of Australian culture.
SECTION II
ACADEMIC ESSAY
CHINESE

第二部分
学术文章部分
中文类作品
移民与文化：澳大利亚华人社区的文化与日常生活史（1850-21世纪）

吴晓璐

这篇文章荣获了2013年“中澳青年联合会青年奖学金（中文）”。

吴晓璐是昆士兰大学历史、哲学、宗教和古典学院的博士生。她于2011年从重庆大学获得了新闻系硕士学位。她的博士研究主要集中于探讨在抗战时期重庆的城市文化和日常生活（1937-1945）。晓璐也对澳大利亚19世纪的中国矿工史有着浓厚的兴趣，并且是澳洲矿业历史协会的成员。

一、澳大利亚华人文化概况

1. 文化、日常生活及华人文化的概念定义

文化具有多重含义，有学者曾将文化定义为四个层次：第一，“高雅文化”，即大众平时所谓的文化艺术，“其意义与‘艺术’和‘文明’相近”；第二，是指个人修养，这个概念是与人所受的教育程度有关；第三，是指文化产品；第四，是指一种“既定人群的全部生活方式”，“这种含义意味着将‘文化’定义为某个群体思考、理解、感受、信仰和表现该群体（是这个而不是那个群体）特征的全部方式”。1在新文化史研究中，文化的概念当然是指向最后一种，简而言之，即一种群体的态度、价值观观念和体系，而这种价值观（文化）最容易透过普通人的日常生活体现出来，也对人的日常生活、行为形成巨大影响。新文化史的领军人物林·亨特在其皇皇巨著《法国大革命中的政治、文化和阶级》中，将那些表述并塑造了集体意图与行动的价值观、期待和隐性规则，定义为文化。2

因此，本文所谓的“华人文化”，乃是指一种在华人日常生活中的价值观、态度和行为体系，这种文化规定、影响了华人的日常生活，也是华人的一种族群自我认同的基础。

2. 澳大利亚华人移民概况与本文研究方法、路径

澳大利亚作为南半球最大的移民输入国家，从19世纪早期开始，已经陆续有中国人移民向澳大利亚各地移民，伴随着19世纪晚期在澳洲各地的金矿陆续被发现及开采，从19世纪50年代开始，华人矿工开始涌入澳大利亚，并掀起一个华人移民的小高潮。其后，由于澳大利亚白澳政策的限制，新的华人移民的数量锐减，而早期移民的华人，由于数量较少，逐渐与主流社会的文化融合，华人文化在他们身上已很少能找到。随着白澳政策的取消，华人新移民开始重新大量进入澳洲，据统计，目前在澳华人数量约为100万，约占澳大利亚总人口的二十分之一。3

1 大卫·英格利斯，《文化与日常生活》，北京：中央编译出版社，2010年，第8-9页。
2 林·亨特，《法国大革命中的政治、文化和阶级》，上海：华东师范大学出版社，2011年，第23页。
3 张秋生、张荣苏，《当代澳大利亚华人新移民基本社会特征分析—以澳大利亚移民局、统计局官方统计资料为据》，《东南亚之窗》，2011年第3期，第48页。
作为最容易辨识的标签，族群本身的文化属性深深地烙印在移居海外的中国移民身上。由于中西方文化上的巨大差异，早期的华人移民抵达澳洲之后，不得不面对文化碰撞的问题，对于自身文化，是保留和融合？

根据最近的“多项分层通化理论”（segmented assimilation theory），"抛弃祖籍语言文化并非改善移民自身及其子女社会地位的良方"，相反，在接触、学习新的文化时，"有意识地保留和维系自己的母语和文化传统"，这才能增强自信，使得新移民能够更好的生活在多元文化的氛围中。近年来大量的华人新移民涌入，使得中华文化的影响不断扩大，成为澳大利亚多元文化的一环。从早期零星华人来澳，到目前庞大的华人社区，伴随着华人移民而来的中国文化有着怎样的影响与变迁？本文将根据作者前往澳大利亚昆士兰州北部的金矿所做的田野调查得出的一手资料，采取新文化史的研究方法与路径，简要分析澳大利亚华人文化和日常生活的变迁及其影响，其中许多史料，尚是第一次发布。

二、早期移民：淘金潮与华工的艰难融入

1. 淘金潮与华人矿工的输入

18世纪早期即有零星华人前来澳大利亚，1818年抵达澳洲的广东人麦世英被认为是最早抵达澳洲的华人。然而，华人大批进入澳洲，则是在19世纪50-60年代，因此此时在新南威尔士州和维多利亚州发现了金矿，澳洲缺乏劳动力，因此，大量华工被输入澳洲。1848年10月，有史可查的第一批华人矿工约120人，从厦门抵达悉尼。此后，华人矿工源源不断地来到澳大利亚，仅在维多利亚州巴拉腊特(Ballarat)一地，华工数量就从1853年的2000余人激增到三年后的25000人，这些华工大多来自中国南方，以广东为主。

华工由于勤俭、吃苦等性质，加上当时澳大利亚金矿繁荣，很快在澳大利亚扎根，并且遍布澳大利亚各州，足迹不仅包括最初发现金的新南威尔士、维多利亚，连当时杳无人烟的北领地、南澳、西澳等地，均有他们的身影。1877年的昆士兰州有大约25000名华人，这占到了当地人口的七分之一。

此时的华工迁入方式，大多数是以血缘或是同乡关系，相互介绍，前来澳大利亚谋生。由于语言能力缺乏，他们很难与当地白人交流，遑论融入他们的文化，因此，华工们往往以聚居的方式生活，独立于欧洲移民组成的生活圈之外，在他们自己的生活圈子内，全套保留了从家乡带来生活模式，包括饮食、房舍布局等。由于数量的渐渐增加，且形成了小聚居的格局，他们的文化与日常生活模式自成体系。此时的华人社区，是具有鲜明中国文化特色，尤其是岭南特色的文化生活模式。

2. 个案调查：Ravenswood华工历史遗存的简述与分析

Ravenswood位于昆士兰州北部，是著名的金矿区。1868年此地发现金矿之后，淘金潮即刻蔓延到此地。大量的华人矿工也进入此地，在鼎盛时期，大约有1500-2000华人聚居于此，而此地的居民人口，目前也仅为6000人左右。当地博物馆编制的一份墓地记录，

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周敏,《美国华人社会的变迁》，上海：上海三联书店，2006年，第3页。

张秋生,《早期澳大利亚华人的经济生活与主要职业构成》，《历史档案》，2008年第2期。

同上。
较为完整地保留了从1877年至1940年安葬于此的华工的名单，其中大部分注明了墓主的姓名、年龄、职业等。

根据《Ravenswood Cemetery Records》，此处共安葬了54位华工，他们的职业大部分是矿工。值得注意的是，墓地中的华工墓地是与欧洲移民分开的，单独排列。尽管墓葬形式并没有按照中国传统的堆土形式，但他们仍有中文石质墓碑，按照中国传统文化形式书写。这表明早期华人深受乡土观念的影响，对祖籍地的归属感强烈。

图1：《Ravenswood Cemetery Records》中的中文墓碑照片。这块墓碑为我们提供的信息量非常大，全文为：“茅弯 贺大 阮公之墓”，根据当地博物馆的标识，我们可以了解到，该名华工来自广东省香山县（现为中山市）茅弯（地区），姓名为阮贺大，性别男。值得指出的是，在墓碑上标明墓主籍贯，正是中国华南地区墓葬的典型特征。而这一籍贯的标明，恰恰印证了学术界关于海外华人原籍地的理论，分布在澳洲地的华人，确是来自于侨乡中山。

此外，在Ravenswood金矿地区工作的华人，仍在在自己的日常生活中，坚持着中国传统的聚居、聚食模式。基于血缘的纽带，宗祠、家庙等中国传统文化中，作为家族象征的社会组织形式，也出现在了澳洲。一个强有力的证据在Ravenswood出现。根据作者2014年7月前往昆士兰州北部的Ravenswood镇调查，19世纪80年代聚居于此的华人，建立了自己宗庙（当地人称Chinese Temple）。

图2：昆士兰州北部Ravenswood镇金矿旁边废弃的中国庙宇遗址，此处应为一个石砌的中国土灶残余部分，其形制均与欧洲移民惯用的厨房格局相异。这个遗址足以证明当时
在此地的华人日常生活，仍然保留着中国华南地区的生活习性，本文作者 2014 年 7 月前往进行田野调查时拍摄。

作为一种家族的象征，宗庙的文化符号意义是不言而喻的。作为节庆、聚会的重要场所，宗庙规定了参加者的日常生活行为规范，而从这种文化意义的角度来看，以宗庙为纽带的中国文化，伴随着淘金潮，在澳大利亚华人矿工中，有着完好的保留与传承。

三、限制与发展——故国与故土的创业：澳洲华人的回流

伴随着淘金潮在澳大利亚各地的兴起，华人矿工的输入与日俱增。各地从 19 世纪 50 年代开始直至 80 年代，每年均有大量的华人进入澳洲。尤其是 19 世纪 50 年代至 60 年代。

表一：维多利亚和新南威尔士的华侨人口：1854-1911

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>年份</th>
<th>维多利亚</th>
<th>新南威尔士</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1854</td>
<td>2373</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1857</td>
<td>25424</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td>24732</td>
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<td>7349</td>
<td>11263</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>5601</td>
<td>9335</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

上表显示，从 1854 年到 1857 年，短短三年间，维多利亚的华人数量即从两千多人一跃而升到两万余人，为三年前的十倍有余，整个 18 世纪 60 年代，华人数都维持在两万五千人作用，但是从 18 世纪 70 年代开始，华人数量开始出现明显下降，其原因是澳大利亚种族主义势力的抬头。1854 年在维多利亚本迪哥金矿就出现了排华情况，1855 年在维多利亚州就出现了相关的政策限制新到的华工人数，每载货 10 吨才可携带一名华人，成为澳大利亚第一个限制华人入境的法案。

此时，保持自己独立文化的华人群体，反倒因为自身的文化属性受到非议。由于按照传统的文化方式生活，白人种族主义者将这种生活方式描述为隔离与白人社会之外的生活方式，他们认为这种生活方式将导致一种独立的“行政机构”建立在澳大利亚。出于这些原因，从 60 年代以后，澳大利亚华工的数目迅速减少，并且不得不逐渐采用白人的生活习惯和方式。因此，与早期华人完全隔离与白人社会不同，华人开始学习英语，了解英语社会文化。

此时，华人的职业也逐渐改变。原本华人的主要职业是矿工，但是由于种种法案的限制，以及白人矿工发起的旨在驱逐华人矿工的罢工行为，导致华人矿工的数量骤减。不少人转行，成为菜农、果农、和木匠等。由于不少华人在家乡就是以务农为生，因此菜地果园驾轻就熟。不少人从事农业之后，有了一定的积蓄，开始进入商业领域。不少人从事澳大利亚与中国之间的商贸活动。在这个时期内，不少华人开始慢慢改变自己的生活习惯和文化方式。从上文的分析我们可以看出，大多数华人在澳洲使用的仍然是中文名字，以字母拼音。之

7 朱国宏，《中国的海外移民——一项国际迁移的历史研究》，上海：复旦大学出版社，1994 年，第 216 页。
8 王孝洵，《澳大利亚排华原因初探》，《世界历史》，1994 年第 2 期。
后，华人中渐渐开始另取英文名字，并学习英语社会的风俗、文化，努力融入西方文化圈中。

根据新新公司9的创始人李敏周先生的长子李承基先生回忆，李敏周于 1898 年抵达澳洲，抵达之后，便开始向当地牧师学习英语及社交知识，以便更好地融入英语社会。

尽管他们开始接触、学习英语文化，但是，在自己的小家庭内，仍然有着华人文化生活模式的坚持。李敏周的第一位夫人梁绮文是在澳大利亚出生的华人第二代，但是，根据李承基先生回忆，梁绮文仍然会讲中山话，并且擅长烹饪中国菜：“(梁绮文)尤具养成西方女性的独立能干气质，日夕接触的都是农场里的华人前辈，耳濡目染，又保留了中国女性的传统美德，尊老爱幼。谦和待人。她还会说中山话和家乡的烹饪手艺。蒸糕和煎饼，更是她的拿手杰作。”10

这个时期的华人，由于进入农场、商业等行业，摆脱了早期华人封闭的社会模式，接受了西方的文化思想，但是同时在日常生活中，又保留了中国的传统文化、思想。由于白澳政策的限制，这些同时具有中西方文化背景的澳洲华人开始回流到国内，投身于国内的商业活动，开始了澳洲华人的回流中国。

在澳大利亚经营商业的华人，在 20 世纪初，开始往返国内，当时中国的现代化商业发展做出了巨大贡献。澳大利亚华侨对国内百货业的发展有着不可磨灭的贡献，他们凭借在澳大利亚的资本和生活经验，在国内引入了百货公司等新兴商业模式。老上海的四大百货公司（先施、永安、新新、大新）都是由澳大利亚华侨投资建设，而他们都是在澳洲的农场、果园里完成其初步资金积累，回国投资百货事业的。

四、多元文化：日常生活中的中华文化

1. 多元文化中的中国文化

伴随着白澳政策的废除，越来越多的亚洲人移民澳洲，其中包含了大量来自中华文化圈的居民，包括中国大陆，港澳台地区，新加坡、马来西亚等。目前居住在澳大利亚的华人约为 100 万左右，数量庞大的华人分布在澳大利亚的主要城市。与早期华人不同，这些 20 世纪 80 年代以后迁入的新移民大多数是留学生，与早期的华人移民相比，他们具有自己独特的特色。他们文化程度较高，对英语社会的文化思想也比较了解，基于教育优势，他们的收入也不像早期旅澳华人那样窘迫，生活较为优渥，重要的是，他们的职业分布非常广泛，遍布澳大利亚的各个层次，这与早期来澳华人从事单一工种（矿工、菜农等）相比，不可同日而语。这些新近移民的华人在一些研究中被称为澳大利亚华人“新移民”。这些在 20 世纪八十年代之后移民澳洲的华人新移民数量在澳大利亚华人移民的比重越来越大，其中 2000-2006 年赴澳的华人占了澳洲华人总数的 39%。11尽管他们在教育背景、收入层次，与本地社会交流和互动的深度和广度上，都与 18 世纪中期来澳的“老移民”及其后代不同，但是，有一点这两者是相同的，那就是中国文化仍然在他们的日常生活中占据了重要位置。从饮食习惯、阅读习惯、节庆习惯等日常生活模式来看，中华文化无不浸染其中。

9 新新公司是民国时期上海四大百货公司之一，由旅澳华侨李敏周创办。
10 黎志刚，《李承基先生访问记录》，台北：中央研究院近代史研究所，1990 年，第 7 页。
11 张秋生、张荣苏，《当代澳大利亚华人新移民基本社会特征分析—以澳大利亚移民局、统计局官方统计资料为据》，第 50 页。
从阅读习惯来看，华人社区中，作为传统媒体的免费中文报纸的传播网络及范围非常强大。以昆士兰州布里斯班市为例，这里有 6-7 种中文报纸，如《华商周报》、《华友周报》、《澳华时报》、《昆士兰日报》、《镜报》等。这几份中文报纸由于老板不同，因此针对的受众略有不同。其中《澳华时报》为简体中文版，针对目的是大陆移民，而《华商周报》则比较受香港、台湾地区移民的欢迎。《镜报》是走的传统媒体与新媒体结合的路线，受众目标年轻化，基本上是 80 后和 90 后的移民及留学生。根据《镜报》自己的业务数据，目前镜报每周发行约 1 万份左右，传阅率为 3-4 倍，这样，镜报的读者数量就可达数万人，而镜报旗下尚有附属杂志——《澳中投资理财》，定位为在澳的华人商务人士。连同其他华文报纸，中文免费报纸基本上能覆盖布里斯班的整个华人社区。

而针对新移民的年轻化趋势及阅读习惯的变化，镜报集团也开通了微博和微信客户端，这种人人参与形式的新媒体作为一种大众传播工具，能更为有效地在华人社区中生根。在另外一个方面我们也要指出，基于新媒体的特性，年轻一代的移民群体的媒体依赖症更强，使得中文新媒体在华人社区内的接受程度更高。

从社会活动和节庆习惯来看，仪式化的节日庆典是最能作为一种个人身份认同的形式，吸引新移民参加。这些最具文化符号标志意义的节日等仪式性活动，如华人传统节日端午节、春节等，在布里斯班等澳洲城市的中国城、唐人街得到了大肆庆祝。一个新的现象是，伴随着华人移民的增加，华人的节日不仅能得到公开庆祝，甚至也得到了政府的参与。当地政府近年来加大对多元文化的提倡力度，作为多元文化的一元，中华文化也越来越受到当地政府的重视。以布里斯班市为例，春节往往被 city council 作为多元文化节的活动之一，在市中心举行隆重的庆祝。2014 年春节期间，作为华人春节庆祝活动之一，第十二届中国文化节在布里斯班举行，这次中国文化节邀请到了云南文山州歌舞团前来献艺，不仅慰劳当地华人，也为澳洲市民奉献了一场视听盛宴。

阅读习惯、社会活动、节庆风俗等等，构成了当代华人移民的日常生活，这些生活化的活动，正是一种最好的身份认同形式，通过日常的点点滴滴，进行了华人身份 (identity) 与形象 (image) 的构建。

2. 中华文化在澳大利亚地位的变迁

从 18 世纪 50 年代开始淘金潮导致了华人矿工大批进入澳洲，这是华人社区在澳大利亚最早的形成时期。在这一时期，华人社区是独立于当地欧洲文化社区之外的一种文化生活模式，他们保留着中国传统的生活模式，及思考方式和价值观。白人社区对此是排斥，隔绝的。19 世纪末到 20 世纪初，是华人艰难融入时期。这一时期华人出于职业的需要，华人主动学习、了解西方语言文化，但是作为身份认同的语言、文化风俗、生活方式仍然在华人家庭中保留。白澳政策结束后至今，可以视为中华文化在澳大利亚发展的第三个时期，这个时期内，中华文化不仅在华人社区中得到保留，也得到社会的认同，并被视为多元文化中的一环，一些中华文化中的节日、庆典仪式得到政府的资助，也促进了中华文化圈以外的族群对中华文化的了解。

12 笔者 2014 年 6 月对镜报总编 Lisa Lee 的谈话中，该总编给出的数据。
图 3: 中国文化与澳大利亚社会

同时，中国文化体现在华人群里的日常生活中。作为日常生活的表现模式，阅读中文报纸，饮食习惯，节日庆典，社会活动等，都表现出一种文化意义上传承，最后成为一种族群自我认同的标志。

图 4：华人日常生活与自我认同的构建

五、结语

伴随着华人进入澳大利亚大陆的中华文化，经过一百多年的曲折经历，作为华人认同标志的中华文化在一百多年时间内，经历了与主流白人社区相互隔绝，到单方面融入，最后成为多元文化中的一环这一历程，中国文化在华人日常生活中深深体现。总体来说，中华文化在华人社区中一直得以保持和坚持，成为华人的符号标志；对于澳大利亚的白人社区及政府而言，是从最初的隔绝，到逐渐接受，最后意识到多元文化的重要性。从这百多年的历程看来，中国文化在澳大利亚逐渐被接受并影响日益扩大，也将对中澳关系的发展有着巨大的推动作用。
二战后华人在澳洲参政状况简析：以粤人参政为例

张春改

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一、简要

随着澳大利亚“白澳政策”的废除，华人移民的数量急剧上升。澳洲华人数量的增多，和移民结构的变化，使越来越多的华人意识到了参政在保护澳洲华人权益方面的重要意义。虽然华人参政水平不断提高，越来越多的华人在澳洲政坛上发声，但是在一个以白人文化为主流的社会，华人参政在很多方面仍然受限。本文以粤人参政为例的主要原因是从移民结构来讲粤人整体上都占有很大的比重，尤其是一些重要的澳洲华人政治家的祖籍集中于两广一代。选择70年代作为分界线的主要考虑是，在“白澳政策”废除之前，澳大利亚的华人和华人移民数量非常的少，华人在那种备受歧视压抑的年代，是没有发声的机会的，但是70年代之后，随着澳大利亚多元文化政策的实行，越来越多的华人代表参政，并取得了骄人的成绩。

从对于澳大利亚华人参政研究的参考资料方面来讲，国内有不少相关的研究成果，例如叶宝忠的《九十年代澳大利亚华人参政的回顾与反思》，孙少峰王艳磊的《华人方兴未艾的参政之路》，黄昆章的《澳大利亚华侨华人概况》等。近几年来，在学术刊物上发表的涉及澳大利亚华人的有关文章呈上升趋势，例如吴行赐《1966年以来澳大利亚华人经济的发展》，史鹤凌《澳洲华人经济分析》，广东省侨办《华人参政成为澳洲华社新亮点》等对本文都有很好的参考作用。从国外参考资料来讲，虽然对华人移民方面的研究材料很多，但是单纯从政治方面论述的相关资料还很有限，但是这些文献对于研究澳大利亚参政状况有很大参考价值，如安德鲁马库斯的《澳大利亚历史上的华人》等。除了相关的论文和文章，本文还参考了很多网上资料，尤其是一些相关的华人参政方面的网站，例如广东侨网，中国网，中国新闻网等，这些资料相对来讲更加容易寻找，并且更新更快，所以对于本文的写作有很大的参考意义。

从研究方法来看，本文主要采用了历史研究方法，主要针对70年代后的华人参政的发展做出相关探索，由于条件有限，深感材料的不足，本文主要通过借鉴中国期刊网上以往相关文献对澳洲华人参政问题进行分析总结。

从本文结构来看，本文主要分为两大部分，即从华人的参政方式和参政发展的原因来对华人参政做出简要的分析。虽然华人总体参政深度广度还不够，但是随着华裔候选人在竞争中越来越成熟，必将有更多的华人精英步入政坛，他们将逐步成为主流社会的一支重要力量，为澳大利亚社会的进步和繁荣做出自己的贡献。
华人可以通过多种形式参与澳洲的政治，其中最直接的就是华人担任议员或市长等职务，直接在议会、政府表达自己的政见。在澳大利亚的政坛上，很多优秀的华人在争取华人利益，促进中澳发展方面发挥了重要的作用。纵观历史，肃然于二战前也有华人担任政坛重要角色，如出生在塔斯马尼亚的华裔议员朱俊英在1913年当选为联邦政府上议院议员，逝世时被时任联邦总理赞誉为“全澳大利亚最干练最忠诚的立法政治家”。但是真正的华人参政始于上世纪七十年代。随着“白澳政策”的废除，多元文化政策的推广，澳洲政坛不断浮现华人身影，这一现象凸显在80年代中后期。如邝鸿铨，祖籍广东台山，1931年2月出生于澳大利亚北部小镇卡特里尼，是澳洲土生土长的第三代华人。1982年初，邝鸿铨开始涉足政坛，竞选地方政府中的职位。1984年首次竞选达尔文市市长，是全澳有史以来第一位首府级城市华裔市长。2在工作中，她充分发挥她的才干和职业优势，在反对种族歧视，争取民族平等地位，协助政府宣传和推动多元文化政策的落实等方面做了大量工作。随着华人数量增加，政治参与意识和热情的提高，90年代呈现出了华人参政热，很多优秀的华人精英在澳洲政坛再创佳绩。如祖籍广东中山的华裔刘威廉1990年被澳洲昆士兰州执政的国家党选为联邦参议员。牙科医生邬延祥1974年从中国香港移民澳洲后，就一直在悉尼华埠开设牙科诊所行医。有感于移民澳洲的华人由于语言不通，社会地位较低而处处受到歧视和欺压，邬延祥决心从政为华人社区争取公平权益。邬延祥曾于1995年成功当选艾士菲市首位华裔独立议员，在任期间他对当地华人社区颇有建树，并积累了很多地方政府管理经验。邬延祥是首位被民主党指派为第一候选人的华人，亦是澳洲主要大党第一次对华人政治家有如此信心。5像以上提到的优秀的华人在澳洲还有很多，他们为华人争取利益和政治话语权做出了很多贡献。

华人开始真正在澳洲政府中显露头角距今也不过短短三十年左右，虽然从地方政府到州一级，都活跃着华人议员的身影，在联邦层面，情况并不是那么乐观。2013年在联邦层面除了有华裔背景的联邦金融部长黄英贤，再无华人面孔。6总体来讲华人参政呈现上升趋势。首先，从政华人数字不断增长，从地方议院到联邦议院都有华人议员活跃的身影。其次，华人从政已经突破过去作为少数民族代表的局限，凭借自己的实力晋升议会或入住政府。例如，来自马来西亚的华裔年轻女性黄英贤，2001年作为南澳省工党第一候选人成功当选联邦参议员，其后更被工党领袖黎敦委派担任影子内阁就业和劳工参与部长。再如，来自香港的华人苏震西先生为2001年墨尔本首次推行全民普选所产生的市长，华人选票在选取所占比例并不是很高，他的当选完全是其政治能力获得主流社会认同的结果。2004年普选

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1 杨力，杨力，《澳洲华人新移民的崛起》，《福建论坛（文史哲版）》，1996年第4期。
2 华声报，《澳洲民主党首推华裔邬延祥竞选悉尼市长》，《搜狐新闻》，2004年3月13日，
3 广东省人民政府侨务办公室，《华人参政成为澳洲华社新亮点》《广东侨网》，2006年10月10日，
中，苏震西打败竞争对手连任市长一职，再次证明了这一点。7在刚刚过去的澳洲大选中，
在悉尼华人人口聚集的贝尼隆(Bennelong)选区，新晋候选人李逸仙成为选区大热。据中新
网 9 月 9 日电澳洲《星岛日报》报道，今届参加众议院选举的华裔候选人共有七人，告全
军覆没，华人再次与下议院无缘。8 虽然竞选失败，但是不可否认的是华人参政朝着联邦层
面不断发展。

华人不仅通过加入澳洲的主要政党来参与政治，随着政治意识的觉醒和实力的扩展，
华人也通过建立自己的政党来参政。1998 年 6 月，面对推行种族歧视的单一民族党 (One
Nation Party) 的冒升和当局政府沉默暧昧的态度，时任澳洲华人公益金和中国移民福利会
主席的黄肇强医生（祖籍广东肇庆市），毅然决定组建以反对种族主义为主的团结党
(Unity Party)，这是澳洲第一个以华人为主体的合法政党。一时之间，团结党得到了华人社
区的积极响应，三个月内发展了近 3000 名党员。9 团结党主席黄肇强医生强调，团结党的
纲领是维护少数民族利益、支持多元文化、反对种族歧视。在 2007 年大选中，他呼吁选民
在大选中投票给团结党第一候选人林丽华（林丽华祖籍汕头市澄海区隆都，出生于越南，上世
纪 70 年代，辗转居加拿大，1988 年定居澳大利亚。一票，支持她赢得大选。10 由于实力和
影响力有限，在选举中并未受到社会的广泛关注，因此与澳洲主要政党无法匹敌，但是团结
党作为第一个华人政党在促进华人参政方面起到了划时代等作用。

另一种参政方式，虽然不是直接在政府议会中担任职务，却在支持华人参政方面发挥
不可替代的作用，这种形式即是通过社团参政。这也是华人参政最普遍的一种形式。许多华
人协会社团不仅组织选民登记，举办活动为候选人助势，鼓励选民用手中的选票发声，还积极
将选民团结起来，搭建支持华人参政、鼓励华人发声的平台。11 如筹款方面，1998 年 8 月
22 日团结党在悉尼举行筹款晚会，不少华人对团结党主张推行多元文化，反对韩森种族歧
视的政纲伸出赞成，纷纷捐款出力，共同筹得三万多澳元。12 华人通过社团把分散的个人力
量集中起来，形成一种共同的声音来表达自家的观点与立场，从而大大增强了社会影响力。一
些联合性的社团和历史悠久的综合性社团，如维省华联会，西澳中华会馆，悉尼的澳华公
会，侨青社等，已经成为华人与府、华人与主流社会对话的一个重要窗口。这些组织尽管
政治观点不大相同，但是大都以争取和维护华人的合法利益，开展华人的福利工作以及传播
中华文化为宗旨。13 华人社团举办的各种活动为澳大利亚主流社会对华人社区的认同，减少种族
误解方面发挥了重要作用。此外社团也是培养从政华人的摇篮，是从政华人服务的窗
口。广州侨网的相关调研发现，不少从政华人都是现任或者前任的社团领袖。14 例如，雅拉
市市议员赖利贤是维省帝汶华人联谊会会长，戴瑞滨市市议员蒋天麟是墨尔本东北区华人协

7 同上。
8 中国新闻网，《陆克文接受澳华媒采访力挺工党华裔候选人李逸仙》，《新华网》，2013 年 8 月 8 日，
http://news.xinhuanet.com/overseas/2013-08/08/c_116862824.htm。
9 夏杨、张林，《济世侨医黄肇强》，《新浪新闻》，2005 年 9 月 27 日，http://news.sina.com.cn/o/2005-
09-27/15157050170s.shtml。
10 《澳大利亚华人参政声势浩大团结党举行誓师大会》，《中国新闻网》，2007 年 3 月 19 日，
11 孙少峰、王艳磊，《华人方兴未艾的参政之路》，《人民日（报海外版）》，2013 年 9 月 11 日，
12 叶宝忠，《九十年代澳大利亚华人参政的回顾与反思》，《八桂侨史（季刊）》，1999 年第 4 期。
13 林金枝，《澳大利亚的华人现状及其社团一斑》，《南洋问题》，1996 年第 1 期。
14 广东省人民政府侨务办公室，《华人参政成为澳洲华人新亮点》。
华人还可以通过媒体发表言论间接参政。1982 年 3 月，华文媒体“老字号”《星月日报》率先登陆，成为首家在澳印刷之中文日报。随后，印之澳籍华人创办《华声报》，后发展为半周报易手，1992 年改为《华声日报》，后改为《澳洲日报》。具有香港《新报》背景的《澳洲新报》，于 1987 年 3 月在悉尼创刊。目前全澳洲各州都有华文报纸和华语广播电视台，其中都有供华人发表意见的栏目，这是华人与主流社会沟通、发表声音的一个平台。

有专门的政党界人士创办有关政府政策和发表评论的中英文新闻刊物，如《Dr Wongs News》(黄肇强上议员新闻)，联系华人社区和政府对话。15每当大选来临之际，各中文传媒纷纷将焦点对准政坛，有的还仿照当地英方传媒的做法，在华人社区进行民意调查，了解华人对朝野党派的政治取向，这一切都无疑带动和激发了更多的华人关心政治、评论政治、参与政治。

### 三、华人参政得以发展的原因探析

人口增加是华人参政的重要前提之一。白澳政策从澳大利亚建国之后开始实行，在当时严重的排华情绪下，留在澳洲都是问题，更无人问津政治了。据统计 1891 年，全澳华人总数已减至 35821 名。截至 1946 年初，仍留居澳洲的华人只剩下了 9144 名，而且其中还有 3700 多人，还是出生于当地的第二第三代华裔。也就是说从建国到二战结束来澳洲移民的华人几乎处于停滞状态。二战结束后本国经济的发展需要更多的劳动力资源，在欧洲人力资源得不到保障的情况下，澳洲政府开始考虑从临近的亚洲寻求人力资源，1966 年霍特总理开始实施新的移民方针，凡有技术专长，开发澳洲经济急需的人才和前来投资的企业家，实行无论何种民族均可居留当地，从东南亚地区的华人开始移居澳洲。1973 年澳大利亚政府进一步放宽移民限制，移居澳洲的华人迅速增加。据澳大利亚移民局调查统计公布，到 1990 年华侨人总数已增至 23.9 万人，如按出生地划分，来自印支地区的华人（主要是越南华人）约有 8.3 万，来自马来西亚、新加坡的华人约 5 万，东南亚其他国家约 2 万，从香港来的约 3 万，来自中国(包括台湾)的约 5.6 万。二战后，华人移民来自中国各地、港澳地区。他们的祖籍已经扩大至江苏、浙江、山东及新疆等地。但仍以广东人为最多，占 80%，因而广东话成为华人社会流行的方言。17进入 21 世纪，随着澳洲留学热和商业投资热，来自中国大陆的各个地区的学生商人来到澳大利亚，因此进一步增加了华人数量。而新世纪移民不仅局限于两广一代，华人来源也更加的多元化。虽然很多商人学生是暂时性停留在澳洲，并且无心问政政治，但是华人数量增多从侧面上更加提高了华人参政的必要性。因为面对日益增多的华人，只有增加政治参与，才能更好的保护同胞的权益。随着华人来源的多元化，华人参政者的祖籍也必将更加多元化。18

15 叶宝忠，《九十年代澳大利亚华人参政的回顾与反思》。
16 安德鲁·马库斯（周添成译），《澳大利亚历史上的华人》，《华人月刊》，1993 年 6 月，第 34-36 页。
17 黄昆章，《澳大利亚华侨华人概况》，《岭南文史》，1991 年第 4 期。
18 作者认为，近期内祖籍为两广一代的粤人参政仍会为主体。但是随着时间的推移，可能来自诸如大陆等地区的第二代或第三代移民在充分熟悉澳洲政坛情况的前提下会逐渐参与进来。
从移民结构来看，不少来自香港地区和东南亚国家的华人移民有英联邦教育背景，比较熟悉澳洲的法律制度和政治制度。调研发现从政的华人当中，大约有三分之一以上来自香港，五分之一以上来自马来西亚，余下部分来源比较分散，包括有新加坡、越南、柬埔寨、澳门、台湾等地。数据表明，共同的教育背景使香港、马来西亚的移民更容易融入主流社会。同时随着时间的推移，很多华人把澳洲作为归属地，主人翁意识渐强。在澳洲生长的孩子，通常都是脱胎换骨地彻底西化了。就如澳洲学者罗玲所言，如果在澳洲呆到了10年以上，你会发现那国内早已不是你当年的国内了。只有华人意识到自己是澳洲的成员，需要发出自己的声音，才能被主流社会接受，进而更好参与政治。在一次新闻发布会上，李逸仙说：“15年来，我积极参政，从未放弃为澳大利亚同胞服务并提供支持的愿望。过去10年，我的经营企业，现在是我服务社区的时候了，是我想我的家人回报给予我们那么多机会的国家的时候了。”李逸仙很强调自身的澳大利亚身份，并得到了陆克文的器重。

此外华人经济力量逐渐强大，愿意回馈社会。曾几何时，“只顾个人，不问政事”的心态在海外华人圈中形成共识，华人由此被视为“沉默的一群”。随着经济实力的提高，海外华人开始主动要求在政治事务中发出自己的声音。

在思想上吸取了排华事件的教训。澳洲的华人移民当中，有相当一部分来自于东南亚，这些地方曾经出现很多排华事件，给华人带来沉痛的打击。七十年代后期，越南、老挝、柬埔寨的大多数华人由于所在国的排华政策，很多人以难民身份由联合国指定的限额来到了澳大利亚。只有关心政治，参政议政，积极参与社会才能避免类似惨剧发生。

除了华人自身各方面条件的成熟，澳大利亚政府对于多元文化政策的推祟，中澳经济合作关系加强和中华人民共和国的综合实力的不断增强都推动了澳洲华人参政的发展。

四、总结

在白人为主导的澳大利亚，华人的总体数量与直接参政的人数仍不成比例。通过对澳洲突出的华人参政代表的祖籍背景分析，发现那些突出的华人参政代表大部分祖籍都集中在两广地区。随着华人来源的多元化，华人数量的不断增加，相信参政华人的祖籍也会更加多元化。总之，华人总体参政深度广度还不够，但是随着华裔候选人在竞争中越来越成熟，必将有更多的华人精英步入政坛，他们将逐步成为主流社会的一支重要力量，为澳大利亚社会的进步和繁荣做出自己的贡献。

19广东省人民政府侨务办公室，《华人参政成为澳洲华社新亮点》。
20罗玲,《澳大利亚华人的今与昔》，《出国与就业》，2002年第6期。
21孙少峰、王艳磊，《华人方兴未艾的参政之路》。
23贺文生、陈印陶，《当代澳大利亚华人人口结构研究》，《人口国际迁移》，1991年第4期。
论茶与茶文化在中国与澳大利亚的起源和发展

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引言

本文选取中国、澳大利亚两个文化背景相差较大的大国，以茶和茶文化作为比较对象，通过概述茶的名称、习俗及其相关文化在两国的起源和发展，以及详细分析茶文化与中华传统文化的关系，进而得出一些对于推广茶及营造澳大利亚本土茶文化的有益经验。

一、“茶”名称在中国历史中的演变

在中国上古先秦时期文献中，并没有“茶”字，只有“荼”字。东汉许慎在《说文解字》中写道：“茶，苦菜也。”中国最早解释词义的专著《尔雅》中，对茶有多种不同解释，在《释草》一章中，其把“茶”解释为“苦菜”，在该章另一处却又解释为“茅秀”。1在另一章《释木》中，又把“茶”解释为“苦茶”。东晋郭璞在《尔雅》注释中写到“今呼早采茶者为荼，晚取者为茗。”2因此可以推断，这里“荼”大抵是今日“茶”之含义。随着时间推移，茶发展出一些别名如槚、茗等。最初指“茶”的“茶”读音为“涂”，但后来“茶”使用更多，于是把“茶”专指茶并在字形上做了相应规定，所以宋代魏了翁在《邛州先茶记》中写到：“茶之始，其字为荼，如《春秋》书齐荼，《汉支》书荼陵之类，陆颜等人虽已转入茶音而未敢辄易字文也。若《尔雅》、若《本草》，而徐鼎臣训荼犹曰今之茶也，惟自陆羽《茶经》、卢同《茶歌》、赵赞《茶禁》之后，遂易荼为茶。”3清代顾炎武也做了详尽考证：“荼萝之荼，与荼苦之荼，古时未分。”4这说明唐初虽已读“茶”为“茶”音，但字形未改，但直到唐代中期陆羽编著《茶经》时，才正式把“茶”改为“茶”，这也是现在“茶”字的来源。

二、饮茶作为中国传统习俗的起源和发展

“茶”字虽然晚至唐代出现，但中国饮用茶的历史却远早于此。东汉《神农本草》记载：“神农尝百草，日遇七十二毒，得荼而解之。”5从汉到魏晋南北朝，茶叶种植和饮茶习俗逐渐从长江上游传播至中下游地区，有《三国志·韦耀传》佐证：吴帝孙皓举行宴会，每次都要强迫臣下喝酒，然而韦耀不善饮酒，孙皓“常为裁减，或密赐荼苓以当

1 胡奇光、方环海， 《尔雅译注》，上海：上海古籍出版社，2004年，第 55页。
2 同上。
3 姚维钧， 《茶与中国文化》， 《华中师范大学学报》， 1995年 第 1卷，第 60-66页。
4 范志民、王建东， 《神农本草译注》， 北京：人民军医出版社， 2010年，第 34页。
5 陆羽， 《茶经》， 香港：凤凰出版社，2007年，第 16页。
酒。一方面说明此事长江中下游地区已开始饮茶，另一方面说明茶仅供贵族消费，在南方还不普及。这种情况到魏晋朝后开始发生改变，茶树种植逐年增加，茶叶在中国南方渐渐成为一种普通的饮料。东晋以后，茶甚至成为达官贵人以标榜简朴的标志。史书《晋书·恒温传》记载，东晋大将军恒温生性俭约，“每次宴请宾客，只用茶果而已”为证。至隋朝修建大运河之后，南北交往逐渐密切，茶叶被更多地带到北方去。唐代陆羽《茶经》问世，对饮茶起源、茶叶产地、采茶器具、制茶过程、饮茶方法、所用器具等都做了系统的论述。由于陆羽等人提倡，茶在唐朝中后期已成为上至王公朝臣，下至百姓的举国之饮。

茶兴于唐代，更盛于宋代。宋时茶业种植发展更快，制茶技术有显著提高，饮茶更为普遍。宋王安石曾说：“茶之为民用等于米盐，不可一日或无。”而到元、明、清三朝，人们饮茶已成为习惯。在元曲《玉壶春》中写道：“早晨起来七件事，柴、米、油、盐、酱、醋、茶。”可见，茶叶已成为人们日常生活中最重要的物品之一。

在数千年饮用茶叶的历史中，中国人的饮茶习俗也发生了巨大变化。先秦时人们把野生茶树树叶放在锅中烹煮为汤而食，还有人把它作为蔬菜食用。到汉唐时期，饮茶方法进行了改进，先将茶叶碾成细末，加上油膏、米粉制成茶饼，饮用时捣碎，再加调料煎煮。宋代发明了蒸青散茶制法，饮用散茶时全叶蒸煮，不加调味剂，重视茶叶原有的香味。明清出现了与现代饮茶相似的沸水泡茶并盛行于江浙地区。这种方法简易方便，不会破坏其中的营养成份，这便是现代煮茶方法的来源。以现代科学的角度来看，用沸水泡茶是比较科学的，也是饮茶方法上的一大进步。

谈到茶具的使用，中国古人首要讲究的仍是实用和简朴，一般是以生铁制成，外表虽不大雅致，但坚实耐用。在品茶过程中，还要奉行“茶礼”。陆羽《茶经》中引用《食檄》：“宾客来到，见面寒暄之后，立即请他喝浮有白沫的三杯好茶。”这是主人待人接物的基本礼貌。茶末只煮三碗，至多不超过五碗，这既突出了“品”的精神享受性质，又体现出用好茶接客的礼貌。

三、茶文化在中国的具体表现形式

茶文化的精神内涵至早可认为源于先秦儒家学说，它基于茶叶的高雅优美五星，以陶冶道德修养为核心，具有多种传统艺术的表现形式，融茶、道德、文化于一体而具有真善美的品性，成为儒家推广学说的一种方式。

茶文化较为认可的一般范畴包括科学、道德、审美、礼仪等，而又以茶德、茶礼等为中国茶文化中最为讲究。茶经法强调，饮茶重在“品”字，是一中精神享受。茶适宜品行端正，节俭恭敬的人。陆羽《茶经》引用《晋书》中一个典故：东晋卫将军谢安拜访吴兴太守陆纳，陆纳只摆出茶果，而侄子陆修整即食慢客，将暗中准备的盛大菜肴搬上桌来。谢安走后，陆修整却打侄儿四十大板，责备他说：“你既不能为叔父增添光彩，为什么还要破坏我廉洁朴素的名声？”可以看出，在文人士大夫心中，用茶对待客人最能显示出品行端正、节俭清廉的美德。茶之所以在中国形成“茶文化”，与中国传统文化中“天人合一”、“师法自然”、“五行协调”的主张有关，与儒家“情景合一”、“中庸”、“内省”的准则也恰相吻合。中国传
统文化中一直讲求“追求和谐”，“求同存异”。尤其在儒家确立了自己的“唯尊”地位后，士大夫阶层在大量的实践活动中不断化“外在之物”为“自我之物”，使自然人性化，同时让人性化
的自然为人服务，展示人的本质力量，进而大大增强人对自然、社会的道德责任感。天人的
互作，使社会各阶层出现协调的效果。而推广饮用茶习俗，茶文化，正符合儒家对于这种“
天人合一”的预期。茶自身的品性是冲和、高雅，可引导人们趋于清静、玄远，培养人们超然
、淡泊名利的雅趣，因而饮用茶，融入茶文化能于潜移默化中陶冶人的性格情操，使人的思
想境界得到提升，进而达到社会详和与安定的效果。正因此，以茶为载体的茶文化受到古
往今来者的偏爱。

四、澳大利亚茶叶种植的起源和发展

与中国茶叶的发展完全不同的是，澳大利亚深受英国茶文化影响，一直是世界主要
的茶叶消费国之一，澳大利亚人普遍喜饮红茶，习惯加糖和牛奶，人均消费量在本世纪初达
到约 1 公斤左右，茶叶一直是家庭中的基本饮料。澳大利亚茶叶主要依靠进口，其作为典型
的移民国家，茶叶种植和茶文化发展都发生在近代现代时期。澳大利亚第一个茶叶种植园于
19 世纪 80 年代后期建于昆士兰，20 世纪中叶澳大利亚的茶叶工业逐渐发展起来，但速
度较缓慢，直到 80 年代产量才有大幅增加，其主要茶叶产区在昆士兰州北部，该地区气候
、土壤适合茶叶种植，所产茶叶质量较高。[9]20 世纪 60.70 年代由于咖啡和袋泡茶的兴起
，造成茶叶进口有所下降，但近年来因为人们健康意识的觉醒、旅游业的兴起以及劳务活动
的兴旺，茶叶的消费又占据一定的地位。

澳大利亚茶叶基本实行产销一体的策略，大的茶叶公司，如有三大茶叶公司——布歇
尔士（Bushells）、兰曲（Lan Choo）和奈拉达（Nerada）公司，已实行机械采茶。澳大利
亚的主要茶叶产区在东部的昆士兰州北部，该地区气候、土壤非常适合茶叶种植，所产茶叶
质量也较高，九十年代，新南威尔士经过茶叶试种也已成功成为茶树栽植的新区。都已实行
机械采茶，单位面积产量较高，鉴于澳大利亚庞大的茶叶消费市场，许多国外投资商纷纷而
至。虽然澳大利亚的茶叶生产虽有一定基础，但澳大利亚是以牧业为主的发达农业国家，虽
具备优良的生产环境，却因技术等原因没能得到更好的发展，造成适宜种植的产地有限，产
量少，远不能满足国内市场的需求。

澳大利亚汇聚了来自世界多个国家和民族的各异文化，文化多元性是其显著特征，这
也体现在其茶文化中。这种茶文化又可以按照茶的类型又可大抵分为两种：红茶文化和绿茶
文化。红茶是澳大利亚一种民俗茶饮，流行于澳大利亚欧洲移民区，这些欧洲移民饮用红茶
与其祖先基本相同，须滤去茶渣，并喜欢加以牛奶、糖、柠檬、咖啡等进行调味，他们特别
钟爱茶味浓厚，刺激性强，汤色鲜艳的红碎茶，这也说明了澳大利亚对于红茶质量的重视程
度。绿茶流行于澳大利亚亚洲移民聚居区，特别是华人聚居区，他们保持了家乡用茶的习惯
，在异国他乡仍然喜欢引用绿茶。

五、澳大利亚茶俗的具体表现

澳大利亚饮茶习俗深受英国影响。如前所述，与亚洲的茶叶消费群体不同，大部分澳
大利亚饮茶人群钟爱茶味浓厚，刺激性强，汤色鲜艳的红碎茶。在澳大利亚，由于茶叶引进时
间较短，同时缺乏文化培育的土壤，并没有形成原汁原味的中国茶艺或日本茶道的系统性茶
文化，但同时在很大程度上沿袭了英国“下午茶”文化。比如很长一段时间，澳大利亚的政府

10 林更生，《林心放：澳大利亚及其茶文化》，《福建茶叶》，2011 年第 6 期，第 52-53 页。
部门都设有“茶侍”这个职位，其职责主要是备茶、召集，每...天工作时间的中途时，茶侍会推着装有甜点、茶叶的推车召集大家休息。但是后来，随着工作负担的加重，茶歇对大多数具有固定工作时间的人来讲变得奢侈，所以渐渐退出了日程。但是仍有很多人保持喝下午茶的习惯。在劳累了一天后，倘若人们能够品尝一杯香醇的红茶，实属一种物质和精神的双重享受。

六、中国茶叶和茶文化发展对于澳大利亚的借鉴作用

综览本文，我们饮茶习俗和茶文化在中国的发展对于澳大利亚有以下三点借鉴作用：

第一，澳大利亚的茶叶生产虽有一定基础，但产量少，远远不能满足国内市场的需求。若能将中国先进的栽培技术引进澳大利亚，加之澳大利亚土地成本低廉，生态环境良好，大规模开发新型茶叶，生产和发展有机茶，具有良好的前景，这不仅顺应了人们日益崛起的健康意识，同时又拓展了本国一个传统而又具有新生命力的市场。

第二，可以广泛宣传茶叶的有益功效，帮助潜在的饮茶人群养成良好生活习惯，降低相关疾病发病率，改善当地糖尿病等疾病发病较高的问题。与澳大利亚人所热爱的咖啡、酒类饮品不同，茶叶本身就是纯天然的保健品，如果能在澳大利亚广大社区中建立本土的饮茶氛围，培养常喝茶、品茶的习惯，将会提高百姓健康状况。

第三，澳大利亚是移民国家，政治、商业氛围相对民主、自由，鼓励各种文化兼容并蓄，这也正是其发展本土茶文化发展的良好土壤。中国茶文化内涵丰富，尤以“天人合一”与西方提倡的“亲近自然”等价值观有较多类似之处，此外更有诸多值得澳大利亚本土茶文化建设时可借鉴的价值。因此适当地研究和融合各国茶文化，使之融入澳洲本土文化，形成澳大利亚具有特色的本土茶文化根基，对于推广饮用茶叶，拓宽澳大利亚文化范畴都有重要作用。
China with the Next Pandemic Disease: SARS, Isolationism, Ebola, Coronavirus, H7N9: and the Chinese Government’s World Citizenship Awareness

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This article won the 2013 China Australia Young Cooperator Association Youth Scholarship (English).

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The English translation is by Cheng Minyi.

Temperature scanners, symptom surveying, masks, and disposable elevator buttons—these familiar memories remain in the minds of those who visited Guangzhou and Hong Kong in 2003, the year SARS broke out. And these memories were recently triggered by a chain of events. This article examines the recent shifts in global control of infectious disease that occurred during the SARS period, in which China took an isolationist position, leading to the “World Public Health New Order.” Australia has long advocated for and led this new order. In this new period, the threat of new and emerging infectious diseases, such as the SARS virus, the coronavirus, the H7N9 avian flu, and the need for the Chinese government to cooperate with others to address these threats, has led to a policy shift in China. This policy shift has been successful, demonstrating China’s new leadership role in preventing, controlling, and combating international disease transmission.

2014 August 8 Friday, the World Health Organization (WHO) Director General, Margaret Chan, declared that the outbreak of the Ebola virus in West Africa in 2014 constitutes a “Public Health Emergency of International Concern” (PHEIC). This declaration also stated that global health threats are now of such severity and scale that they may pose a severe threat to international health security and require international action. In announcing PHEIC, the Director General cited international law, particularly the International Health Regulations (IHR) 2005, as a foundational basis. Since the US, Australia, and China, among others, were among the first to call for a PHEIC, this action demonstrates the global consensus on the seriousness of the situation.

While the US, Australia, and China were among the first to call for a PHEIC, this action demonstrates the global consensus on the seriousness of the situation. The US, Australia, and China, among others, were among the first to call for a PHEIC, this action demonstrates the global consensus on the seriousness of the situation.

If China’s response to the SARS epidemic led to the addition of the “World Public Health New Order” to the IHR, then China’s response to the new challenges, such as the H7N9 avian flu, has been a significant step forward. In a recent article, it was noted that China’s response to the H7N9 avian flu was successful, demonstrating China’s new leadership role in preventing, controlling, and combating international disease transmission.


从欧洲中心到全球化：应对传染性疾病的全球协作

国际法在控制在国际间蔓延的传染病方面的努力由来已久，其历史可追溯至 19 世纪中期和工业革命时代。3 当蒸汽列车开始频繁穿越国界，各类传染病也成为了乘客中的一员。4 欧洲持续爆发的霍乱不仅威胁着公共卫生，也影响了当时正萌芽的商贸活动。5 1851 年，欧洲主要国家就制定一系列旨在维护健康，避免对贸易和旅行不必要妨碍的国际法规进行了谈判。一百年后，这些法规经修订后被当时新成立的世界卫生组织采纳为“国际卫生法规”（ISR），其中明确提出应被隔离疾病的名单包括霍乱、瘟疫、黄热病、天花、伤寒和回归热。和其他须经认定方生效的国际条约不同，世界卫生组织成员国必须自动遵守世界卫生大会（WHA），即世界卫生组织成员国年度会议6 的规定。但成员国也可以告知世界卫生组织总干事的情况下提出针对 WHA 规定的拒绝或保留条件。7 1951 年国际卫生法规开始执行前得到了包括中国和澳大利亚在内的全体成员国的一致同意。但在 1969 年，当世界卫生大会将 ISR 更名为 IHR (“国际卫生条例”) 后，澳大利亚要求附加大量保留意见，达到了 WHA 规定等同于对于 1969 年 IHR 的否定标准。因此，澳大利亚最终不再接受 IHR 的制约。澳大利亚在保留意见中强烈呼吁 IHR 尽快对有关隔离疾病的现存条例进行修正，在无法对应新出现的疾病的情况下，应隔离的疾病远不止现存规定的六种。8 IHR 在 1973 年和 1981 年进行了两次修改（前者更新了关于霍乱的条款，后者则将已被根治的天花从条例中删除），但是这并不能说服澳大利亚重新加入。直至 1981 年，IHR 都还只涉及了黄热病、霍乱和瘟疫，其结果是，全球化的世界跨入新千年之际，国际传染病法规却还停留在工业时代。显然，IHR 仍需要进行修正，而澳大利亚也仍领导着对此修正的呼吁。尽管各方对此付出了许多努力，但直到 2003 年，当澳大利亚对于在国际卫生条例范围之外的新兴疾病的预言实现时，这场拉锯战才有了结果。

2002 年下半年，非典开始在中国南部广东省的佛山市出现。为了避免旅游业和贸易限制对经济带来的负面影响，中国并未即时向世界卫生组织报告疫情。8 于是这一在当时未知的疾病迅速在中国南部蔓延开来。2003 年 2 月，一名医生由广州行至香港，使得此疾病开始国际传播。9 非典开始受到全球关注，突如其来的国际压力使得中国政府不得不报告疫情，并准许先前曾受到政府阻挠的世界卫生组织官员进入中国评估并绘制病毒图谱。10 出人意料的是，2003 年 4 月，中国疾控中心主任李立明为因“协调不善”致使中国医疗部门和媒体无法将这种新兴疾病通报世界而向“每一个人”正式道歉。11 这一道歉也显示了中国政府应

3 大卫·P·菲德勒，《微生物政治学的回归》，《外交政策》，2001 年 1 月 1 日，
http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2001/01/01/the_return_of_microbialpolitik。
4 同上。
5 大卫·P·菲德勒，《公共卫生全球化：国际卫生外交的第一个百年》，《世界卫生组织简报》，2001 年第 79 卷，第 9 期，第 842-849 页，第 843 页。
6 《世界卫生组织宪法》，第 21、22 条。
7 澳大利亚联邦政府，《国家利益分析》，2007 年，ATNIA 第 27 卷，第 9 段。
8 迈克尔·G·贝克、大卫·P·菲德勒，《国际卫生新条例下全球公共卫生监测》，《新兴传染病》，2006 年第 12 卷，第 7 期，第 1058 页。
9 世界卫生组织，《SARS：国际流行疾病如何终止》，日内瓦：世界卫生组织，2006 年，第 44-45 页。
10 陈丽霞、露西·陈、徐金，《SARS 是否为中国与全球卫生外交关系的一个分水岭？》，《公共科学图书馆·医学》，2010 年 4 月 27 日，第 7 卷，第 4 期，e1000266，doi: 10.1371/journal.pmed.1000266。
11 奥德拉·洪，《中国在世界卫生组织追踪 SARS 疫情时道歉》，《美联社》，2003 年 4 月 4 日，
http://political-apologies.wlu.ca/documents/press/SARS_Apology_-_Press.pdf；澳大利亚广播公司，《中国承
对非典方式和态度的转变。2003 年 3 月，新一届领导班子胡锦涛、温家宝开始执政，中国对待非典的官方态度也变得较为开明和积极。12

尽管上述举措不可不谓关键，疾病却早已跨出了国门。至 2003 年 7 月，非典病毒已在世界上 37 个国家蔓延开来。起，对于导致此疾病的原因并不确定，但在其出现六个月后，非典病毒被确定为一种来源于蝙蝠并由中国菜市场中的动物传播给人类的冠状病毒。131415 由于非典病毒并不属于其时国际卫生条例规定的六种应隔离疾病之一，那么政府也就没有报告的义务，国际社会也不能由此发起对于全球疾病威胁协调一致的应对。所幸的是非典其入也深、其去也快，非典于 2003 年 6 月 23 日和 24 日分别在香港和北京绝迹。2003 年 7 月 5 日，世界卫生组织正式宣布非典的爆发期已结束。16 共有 777 人在爆发期间死于非典，还有超过 8000 人受到非典病毒感染，其中绝大部分病例出现在中国。17

非典的出现和快速全球性蔓延是 21 世纪第一次国际突发公共卫生事件，这使国际社会至今仍对其处理潜在流行病的能力心有余悸。澳大利亚曾经对于改革世界卫生健康制度的强烈呼吁终于得到了重视。在中国的支持下，澳大利亚在修正国际卫生条例的过程中发挥了主导作用，18 国际卫生条例得到了实质性的改进：其涵盖范围得到扩大，并保证了未来在应对潜在的流行病过程中的信息共享。

修订后的 IHR 与中国

2005 年 5 月，世界卫生大会（WHA）作为 WHO 的主要政策制定机构，采纳了修订后的 IHR。根据 WHO 条例中的第二十一条和第二十二条，IHR 于 2007 年 7 月对未明确退出的所有成员国自动生效。

修订后的 IHR 力图通过公共卫生措施，在避免对国际交通和贸易产生不必要的妨碍的情况下，预防、抵御、控制和应对国际疾病的传播。和先前的版本不同，修改后的 IHR 不局限于特定的疾病，要求成员国将可能引发国际关注的突发公共卫生事件的情况告知 WHO。19

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16 世界卫生组织，《SARS：国际流行疾病如何终止》。
17 世界卫生组织，《SARS 病例初步总结》，2003 年 12 月 31 日。
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18 《国际卫生条例》，于 2005 年 5 月 23 日在日内瓦签订：澳大利亚联邦政府，《国家利益分析》；凯瑟琳·哈尔伯特，《证供记录副本》，2006 年 8 月 14 日，第 39 页，为联合常务委员会条例报告所准备，第 77 报告，第 6 章，第 6.3 段。
19. Although the WHO Director-General has the power to determine whether a specific situation constitutes a Public Health Emergency of International Concern, she must first convene the Emergency Committee to hear their views on whether the situation constitutes a Public Health Emergency, and what recommendations, if any, should be made.

20. A temporary recommendation includes measures to be taken by Member States in an Emergency of International Concern, as well as instructions for States not affected. These recommendations include measures such as quarantine, isolation, medical examinations, or refusing entry to suspected or confirmed infected persons.

21. Temporary recommendations, if not specifically extended, will cease after three months.

22. Member States may make use of other restrictions on international traffic and on public order to the extent necessary to safeguard public health. It is important that, according to the International Health Regulations, all measures must be implemented in accordance with the principles of "absolute respect for human rights,尊严 and fundamental freedoms".

23. The right to health is also an individual right (as reitered by the WHO Director-General at a recent media briefing on the occurrence of the H1N1 flu virus).

24. The case presented in the following will demonstrate that, regardless of domestic conditions, international standards must be applied to evaluate the Member States' implementation of public health measures in accordance with the IHR.

"Swine Flu" (H1N1 Fluen Virus)

In 2009, "swine flu" (H1N1 flu virus) outbreak. The World Health Organization declared the "swine flu" as a global pandemic in 2009, and at the same time, the U.S. announced a "swine flu" as a national crisis. China's response was quick. For people returning from infected countries, a 14-day isolation period was established. However, this practice not only infringes on civil rights, but also has little effect in practice.

On the other hand, Australia demanded that a passenger-carrying cruise ship be isolated. Recently, through simulations, it was estimated that the H1N1 virus could cause global death of 19,000 people.

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20. ibid., Article 12.

21. ibid., Article 48 (1).

22. ibid., Article 15.

23. ibid., Article 43.


范围内 151700 至 575400 人死亡。31 “猪流感”是在 SARS 爆发、WHO 设立新条例之后，世界面临的最大公共卫生挑战。其中，中国挑起了应对“猪流感”的大梁。此疫传入中国两周前，胡锦涛主席和温家宝总理与重要官员就“猪流感”的威胁进行了探讨。32 相比于上次对 SARS 采取的措施，中国这次展现了超越 WHO 标准的应对能力，采取了机场筛查、隔离检疫、机上体温检测、接触者追踪等措施。可以相信，在应对“猪流感”的过程中，中国已采取一切可能的防治行动。和对待 SARS 时保守的态度不同，中国充分利用了传统媒体来通报“猪流感”。“禽流感”（H5N1 禽流感病毒）

“猪流感”之后的第一个公共卫生挑战是 2011 年再次出现的“禽流感”（H5N1 禽流感病毒），包括中国在内的六个国家都报告了家禽中传染病正广泛传播且愈演愈烈的情况。当世界对这一可能的新流行病处于戒备时，科学证实这种病毒不太可能出现人际传播的情况，因此受感染者仅限于与患病或死亡家禽直接接触过的人。因此，控制人禽接触场所，例如菜场，便成了对抗禽流感的关键。虽然对“禽流感”的监控仍不能放松，但其发展成为全球流行性疾病的可能性已大大降低。

当前全球面临的传染性疾病威胁

埃博拉病毒

至 2014 年 11 月 12 日，中国尚未报告发现埃博拉病例。中国国家卫生和计划生育委员会（NHFCP）曾发布报告，表示埃博拉病毒蔓延至中国的风险很低，但中国随后又要求边境管理局加紧对疫情国（利比里亚、塞拉利昂和几内亚）入境旅客的检查。38 由于 WHO 总干事宣布埃博拉疫情为国际关注的突发公共卫生事件，中国也立刻受到 2014 年 8 月 8 日 WHO 发布的临时性建议的约束。WHO 声称，和所有国家一样，中国不应对国际贸易和旅行

31 F·S·达伍德等，《基于建模的由 2009 年头 12 个月 H1N1 病毒流感传播估计全球死亡总数的研究》，《柳叶刀传染病学》，2012 年第 12 卷，第 9 期，第 687-695 页。
32 陈丽霞、露西·陈、徐金，《SARS 是否为中国与全球卫生外交关系的一个分水岭？》。
33 安托瓦内特·贝兹洛娃，《中国猪流感应对被指非法》，《赫芬顿邮报》，2009 年 5 月 5 日，http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2009/05/05/china-swine-flu-response_n_196909.html。
34 安德鲁·杰克、凯莎琳·希尔、亚当·汤姆森，《世界卫生组织就中国应对猪流感措施进行交涉》，《金融时报》，2009 年 5 月 5 日，http://www.ft.com/intl/cms/s/0/8ebae42e-3999-11de-b82d-00144feabdc0.html。
35 同上。
37 同上。
38《卫生部：中国境内尚无埃博拉病毒》，《中央电视台》，2014 年 8 月 8 日，http://english.cntv.cn/2014/08/08/VIDE1407502919471104.shtml。
下禁令，应该向每一位从中国去往埃博拉疫情国或危险地区的旅行者提供关于此危险、使危险最小化的措施以及对于暴露控制的信息。此外，中国应检测、研究以及处理潜在的埃博拉疫情，包括采取针对来自己知埃博拉感染地区的入境者的相关措施。

11 月，NHFCP 更改了针对埃博拉病毒的初步评估，这说明中国现在已不再仅是无准备地对病毒进行监控。中国疾控中心副主任高福表示，埃博拉在非洲的病例的不断增加说明了“病原体是没有国界的，总有一天”埃博拉可能传播到中国。39 中国应采取如完善医院设施的相应措施以保证其应对突发事件的能力。但是，在埃博拉病例在中国出现之前，当下并无有效途径来测试国内的埃博拉病毒防治系统的完善性。一种可能性是，中国由于过去应对 SARS、H1N1 和 H5N1 等传染病的经验，会比大部分国家拥有更充分的准备。但另一种可能性则恰恰相反。埃博拉病毒的发现者之一、伦敦卫生和热带医学学院教授 Peter Piot 和其他一些埃博拉病毒专家对中国应对埃博拉病毒传入的实际能力表达了忧虑。

2014 年埃博拉病毒的爆发同时展现了中国在世界卫生事业中的角色以及其提供物质资助和能力培养的发展空间。2014 年 8 月 7 日，中国政府官方通讯社，新华社宣布中国将向利比里亚、塞拉利昂和几内亚提供 3900 万人民币（450 万美元）救济金。41 这批紧急人道主义援助提供的是如个人防护设备、病人监控仪、喷雾器和药物之类的重要设备。42 此外，中国还向上述三国派遣了三支专家团队，其中之一由流行病专家组成，其余两队则是消毒和防护专家。43 接下来几个月里，中国将对世界卫生组织、联合国埃博拉应对基金以及其他对抗埃博拉病毒的组织的经济援助急剧增加至 7.5 亿人民币（1.23 亿美元）。44 2014 年 10 月 31 日，中国宣布派遣一支有对抗非典经验的解放军（PLA）精锐部队至利比里亚搭建了一个拥有 100 个床位的治疗中心，并由 480 名解放军医务人员协助埃博拉患者的治疗。45 与此同时，美国也已提供了 1.75 亿美元的经济援助，并承诺总数将达到 10 亿美元。46 美国已于 11 月指派 4000 余名军队人员在利比里亚搭建了 17 个拥有 100 个床位和 25 个供感染医疗人员使用的治疗中心。47
相较之下，中国因援资不足而受到指责。这些批评也不无道理，因为中国在这三个疫情最严重的国家进行了重大投资，也是非洲最大的贸易伙伴。中国的富豪也可以为控制疾病尽一份力。比如盖茨夫妇基金会和微软合创人 Paul Allen 分别承诺了 5000 万和 1 亿美元的援助，其总数超过了中国所承诺的 1.23 亿美元。

但也决不能忽视中国在埃博拉对抗中的重要性。根据中国疾病预防控制中心主任王宇所述，这是中国第一次就突发公共卫生事件向外国提供援助，是中国在全球应对传染病威胁角色的深刻转变。

“新禽流感”（H7N9 新型禽流感病毒）和未来的潜在威胁

今年上半年，“禽流感”有了新动向。2013 年 3 月，三人身上被确定有 H7N9 新型禽流感病毒，其中二人来自上海，一人来自安徽省。中国科学家分离了该病毒的基因序列，遵照世界卫生组织的条款，立即通报了该新型流感的出现。中国再次迅速而果断地应对：关闭大城市的家禽市场，对上千家禽农场进行病毒检测以及开始对受感染者和家禽从业者进行症状监控。中国还积极与国际社会分享了该病毒样本。

追踪 H7N9 受感染者的具体数字是一项艰难的任务，根据世界卫生组织最新数据，截至 2014 年 6 月 27 日，已有 450 例“禽流感”病患，其中死亡 165 人。病例都出现在中国大陆（主要是江浙沪一带）、台湾和香港，其中有一名去往马来西亚的中国游客。一个非官方的“禽流感”追踪网站，在中国政府公布在媒体的数字基础上统计出截至 2014 年 8 月 10 日的病例数量为 452 人。和 HSN1 病毒不同，有限、非持续的人际传播似乎多发生在家庭成员之间。然而，对 H7N9 病毒的担忧也基于很多事实上的理由，比如它的恶性、易于变异以及在禽类身上的隐性症状等特性。鉴于其人际传播的有限性，WHO 尚未召集紧急状态大会研究是否该宣布其为国际关注的突发公共卫生事件。WHO 助理总干事福田敬二教授提出，H7N9 “尚未绝迹，（WHO）担心明年秋季（2015 年 9 月）天气转冷后，其他国家还有可能出现新病例。虽然现在召集紧急状态大会为时过早，但我们仍会密切监测新病例的出现”。

中国是 H7N9 的主要疫情区，专注于发现和实施应对措施减少新病例的重担就落在了中国身上。公共卫生措施如关闭主要城市的禽类市场是阻止病毒在人畜间传播的关键。先进

49 同上。
50 乔尔·阿亨巴赫、莉娜·H·孙，《美国埃博拉斗士进驻非洲，军民努力可否抗敌？》。
51 世界卫生组织，《世界卫生组织关于人类感染 H7N9 禽流感病毒的风险评估》，http://who.int/influenza/human_animal_interface/influenza_h7n9/Risk_Assessment/en/。
52 同上。
54 世界卫生组织，《世界卫生组织关于人类感染 H7N9 禽流感病毒的风险评估》。
55 COPD-Hub，《世界卫生组织提高对于冠状病毒 A（H7N9）警惕性》，2013 年 7 月 8 日，http://www.copd-hub.com/single-article/who-ratchets-up-its-mers-coronavirus-response/993e947d3067c9d568f14e0af4e0d56b.html。
的信息系统，如中国第一时间将出现的新病毒通报国际社会，就对准备工作非常重要。中国在这方面似乎做得很出色，但对于感染和死亡总数的统计工作却落后于媒体或“流感追踪者”这样的网站。尽管还有很多地方需要改进，中国已向世界证明，其确实具备值得信赖的应对全球传染病爆发。要巩固其应对能力，中国必须关注人禽接触比城市频繁得多的农村地区。中国特别应该提高医疗监测能力，普及医疗保障（特别是经济保障），以及改善在这些农村地区医疗服务的质量，能够快速诊断并确定疫情的爆发。也就是说，中国需要在农村开展公共卫生教育，告知人们“禽流感”的症状和治疗方法。中国农村有 6 亿人口，对于疫情爆发，监测必须迅速，通报必须广泛。中国也因分享了 H7N9 病毒的种子样本，并致力于研究开发 H7N9 疫苗。这一系列举措都备受国际社会的好评。

到目前为止，中国对抗流行性疾病的努力都集中于早期流行病威胁的监测和汇报。但国际社会针对中国应对 SARS 措施的批评则主要关注控制疾病进一步传播的手段，尤其是对强制性隔离检疫措施的疑问。无论是 H7N9 病毒还是未来的其他威胁，在决定其实施控制措施时，都应参考科学和公共卫生事实来确定隔离检疫是否必要。同时，根据 IHR 针对具体流行病的相关要求，尊重公民的权利和自由也至关重要。希望中国在未来面对不断加剧的流行病威胁时，能针对任何病例都保持现在对 H7N9 病毒的正确做法来开展监测和控制。

光明的前路和曲折的道路

澳大利亚对于修订国际卫生条例的领导只是其迈向全球卫生健康秩序的第一步。亚太地区卫生安全要求所有国家齐心协力预防、抵御、控制并以公共卫生措施应对国际疾病蔓延。中国在此努力中的地位是显要的。中国在对抗国际健康威胁非典时曾被认为是不负责任的，但其又以出色的表现回应这应得的批评，然而在 2014 年埃博拉病毒被宣布为国际关注的突发公共卫生事件时，中国对发生在别国的全球性健康威胁没有表现出足够的担当。无论如何，中国认识到它能为新出现的疾病威胁做更多事，这是很重要的。中国必须进一步完善普及国家卫生系统，特别是对农村和贫困的社会弱势群体。

在未来任何疾病威胁爆发时，中国的公共卫生措施都要符合人权以及具有合理的科学依据，这也是很重要的。2014 年 7 月，由于一名男子死于黑死病，玉门大部分地方被封锁或关闭，这体现了中国由后非典焦虑而生的极速应对，这会致使不必要的过激公共卫生措施。56 外交关系委员会的全球卫生高级研究员，黄艳忠说：“（非典）教会中国领导人在处理疾病暴发时迅速反应的重要性……但我认为，这样做使他们得出了隔离是任何大规模传染病时的救命稻草的错误结论。”57 黑死病用抗生素就能治愈，也只有一人死亡，所以在此情况下封锁（对人权的潜在侵犯）不能算国际卫生条例的正当控制措施。中国在面对疾病威胁时，必须不单单履行国际卫生条例下的义务，其实行的措施还必须有科学的理论基础。

中国向国际公民转变的道路虽然曲折，但是光明的。它至今为止应对埃博拉所作的贡献证明了公平和正义乃是当代中国公共卫生事业的驱动力。对中国和全世界来说，中国继续保持一个给予大众开明、公平、公正和健康的国家的方向发展，都是弥足重要的。

57 同上。
澳大利亚液化天然气（LNG）产业的澳中合作

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刘畅是一名拥有科廷大学化学工程荣誉学士学位的新近毕业生。除了技术背景外，他同样对能源资源行业的市场分析及该领域的中澳商业合作有着浓厚兴趣，特别是液化天然气。

引言

五月，中华人民共和国与俄罗斯之间大规模天然气销售与购买协议（SPA）的签署再一次将公众目光吸引至中国国内对天然气的巨大需求。依照这一价值高达4000亿美元的协议，从2018年起，俄罗斯将在接下来的30年内，通过其东部输气管向中国提供相当于每年2755万吨（mtpa）的液化天然气（LNG）。协议中更引起注意的内容是，据估计，俄罗斯供给中国的天然气比供给澳大利亚的液化天然气便宜了至少30%。在中国本身就拥有丰富的天然气进口源，而澳大利亚却面临LNG项目延期和预算超支的情况下，中国投资者开始怀疑：澳大利亚的LNG产业是否还保持对中国资本的吸引力？

本文深入剖析澳大利亚液化天然气产业，并将中国对天然气的高度需求与澳大利亚供应大量液化天然气的能力联系起来。在下一部分将概述澳大利亚与中国之间已有的澳大利亚液化天然气产业合作；通过案例分析讨论产业内目前的投资环境（投资的优势与劣势）。最后，从不同角度提出七个切实可行的建议以改善投资环境。总的来说，结论是只要能够采取有效措施解决目前的挑战，澳大利亚液化天然气项目对中国投资者来说仍然具有竞争力。

澳大利亚液化天然气产业概况

目前，与澳大利亚签有长期天然气购买合同的客户全部集中在亚洲各国（如日本、中国、韩国和印度），因此，远程管道（大于4750千米）送气并不经济。目前对于澳大利亚来说，LNG是其出口国内过剩天然气唯一经济可行的选择。澳大利亚拥有大规模天然气储
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量和相对较小的国内天然气市场，并且国内天然气需求在可预见的未来不会有太大增加。因此，澳大利亚 LNG 出口大国的地位在未来不太可能会动摇。这对澳大利亚来说有重要的意义：LNG 出口能够带动创造就业机会；LNG 本身作为清洁能源，能够推动经济增长与环境保护同时进行；《亚洲世纪中的澳大利亚’白皮书’》也认可了澳大利亚对亚洲国家出口 LNG 的优势，指出 LNG 出口能够促使澳大利亚在参与亚太地区经济与政治事务时更加主动、更加有影响力。

澳大利亚有 25 年的 LNG 出口历史。目前，澳大利亚国内有 7 个液化天然气项目正在建设中，全球共有 16 个在建项目。6 现已投产和计划中的 LNG 项目绝大多数位于西澳（WA）的西北沿海和离岸地区，或者在北领地（NT）和昆士兰州（QLD）的柯蒂斯岛。在澳大利亚有 19 个处于不同阶段液化天然气项目，7 其中 3 个已投入生产，年产量达到 2430 万吨。7 个在建项目的总投资达 1950 亿澳元，预计产能为每年 6180 万吨。这 7 个新的 LNG 项目将使澳大利亚增加 663 亿澳元的出口利润，而 LNG 出口也因此将成为政府第二高的收入来源。4 个处于前沿工程设计（FEED）阶段或等待最终投资决策（FIDs）阶段的项目在投产后预计将提高每年 2160 万吨的产能。另外 5 个已公布计划预计产能为每年 2400 万吨。

上述 19 个项目全部投入生产后，澳大利亚的 LNG 出口额将达到每年 1 亿 3000 万吨，占全球液化天然气出口市场的 21%。8 澳大利亚资源与能源经济局（BREE）预测，2017 年，国内 LNG 产能将增至每年 8600 万吨，澳大利亚将超越卡塔尔成为全球最大的 LNG 出口国。澳大利亚目前是全球第三大 LNG 出口国，名列卡塔尔和马来西亚之后（图 1）。除了传统的天然气转 LNG 项目，昆士兰州的煤层气（CSG）转液 LNG 项目也同样值得关注。昆士兰州柯蒂斯的煤层气转液化天然气（QCLNG）项目预计不晚于 2014 年投入生产，可能会成为世界第一个可行的煤层气转液化天然气项目。

图 1：2013 年液化天然气出口国及相对 2012 年的增值改变，百万吨/年

6 美国能源信息机构，《澳大利亚分析》。
8 同上。
9 国际天然气联盟，《世界液化天然气报告 2014 版》。
研究结果显示，至 2019 年，中国国内的天然气消费将翻倍，达到每年 2 亿 2830 万吨。11BP 估计，2025 年中国将成为全球最大的天然气消费国。12 2013 年，中国进口管道运输的天然气相当于每年 1990 万吨液化天然气和每年 1780 万吨液化天然气（其中每年 350 万吨来自澳大利亚）。13 如图 2 所示，2013 年，澳大利亚以每年 343 万吨的出口量名列中国的第二大 LNG 来源国，紧跟在卡塔尔的每年 702 万吨之后。在 2020 年之前，中国沿海将建成 20 个 LNG 输入终端，如果所有终端完全运转，总的 LNG 接收量（完成全部扩建之后）将达到每年 8505 万吨。更重要的是，这些终端中有 8 个将由澳大利亚 LNG 供应商管理。14

图 2：2013 年中国液化天然气（LNG）来源国15

11 美国能源信息机构，《澳大利亚分析》。
14 美国能源信息机构，《中国分析》，2014 年 2 月 4 日，http://www.eia.gov/countries/cab.cfm?fps=ch。
15 国际天然气联盟，《世界液化天然气报告 2014 版》。
LNG 产业中的中澳合作概况

虽然在 2013 年时被美国赶超，从 2005 年起，澳大利亚一直是中澳产业中投资（ODI）最多的贸易国。除此之外，澳大利亚也是全球中国累计投资总额第二（落后于美国）的国家，从 2005 年至 2013 年共吸引投资 572.5 亿美元。162012 年，澳大利亚天然气产业是能源市场中第二受中国公司欢迎的投资对象，占到投资总额的 43.05%，其中绝大多数都针对 LNG。17

2002 年，中国海洋石油总公司（CNOOC）和西北大陆架（NWS）项目合作签署了 LNG 销售与购买协议。该协议从 2006 年起生效，将持续 25 年。18这是中澳两国在液化天然气产业合作的开端。截止到目前，诸如中国石化（Sinopec）、中国石油天然气集团公司（CNPC）、中国海洋石油总公司等的中国国家石油公司（NOC）与国际石油公司（IOC）和本地独立石油公司组成了几个合资企业（JVs），共同发展澳大利亚 LNG 项目。迄今为止，中国公司参与了 6 个项目，均归纳在表 1 中。

表 1：涉及中国投资的澳大利亚液化天然气项目

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Project/Contract Sign Time (M/Y)</th>
<th>Chinese Partner (Interest%)</th>
<th>Operator (Interest%)</th>
<th>Start - up Year</th>
<th>(Est.) LNG Production Capacity (mtpa)</th>
<th>Project Budget (US$ bn)</th>
<th>Main Agreements Listed As</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NWS LNG (12/04)</td>
<td>CNOOC</td>
<td>Woodside (16.7%)</td>
<td>1989</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>50 (as in 2012)</td>
<td>1. Equity Interest Acquisition in JV; 2. LNG SPA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QCLNG (11/13)</td>
<td>CNOOC (50% in T1)</td>
<td>T1: BG* (50%); T2: BG* (97.5%); *QGC is operator</td>
<td>2014</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>20.4</td>
<td>1. 50%, QCLNG T1; 2. 20 years, from 2015, 5 mtpa;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia Pacific LNG (APLNG)</td>
<td>Sinopec (25%)</td>
<td>Origin Energy (37.5%); ConocoPhillips (37.5%)</td>
<td>2015</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>24.7</td>
<td>1. 25%, APLNG; 2. 20 years, 7.6 mtpa;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gorgon LNG/Shell: 11/08 ExxonMobil08/09</td>
<td>PetroChina, subsidiary of CNPC</td>
<td>Chevron (47.33%)</td>
<td>2015</td>
<td>15.6</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>2-1. ExxonMobil: 20 years, 2.25 mtpa; 2-2. Shell: 20 years, 2 mtpa;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arrow LNG (08/10)</td>
<td>PetroChina (50%)</td>
<td>Shell (50%); PetroChina</td>
<td>2018</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>24.2</td>
<td>Arrow’s &amp; Shell’s CSG asset in QLD; Future LNG project in Curtis Island.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Browse FLNG (06/13)</td>
<td>CNPC (10.23%)</td>
<td>Woodside (31.23%)</td>
<td>2020</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>1.833%, BHP Billiton, East Browse JV; 20%, BHP Billiton, West Browse JV;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Source: Company websites and public statements.

投资价值

为了证明澳大利亚在 LNG 出口方面的优势本文将比较澳大利亚和其主要竞争对手，包括加拿大、俄罗斯、美国和莫桑比克等国的 LNG 出口数据。投资澳大利亚 LNG 产业的主要优势包括：

18 美国能源信息机构，《澳大利亚分析》。
中澳自由贸易协定（CHAFTA）

2013年，中国以1509亿澳元的贸易额成为了澳大利亚全球最大的贸易伙伴。2014年11月，两国终于签署了各方翘首以待的自由贸易协议（FTA）。自由贸易协定将给两国带来巨大的贸易和经济利益。目前，澳大利亚能源部门或LNG产业相关的最热话题应该是澳大利亚针对中国国有企业（SOE）的投资评估政策。中国政府希望澳大利亚能针对在澳投资低于108亿澳元的国有企业免除耗时长、手续多的投资评估政策。堪培拉政府正在仔细考虑这一请求，并将出台带有前提条件的政策。这对澳大利亚吸引更多中国公司投资LNG来说无疑是一个积极的信号。澳大利亚LNG出口的竞争对手里没有一个已经或将要与中国签署自由贸易协议，这一点让澳大利亚在全球LNG出口竞争中鹤立鸡群。

LNG 长期生产的稳定基础

表2总结了澳大利亚的天然气资源储量。自十年前起，澳大利亚不断新发现国内天然气资源，目前亚太地区已探明的最大天然气储量国已花落澳大利亚。20柯蒂斯岛有超过三个LNG项目将对昆士兰州内的煤层气资源进行商业化生产。目前，作为主要资源并相对经济的页岩气，由于其生产极为困难，仍处于勘探阶段。21如表2所示，即使使用一种保守的方式来计算，澳大利亚EDR燃气总量相当于26.4亿吨LNG的储量。在目前的生产率之下，如此大的储量将保证澳大利亚接下来109年的液化天然气生产。澳大利亚的燃气消费市场小，如2012年至2013年，只消耗相当于2059万吨液化天然气。22据预测，在不远的将来，澳大利亚国内不会出现大规模的燃气需求。

表2：澳大利亚传统和非传统燃气资源

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Resources Category</th>
<th>Conventional Gas/ Equivalent to mt of LNG</th>
<th>CSG/ Equivalent to mt of LNG</th>
<th>Tight Gas/ Equivalent to mt of LNG</th>
<th>Shale Gas/ Equivalent to mt of LNG</th>
<th>Total Gas/ Equivalent to mt of LNG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>EDR*</td>
<td>1980</td>
<td>660</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2640</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SDR*</td>
<td>1140</td>
<td>1200</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>2380</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inferred</td>
<td>~200</td>
<td>2220</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>~2820</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Identified Resources</td>
<td>3320</td>
<td>4060</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>7940</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*EDR: Economic Demonstrated Resources. It is the key indicator to estimate the quantity of a resource to be produced economically over an extended period.

*SDR: Subeconmic Demonstrated Resources. It refers to resources that are currently unable to be produced in an economic manner.

商业发展的便利性

根据世界银行2014年的一项调查，澳大利亚在189个国家参与的全球“商业发展便利指数”排名中位列第11名。23这项报告在不同经济体就十项关于投资的不同标准进行评分。
该排名反映了经济体内开始商业发展和获得建设许可、通电、注册资产的便利程度，也包括了各国内积累信用、保护投资者、纳税、跨境交易、执行合同、解决破产相关政策的效率。在澳大利亚LNG出口的主要竞争者中，除了美国排名第7外，其他国家的表现都不及澳大利亚：加拿大排名16，俄罗斯排名62，莫桑比克则排名127。

废除碳排放税

2014年7月17日，澳大利亚政府废除了碳排放税。澳大利亚石油生产勘探协会（APPEA）的首席执行官（CEO）大卫·拜尔斯称每吨24.15澳元碳排放税的移除将有益于澳大利亚的LNG产业发展，并且由于税收不适用于一些其他国家的LNG出口，这也将进一步加强公司在世界上的竞争力。

表3：不同港口到中国的典型运输距离和时间

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Export Port</th>
<th>Import Port 1: Zhanjiang, South China</th>
<th>Import Port 2: Dalian, North China</th>
<th>Average Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Distance (km)</td>
<td>Timing (days)</td>
<td>Distance (km)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sabetta Port, Russia*</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doha, Qatar**</td>
<td>9125</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>11532</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dampier, Australia</td>
<td>5304</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>6862</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gladstone, Australia</td>
<td>6282</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>7840</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coos Bay, US***</td>
<td>9260</td>
<td>10.7</td>
<td>7710</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Port Arther, US****</td>
<td>20272</td>
<td>23.4</td>
<td>18792</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kitimat, Canada</td>
<td>10512</td>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>8962</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pemba, Mozambique*****</td>
<td>9971</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>12379</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*(Based on the primary trading route, a maximum vessel speed of 19.5 knots)

**No shipping distance data available for this under-construction port.

***RasLaffan is 80km north of Doha, the venue of the actual LNG export port.

****Go through Panama Canal. Target country excludes China.

*****Go through Strait of Malacca.


27 西澳大利亚州政府州发展局，《西澳液化天然气产业简况》，2014年3月。

28 海运距离，《运输距离与时间》，http://www.sea-distances.org/。
投资挑战

澳大利亚液化天然气产业里的中国公司也面临一系列现存/潜在的问题：

项目成本超支

7个正在进行的项目中有6个（唯一的例外是Prelude FLNG项目）遭遇预算超支，成本较最终投资决策中的初始预算超过了13%-46%（表4）。最著名的成本超支案例是雪佛龙公司的Gorgon项目，其预算从2009年的370亿美元到2014年的540亿美元增加了46%。表4中的数据也说明了所有七个项目的平均成本超支约为25%，成本总额则比项目最初的预算估计多了407亿美元。一项2012年的瑞银报告则指出北美和东非每吨液化天然气的生产成本只有1500到2200美元，而澳大利亚项目中每吨液化天然气的生产成本则在2500到3500美元之间。

表4：澳大利亚在建项目-成本增加与时间推迟*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Project</th>
<th>FID Date M/Y</th>
<th>Est. Start-up Date</th>
<th>Est. Start-up Date at June 2014</th>
<th>LNG Capacity /mtpa</th>
<th>Budget at FID /US$bn.</th>
<th>Budget at June 2014 /US$bn.</th>
<th>% increase of budget</th>
<th>US$/mt Capacity At June 2014</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gorgon</td>
<td>09/09</td>
<td>2014</td>
<td>2015 /2016</td>
<td>15.6</td>
<td>37.0</td>
<td>54.0</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>3460</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wheatstone</td>
<td>09/11</td>
<td>2016</td>
<td>2017 /2018</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>26.4</td>
<td>29.7</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>3300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prelude</td>
<td>05/11</td>
<td>2016 /2017</td>
<td>2017</td>
<td>3.6/5.3</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3330/22601</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ichthys</td>
<td>01/12</td>
<td>2016 /2017</td>
<td>2017</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>34.0</td>
<td>44.0</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>5240/31302</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QCLNG</td>
<td>10/10</td>
<td>2014 /2015</td>
<td>2014 /2015</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>20.4</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>2370</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GLNG</td>
<td>01/11</td>
<td>2015</td>
<td>2015 /2016</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>16.0</td>
<td>18.5</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>2310</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APLNG</td>
<td>07/11</td>
<td>2015</td>
<td>2016</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>22.5</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>2500</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Ichthys project will also produce 1.6 mtpa of liquefied petroleum gas (LPG) and 100000 barrels of condensate per day at peak (4.05 mtpa). Therefore the maximum liquid production capacity is equivalent to 14.05 mtpa.
* Prelude project will also produce 1.3 mtpa of condensate, 0.4 mtpa of LPG. Therefore the overall liquid production capacity is equivalent to 5.3 mtpa.
* Source: Company websites and public statements.

有三个主要原因导致生产成本的增加：

强势的澳元

当Gorgon项目最终投资决策于2009年9月做出时，澳元和美元间的汇率约为0.9。至2013年年底，汇率跌至与2009年9月一样，却在高峰时增长了20%。30劳动力成本直接占整体液化天然气项目资金开销的20%-27%，股东加项目管理成本将这一比例抬升至

29 丹尼尔·卡尔森，《澳大利亚：世界的下一个液化天然气领导者》。
30 大卫·莱德斯马等, 《澳大利亚液化天然气出口的未来：国内挑战将会限制未来液化天然气出口额的发展吗？》。
40%–50%。这些成本均由澳元支付，但集资来源的计算却通常使用美元。因此强势的澳元导致美元更加昂贵。

图 3：澳元对美元的汇率（2008 年至今）

高税率
澳大利亚税务办公室（ATO）自 2000 年起向常驻和非常驻的公司收取 30%的公司税。这样的税收远远大于 2014 年经合组织（OECD）平均值（24.11%）和全球平均值（23.57%）。澳大利亚石油和燃气产业在 2011-2012 年贡献了 88 亿澳元至联邦和州政府的税收里，而这在 2020 年可能高达 130 亿澳元。该产业在 2002-2012 年期间也将其 48%的税前收入用于纳税。此外，联邦政府从 2012 年 7 月起实行新的石油资源租赁税（PRRT），改变了陆上石油和燃气项目的税收。34

昂贵的薪酬
国际石油产业的招聘代理 Hays，其称 2013 年澳大利亚石油和燃气产业里工人的平均工资是调查的 53 个国家里最高的。352012 年澳大利亚工人的薪酬在世界排名第 6（图 4）。澳大利亚产业极高的薪酬率（平均值：每年 163600 澳元，2013）几乎是全球


平均值的两倍。36由于国内液化天然气劳动市场紧缺，操作公司必须付更多来吸引合格的劳动力赶上建设进度。在总理托尼·阿博特与贸易部长安德鲁·罗博在美国的会面，来自埃克森美孚、雪佛龙和康菲的高层代表表达了他们对在澳大利亚开始任何未来的液化天然气的担忧与犹豫，原因是劳动力成本超支。37

缺乏基本的基础设施

几乎每一个澳大利亚液化天然气项目都位于偏远地区，从而需要进行新一轮基础设施建设，如道路、码头、管道、生产平台、液化天然气加工车间和储藏设施等。公司可能需要建设他们自己的基础设施，而不是依赖政府。38有的现存基础设施可能达不到最新大规模项目所需的容载能力，或者其所有者不愿意分享。导致的结果是，需要额外的费用和时间来建设新的或更新旧的。

谨慎的环境保护政策

煤层气转液化天然气项目有可能引发严重的环境问题39。例如，水力设施可能将未经处理的水从储液器排放到地表或污染地底含水层，尽管没有有力的证据表明这之间的联系。但是这样的疑虑确实推迟了政府对进一步煤层气项目发展的批准。40此外，昆士兰州煤层气生产里大量的淡水消耗将成为州内该地区第二大淡水消耗。考虑到澳大利亚干旱的环境，这一事实可能导致政府敏感的反对。41

项目延期

由于以上讨论因素的组合效应，在建项目或多或少均面临延期。即使是投入使用的Pluto项目，其第一次液化天然气（LNG）运输实际上是在最初计划的15个月后才开始（多了35%的时间）。42项目中潜在的延期风险将对经济造成不良影响，加大LNG销售与购买协议（SPA）的风险。例如，由于Browse项目最终投资决策的延期，中石油和日本公司


38达米安·克拉克、苏珊·奥罗克，《澳大利亚：中国海外直接投资的首选目的地》，中国走出去智库，2014年，http://www.cggthinktank.com/2014-03-13/100071471.html。


40同上。

41大卫·莱德斯马等，《澳大利亚液化天然气出口的未来：国内挑战将会限制未来液化天然气出口额的发展吗？》。

42同上。
MIMI 协会不再和项目合作伙伴续签他们预期的销售与购买协议。此外，澳大利亚全国劳动力的低效率也是项目延期的原因之一。IPA 调查指出，在完成同样任务的情况下，澳大利亚工人比其在美国海湾的竞争对手多花费 30% 的时间。

未来的国际竞争

根据预测，至 2025 年，全球 LNG 出口量将达到每年 6.5 亿吨，大大超出了每年 4.5 亿吨的预期需求。在这样的情况下，中国为了使国家利益最大化，将会扩大其进口选择。IPA 调查指出，在完成同样任务的情况下，澳大利亚工人比其在美国海湾的竞争对手多花去 30% 的时间。

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加拿大的

加拿大的液化天然气项目当前处境和未来展望

加拿大从技术上可以回收页岩气相当于 114.6 亿吨液化天然气。如果 10 个国家处于提案阶段的液化天然气项目完全运营，将达到每年 1.2 亿吨的产能。在加拿大给中国海洋石油总公司创造了更多的商业机会，Nexen 公司也将于 2017 年在鲁珀特王子港为 LNG 项目做出最终投资决策；中石油也是加拿大在基蒂马特液化天然气项目的共同投资者，并签署了未来液化天然气进口的销售与购买协议。加拿大的液化天然气项目的主要问题是新基础设施的巨额成本，尤其是在西岸和东岸需要大量陆上运输管道来保证充足的燃气供应。

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45 大卫·莱德斯马、等，《澳大利亚液化天然气出口的未来：国内挑战将会限制未来液化天然气出口额的发展吗？》。

46 高峰、等，《澳大利亚液化天然气产业里的天然气潜能与挑战》。

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**图 5：2013 年运输液化天然气（LNG）到日本的成本比较**

俄罗斯

俄罗斯已探明天然气储量为 226.903 亿吨，占世界份额的 16.8%（储量第二），并且在 2013 年年末是第二大天然气生产者。52 大约在 2015 年，将有三个总产能每年 3500 万吨的 LNG 项目投入生产。53 在 Yamal 项目股权收购之后，中国石油天然气集团公司签署了 LNG 销售与购买协议。但对于无论是 Yamal 还是任何其他潜在的沿北极圈俄罗斯液化天然气项目，运输液化天然气到中国涉及到两个不可避免的问题：过长的距离和极端的天气条件。因为来自该地区的液化天然气必须穿越北冰洋和白令海峡，绝大多数时间需要破冰船的帮助。鉴于交通、安全及成本，这一客观难题将阻碍中国通过海洋运输进一步从俄罗斯进口液化天然气。

美国

美国现存大量燃气基础设施，这些可以为即将来临的 LNG 出口迅速更新或扩建。国内的页岩气革命极大地促进了其整体的燃气生产能力；整个国家正处于从纯进口液化天然气到纯出口液化天然气的转型阶段。55 一旦燃气出口到燃气价格昂贵的地区如亚洲（每百万英热单位约 15 美元），其亨利中心枢纽低廉的燃气价格（每百万英热单位约 4 美元）将从经济上造福全国。从 2011 年 5 月开始，美国液化天然气获准出口。截至 2013 年 11 月，34 个液化天然气项目排队等候批准，这些项目将用页岩气作为原料气，液化天然气总产能达每年 2.4 亿吨。然而值得注意的是，由于国家的战略规划，中国不太可能与美国签署销售与购买

52 英国石油，《英国石油世界能源数据回顾，2014 年 6 月》。
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54 莎拉·帕克·穆沙拉，《Yamal LNG 进展与中石油成交》，《亚洲油气》，2014 年 5 月 21 日，http://www.aogdigital.com/component/k2/item/3907-novatek-cnpec-agree-on-yamal-lng。
协议，例如，由于国家利益纷争导致的潜在销售与购买协议的中止，以及由于美国政府政治壁垒导致的优尼科并购的失败。56

结论

正如雪佛龙公司澳大利亚地区常务董事罗伊·克乌斯基所言，为进一步扩展澳大利亚LNG产能高达150澳元的预期投资可能会因目前艰难的投资环境而取消。57

建议

针对加强澳洲公司与中国公司之间在澳大利亚LNG产业中的合作，本文提出了7项建议：

澳大利亚政府：灵活的规范与政策

澳大利亚严格的规范和政策妨碍了其目前LNG项目的竞争力，并且使潜在投资者犹豫不前。一个讨论的热门话题便是海外劳工引进政策。来自外国的工人，只要有一定工作经验，并可以使用流利的英语工作，就能够获得在澳大利亚工作的457签证。这将有效地缓解澳大利亚国内劳动力短缺的问题。而且，劳动生产力可能会得到加强，而过高的薪酬也可能在良性竞争的影响下而减少。从中国公司的角度，中国劳动力将受到其青睐，因为合作容易，价值观相同。此外，政府可以投资基础设施建设，从而加速LNG项目的发展。这些方式将有助于澳大利亚在国际上拥有支持商业发展政府的美名，此后也会更容易获得投资机会。

澳大利亚政府：率先发起双边合作

联邦、州和各地级政府应该展现出更多的热情来吸引更多LNG项目的中国投资者。澳洲政府可以开展LNG投资会议，邀请来自国际石油公司、国家石油公司以及澳洲和中的独立石油燃气公司的主要利益相关者，通过面对面交流加深彼此了解，如联络关系和正式对话，从而寻求在这个国家的更多合作。

运营公司：共享基础设施和离岸生产

由于澳大利亚LNG项目集中在西澳的西北海岸（近丹皮尔）、北领地北部（近达尔文）及昆士兰州东部（柯蒂斯岛），强烈建议运营公司与相邻的彼此共享基础设施，旨在减少预算和加速项目进程。2013年，Santos和BG在格拉德斯通同意链接他们各自的管道来为各项目提供原料气。58 Arrow液化天然气将与APLNG共同建设水处理设施。59如果车间模块在亚洲国家建设，可以预见到更低的开销。壳牌首席执行官彼得·博塞尔称，Prelude FLNG项目

56 《国际社会关注中国对美国出口液化天然气的态度》，《石油商务新闻》，2013年6月6日，http://www.pbnnews.com.cn/system/2013/06/05/001430895.shtml。
58 大卫·莱德斯马、等，《澳大利亚液化天然气出口的未来：国内挑战将会限制未来液化天然气出口额的发展吗？》。
59 王新红、甄瑶，《澳大利亚液化天然气项目当前处境与未来展望》，《天然气与液化天然气》2012年第10期。
至2012为止尚未遇到超支的压力，这主要是因为FLNG仪器的建设在韩国。中国海油工程（COOEC）承担了Gorgon项目在中国的164模块的建设。在三年的时间内，建设使用了大约10000人1400万小时的劳动。如果这项建设在澳大利亚本土进行，将会是一笔巨大的开销。

预计投资选择：浮动液化天然气（FLNG）

FLNG将天然气生产和液化融为一体，然后在离岸处储存液化天然气并运输。目前在全世界有超过20个FLNG项目分别处于不同的发展阶段，而壳牌的Prelude项目是这其中的第一个。目前除了Prelude项目，另外四个在澳大利亚的FLNG项目不是在建就是等待最终投资决策。昂贵的陆上液化天然气处理车间是不必要的，也不需要相关的基础设施，如海底管道、道路、出口终端等；与此同时，FLNG设备建设可以运送到亚洲国家以合理地使成本最小化；FLNG设备也能移到另一领域，并从原来的项目进行必要的修改后重新投入使用。此外，中国海洋石油总公司进行FLNG在中国的可行性研究，可能用作中国南海的天然气生产。投资FLNG不仅显著降低了项目预算，更重要的是，中国公司能够通过与先驱国际石油公司如壳牌等合作来获取最先进的FLNG技术。

FLNG前景可观，但是西澳政府对其发展却不满意。西澳州长柯林·巴奈特强烈反对在西澳发展FLNG，因为FLNG需要很少的西澳工人；同时澳大利亚联邦政府而不是州政府拥有离州海岸线5.556千米的石油资源，因此实施FLNG将使数额可观的税收将流向联邦政府。66

中国投资者：获取本地人才

澳中之间有许多不同的政策、经济、文化和法律，这些可能在中国公司投资澳大利亚液化天然气产业时产生问题。许多澳大利亚公司有专业咨询/金融/商务/法律服务的专家团队，他们同样也掌握和积累了与澳中在能源或液化天然气产业内合作的本地经验。例子可能包括但不限于毕马威，金杜律师事务所，德勤，锦德律师事务所以及安永。中国公司十分青睐从其母公司空降中国员工到澳大利亚合资企业或子公司。与这样的行为相比，聘用当地有经验的中英双语者是值得的。对他们来讲，由于他们的跨文化适应力和双语技能，这样更容
易与来自中国或澳洲的人进行合作。此外，他们也在他们所在的部门建立了自己的人脉，这将成为一种关键且方便的财富，从而有利于他们的工作。

非政府组织：加速合作

澳大利亚石油生产勘探协会是国家石油天然气部门最高级的产业组织，定期举办关于技术问题和商业机会的会议和论坛，与政府协商构建更好的发展环境。澳大利亚所有液化天然气运营公司是澳大利亚石油生产勘探协会的正式会员，但目前还没有中国公司是会员。2016年，澳大利亚石油生产勘探协会将支持在珀斯举办的第18届液化天然气国际会议展览（LNG18），最隆重的全球液化天然气盛会。这将成为一个独立的平台为中国石油和天然气关注者提供实时的产业知识，并寻求在澳大利亚的任何潜在投资机会。中国公司如果成为澳大利亚石油生产勘探协会的正式会员将受益良多，同时也能参与到澳大利亚石油生产勘探协会的盛会里。澳中双边组织也能给予支持，例如，去年十二月中澳青年精英领袖团邀请中国海洋石油总公司在珀斯就液化天然气产业举办了一次研讨会。这帮助极大，因为一些参与者是为澳中能源合作工作的年轻的法律和商业精英。

教育与培训：未来专业人士的摇篮

澳中天然气技术合作关系基金试图提供奖学金、培训机会、研究项目及中澳天然气和液化天然气的技术转换。澳大利亚培训中心旨在为来自中国石油燃气巨头的高管和政府官员提供实时的天然气（包括液化天然气）培训项目。

总结与未来展望

澳大利亚是中国巨额资本的传统投资目的地，三大中国国家石油公司通过股本收购和液化天然气销售与购买协议参与了传统的和非传统的燃气-氢化天然气项目，从而满足中国快速增长的天然气需求。由于液化天然气项目涉及几十亿货币和一系列风险，中国公司应该通过多渠道深入了解澳大利亚投资环境；澳大利亚政府据估计将改变某些政策，可能阻碍中国对外直接投资进入国内，而且潜在地削弱在全球液化天然气出口产业的领导地位。FLNG 拥有很强的竞争力，因此需要优先进行。每个液化天然气产业的参与者应该一起合作来确保澳大利亚成为中国的天然气枢纽，并且实施有效措施合理解决挑战。

学术里的帝国主义:十九世纪西方帝国主义在中国的历史编撰学

Adrian Raftery

Adrian Raftery 在昆士兰大学读了一门中国历史的课程后对中国产生了浓厚的兴趣。他的荣誉论文是关于十九世纪早期欧洲对中国的观念。Adrian 也对清末民初时中央和省级政府之间的关系有着特别的学术兴趣。他目前在北京工作。

英语原文由龚倩翻译为中文。

研究中国历史的学者很早就认识到十九世纪欧美军事入侵对中国发展道路的影响。从中国在第一次鸦片战争中战败并于 1842 年签订南京条约及后来的各种条约开始,这些条约使日本和西方列强从十九世纪末至二十世纪初在中国拥有更多特权，所谓的“百年国耻”对国家的发展和意识形态的形成起到了举足轻重的作用。对于中国来说, 这些对西方列强在外交和贸易上的特权被看作其自身军事和政治软弱的象征, 是西方帝国主义不可驳斥的证据。有争议说, 十九世纪的这些事件对中国历史记录的影响之大, 以至于当代外交政策、政治声明及国民教育都取决于、充斥着那个世纪的事件。1

每当中美关系能够极大地影响澳大利亚外交政策时, 识别出研究中国历史的美国学者如何理解西方列强对中国的发展起到的作用就十分重要了。2 历史的研究方法能够从根本上改变历史编撰, 其作用是辩证性的: 过往事件决定当前事务, 而反之亦然。鉴于十九世纪对当代中国的思想、教育、政治以及文化的重要性, 拥有具体而微的知识、知道历史学家如何描绘那个世纪的事件就显得十分关键了。了解这些事件是如何被研究中国的历史学家勾勒并呈现出来的——尤其是所选择的编译方式是如何解释所有复杂的事件——能够给任何想要评价错综复杂的中国历史和当代国际关系的人提供宝贵的一课。

通过考察关于二十世纪中国历史的研究方式的进展, 本文将展现西方历史学家对二十世纪六、七十年代美国外交政策的同时期忧虑是如何促进更加严谨地分析西方在十九世纪中国的活动。影响深远的中国研究学者马士、费正清、詹姆斯·佩克以及孔飞力的著作将会用来分析这些变化是如何影响中国历史编撰学里的帝国主义概念。

二十世纪早期: 质疑帝国的遗存

二十世纪三十年代美国第一次出现了对西方帝国主义在十九世纪中国的明显质疑。由费正清发起, 此人后来成为了中国历史研究的泰斗, 用另一种方法论的方式对西方国家通过其军事和经济侵略来决定中国历史发展的罪行进行编撰。此前, 十九世纪末和二十世纪初的晚清历史分析几乎是从一个完全没有自我批判审查的角度展开的。这些著作中不切实际的自信反应出一种新兴态度, 即满足于传达在东亚之外仍相对不为人所知的帝国历史。对两次鸦片战争, 开放通商口岸, 以及太平天国与义和团运动的审视, 都着眼于西方外部势力的介入

1 汪铮，《勿忘国耻：中国政治和外交中的历史记忆》，哥伦比亚大学出版社，2012 年。
是如何唤醒了沉睡的巨龙并且为其工业化和资本市场的现代化进程提供了必要的先决条件。步入现代化只有一条路，而这条路是由西方列强走出来的。

在二十世纪早期，马士发表了这部以西方为中心的方式来编撰的中国历史典范：三部以《中华帝国对外开放关系史》（1-3 卷）为名的大部头书。由于受兰克启发的逻辑实证论的宣言，加之权威性的语调，马士的著作被认为是关于中国十九世纪历史的决定性的发表。《皇家亚洲学会志》的一位评论者在 1919 年 1 月写道：

或许可以毫不夸张地说，一般的读者，甚至远东的专家，一旦有了这三卷，可能就会认为他自己配备了与中国所有重要事务有关的永不过时的知识手册和百科全书，包括中国贸易、对外关系、外交策略、领事行政、海关条例以及国际竞争。

马士从 1874 年至 1908 年在大清皇家海关总税务司任职，在这段期间，他总结出了一套详尽的关于西方在清朝末年和中国在贸易和政府互交上的学问。尽管他熟知这些互交，但他的著作却丝毫没有被十九世纪众多欧美贸易商人和文职人员的精英思想特质所影响。马士在牛津大学的一个学生称，“尽管他生活在外来帝国主义渗入和中华帝国瓦解的年代，他的史学著作却回避了那一时期西方通商口岸社区唐突的沙文主义。”马士并未因缺乏客观性而受到批判，而是因其史料的传承和来源的选取而受质疑。他的著作建立在十九世纪早期欧美传教士、外交官、贸易者等这些时常鼓吹西方理念对中国十九世纪历史有决定性影响的人的研究之上。虽然他对清王朝最后百年的公平描写可能绕开了这些见解，但他对中国历史的叙述还在几乎完全建立在西方的影响之上。中国国内的影响被忽略了。

马士对十九世纪历史的记录方式遭到了之前学生费正清的质疑，费正清将这一质疑发表在了 1953 年由其博士论文发展而成的著作《中国沿海的贸易与外交：1842-1854 年通商口岸的开埠》里。费正清指责对中国历史的编撰过分关注外部因素而忽略了国内的影响。他称虽然之前的学术研究是“几乎完全从一个西方侵略者的外视角来进行的……但是，很明显历史的关键正在于此。”

为了对十九中国世纪历史的编写能够更加全面，费正清的编撰从概述中国贸易惯例即朝贡制度开始。尽管中华帝国在历史上经历了多次分裂和统一，但费正清认为其丰厚的资源与坚固不可摧的制度能够吸纳外来征服者文化传统，从而为地区实力和中国与生俱来的文化优越感提供了必要的基础。因此，中国的统治者凭借其卓越性来管理对外关系，坚持让外

9 马士，《中华帝国对外开放关系史》：第 1 卷《纷争的时期，1834-60》，第 2 卷《顺从的时期，1861-93》，第 3 卷《征服的时期，1894-1911》，伦敦，纽约：朗曼·格林公司，3 卷，1910-1918 年。
10 马士，《中华帝国对外开放关系史》：第 1 卷《纷争的时期，1834-60》，第 2 卷《顺从的时期，1861-93》，第 3 卷《征服的时期，1894-1911》，伦敦，纽约：朗曼·格林公司，3 卷，1910-1918 年。
11 马士，《中华帝国对外开放关系史》：第 1 卷《纷争的时期，1834-60》，第 2 卷《顺从的时期，1861-93》，第 3 卷《征服的时期，1894-1911》，伦敦，纽约：朗曼·格林公司，3 卷，1910-1918 年。
12 马士，《中华帝国对外开放关系史》：第 1 卷《纷争的时期，1834-60》，第 2 卷《顺从的时期，1861-93》，第 3 卷《征服的时期，1894-1911》，伦敦，纽约：朗曼·格林公司，3 卷，1910-1918 年。
13 费正清，柯立芝及史密斯，《马士，海关领事及中国历史学家》，列克星敦：肯塔基大学出版社，1995 年，第 3 页。
14 费正清，柯立芝及史密斯，《马士，海关领事及中国历史学家》，列克星敦：肯塔基大学出版社，1995 年，第 3 页。
15 费正清，柯立芝及史密斯，《马士，海关领事及中国历史学家》，列克星敦：肯塔基大学出版社，1995 年，第 3 页。
16 费正清，柯立芝及史密斯，《马士，海关领事及中国历史学家》，列克星敦：肯塔基大学出版社，1995 年，第 3 页。
来使节遵守特别的礼节，从而屈服于中国的习俗。9 朝贡制度的第二个作用便是控制贸易。进入中国市场是由贸易时间受限和交易时间不受限的货物的调控政策控制的。10 当西方贸易者在十八世纪首次遇到朝贡制度，中国对西方商人的态度是“由中国千年历史流传下来以及在朝贡制度中约定俗成的假设、预想和估计的意识形态体系提前决定的”。11 十八世纪末和十九世纪初期对贸易尤其是鸦片进口的不合作态度导致了 1839 年至 1842 年的第一次鸦片战争。

费正清专著的第二部分探讨了一项外交制度的实施，即众所周知的“通商口岸”。中国在第一次鸦片战争战败之后签订了南京条约，其中除了支付赔款和割让香港岛的条款之外，还开放了中国东海岸的五个港口用以对西贸易。12 这些港口成为了西方投资和贸易的中心，使中国直面意识形态和经济的开发。从而，在西方的入侵之下，中国传统思想和制度开始动摇。尽管认识到西方对十九世纪中国的影响，费正清的叙述却并非以帝国扩张的辩护者情感为主导。相反，他为通商口岸制度的实施与中国传统概念里的“以商治夷”是一致的。13

费正清用中文一手资料与欧美官方文件一起构建出他的中国十九世纪历史，开创了这一新的编撰方式。北京和中国省级行政间的通讯、《京报》以及《大清会典》都被用来平衡之前过分强调的西方贸易、传教士和官方的资料。14 通过选择加入和强调中文资料，费正清希望能够更加精准地传达“中国社会的本质与其对西方的回应”。15

费正清承认这种方式也有局限。他称因为历史学家对中国社会的理解是不完整的，因此很难判定西方对十九世纪中国的影响程度。16 尽管如此，他断言鉴于西方之前几个世纪以来政治和经济的发展，“将中国吸入这个新生的世界秩序里被证明是不同寻常地困难的。”17 这可能是因为中国与那些西方国家在制度上根本不同——中国的发展被其制度发展的轨迹制约。此外，费正清称西方入侵不应该被描述为或者理解为一种“冲击”，而应该是对中国近代化进程的一种刺激。他断言“在通商口岸和传教机构的个人接触，以及经济生活和社会风俗的物质变化，导致了中国体制最终的彻底改变。”18 费正清对中国大转变的概念并不仅仅是将西式理想映射到一个虽然孱弱但是顽强的社会。这反而是一个富有象征意义关系，在通商口岸创造出一个“混合社会”，这里“西方形态的法律、财务、工业及个人主义都被微妙地改变了”，以便能够吸纳中国传统习俗的方方面面。19 他为这种做法发明的词是“共同统治（synarchy）”。本质上讲，这是中国与西方列强之间的合作，这种合作导致了朝贡制度的瓦解，并为中国提供了必要的条件来经历由西方发展轨迹所定义的现代化的过程。20

9 同上，第 31 页。
10 同上，第 32 页。
11 同上，第 23 页。
12 魏斐德，《广州贸易与鸦片战争》，于费正清编撰，《剑桥中国史》第 10 卷：晚晴 1800-1911，第 1 部分。剑桥大学出版社，1978 年，第 212 页。
13 费正清，《中国沿海的贸易与外交：1842-1854 年通商口岸的开埠》。
14 同上，第 68 页。
15 同上，第 6 页。
16 同上。
17 同上。
18 同上。
19 同上。
20 同上，第 465 页。
费正清期待接下来的学者可能采用他这一种方式来记录中国十九世纪的历史。他在他的参考文献的开篇里写道，尽管他有使用中文资料，但他希望“能有更多的篇幅基于这些资料来写……目前写到的这些只涉及到了大范围有侍研究的资料里微不足道的一部分”。21 费正清成功地为描述西方列强与中国互交的这种方式铺平了道路。

费正清的导师生平研究的附录里有一封由马士写给作者的信。马士意识到费正清纪录中国历史的方式在历史编纂学上的重要性，他写道：

当一些哈佛学生，1874 届学子的孙子的孙子，想要驳斥他们即将荣誉退休的教授费正清的错误的、过时的演绎法的时候，应该会引用到他们年迈的教授在年轻时对英国在华政策和充满创意和灵性的著作的时候，他们会自豪地发现这样一个事实……即在某种程度上这种灵感来自于他们同学的祖父的祖父。22

尽管批判不是来自哈佛 1874 年毕业生的玄孙，但在费正清收应许将他的著作呈现给他的前任老师 16 年之后，他的方法受到了批判。

二十世纪六十年代的美国学术研究中的中国现代化

1969 年，正值美国越来越多地参与越南战争期间，一个年轻的毕业生尖锐地质疑费正清的方法，他认为这一方法将十九世纪中国的中西关系描写成为了一种较为温和的互交。詹姆斯·佩克是发表在《关心亚洲学者通报》上的《言辞的背后：美国的中国观察家的职业性立场与观点》的作者。23 佩克论证说，研究十九世纪中国历史的的学者采用了一种类似的框架来完成他们的叙述方式，这种框架试图为西方帝国主义寻找借口或混淆视听。

这种隐秘的方法采用了“现代化理论”的结构。究其本质，现代化理论主张将社会分为两种类别："传统"和"现代"。一个帝国想要发展超出其"传统"形式，必须经历社会、政治和经济的一系列改变。这些社会进化的阶段将标识着社会走向"现代的"的形式，也因此更加先进。这就有一个重要的假设，即在适当的帮助下，不太发达的国家是能够进步超越其早期的体制的。中国，由于其宣称静止的社会分布，属于"传统"范畴。尽管文献集里很多讨论现代化理论，但佩克相信研究中国的美国历史学家将这一社会学表述方法的理论用作一种历史研究方法，从而使他们忽略了中国在西方帝国主义者手中的牺牲以及必须满足特定要素才能达到现代化的目的。24 此外，现代化理论不仅仅是一个知识上的概念，而是"主流中国研究专家用来为战后美国在亚洲的政治、军事及经济干预的辩护"。25

在一篇遭到嘲笑的文章里，佩克称研究中国历史的学者曾争论说西方扩张与统治的发生来自于一种"独特格局的先决条件"。26 通过这些先决条件，"西方国家成功地解放了一种近乎浮士德的力量，一种力量的升级，这些象征表现在中国十九世纪的人为经济和社会机制的

21 同上，第 62 页。
22 费正清，柯立芝及史密斯， 《马士，海关领事及中国历史学家》，第 2 页。
23 佩克， 《言辞的背后：美国的中国观察家的职业性立场与观点》，《关心亚洲学者通报》1969 年第 2 卷，第 1 期，第 59-69 页。
24 科恩， 《发现中国历史：美国就近代中国历史的撰写》，哥伦比亚大学出版社，2013 年，第 107 页。
25 同上，第 98 页。
26 佩克， 《言辞的背后：美国的中国观察家的职业性立场与观点》，第 59 页。
高度‘合理化’现象上。”27 在西方给中国提供了必要的途径之后，中国得以变得现代化。佩克接着称，中国不像西方国家，工业化和科学思潮的发生遵循自然进化的过程；通过将此描述为中国对西方“冲击”的“回应”，学者自动屏蔽了中国的自我界定，而是用外来思想作为发展和现代化的基础。28 通过使用“冲击-回应”的方式来理解中国历史，中国人经历的文化困境，即通过完全摒弃或重新阐释其传统文化来顺应现代概念，被无情地忽视了。29

佩克称之前建立的阐述错误地称中国无法在没有西方“刺激”之下进行现代化，之后他论证道日本被不合理地用来作比较，表明这个国家能够通过西方干预而成功地进行现代化改革。费正清告诉我们：

民族主义和工业化在当时如此盛行，却在中国受到阻碍。无论是科学方法还是法治，发明家抑或企业家，都未在这个奇特不同的社会获得过鼎盛。或许正是中国社会结构和政治制度的成熟与稳定造成了妨碍。30

佩克提出了相反的理论：并不是文化抵抗力造成了中国无法有效地进行现代化改革，而是西方帝国主义并没有同样程度地渗入十九世纪的日本。31 这使得日本更加有效地适应强制的外部势力，从而能够按其自身的进度来改变。与其接受十九世纪西方在中国扩张的真正本质，不如说是由内部因素在起作用。根据佩克的观点，之前的学者确定民族中心主义、自给自足和制度的持久性是中国社会内部阻碍其充分进行现代化的因素。32 帝国主义被沉默地放到了一边。

二十世纪五、六十年代有一位人口统计学家对西方帝国主义在中国的影响的批判叫嚣甚高。对于佩克来说，研究中国十九世纪的学者轻易地屏蔽了中国苦难，这与对中国历史的精确描述在根本上的相互矛盾的。他们的观点仅仅是对共产主义国家议程的心理慰藉物且“与现代历史理解的国际世界总体趋势互斥”33 在此，像费正清这样研究中国的当代学者说：

我们发现我们‘美国帝国主义者’是这样一个角色，即这是部分植入但并不是我们想要的。外界压迫者，毛泽东革命最后的目标，与中国的不幸过去相连，导致其有阻碍地不能充分自主。34

佩克的苛刻的攻击并没有止步于十九世纪的编译方式。他认为当代学者和政策制定者高举有关中国的特定概念，以便使美国在二战后对亚洲的干涉变得合理。35 毕竟，美国这样一个民族狂热地相信，最成功的走向现代化的方式便是通过“接触、[一个]开放的社会、多元

27 同上。
28 同上，第 60 页。
29 同上。
30 费正清，《中国沿海的贸易与外交：1842-1854 年通商口岸的开埠》，第 4 页。
31 科恩，《发现中国历史：美国就近代中国历史的撰写》，第 100 页；佩克，《言辞的背后：美国的中国观察家的职业性立场与观点》，第 64 页。
32 同上，第 60 页。
33 费正清，《中国：人民的中国和美国》，剑桥：哈佛大学出版社，第 17 页，引用在佩克，《言辞的背后：美国的中国观察家的职业性立场与观点》，第 61 页。
34 佩克，《言辞的背后：美国的中国观察家的职业性立场与观点》，61 页。
35 同上，62 页。
文化、以及世界上的国际贸易”。36 而佩克认为帝国主义在现代化方面被研究中国的学者蒙上了一层面纱，并且由于中国无法进入帝国主义，其公开承认的牺牲被用作颠覆性的伪装以表达“过于简化的和情感上的解释”，而顽固体系的内部因素不愿意或者不能有效地吸收先进的西方思想，从而阻碍了中国的现代化，成为他们强烈抗议西方帝国主义的。37 佩克提出，为了更加精准地描绘中国历史，必须同时参照马克思列宁主义路线。

在紧接着的一期《关心亚洲学者通报》上，费正清对佩克的论点进行了回复。费正清首先赞扬了佩克争论的“批判精神”，并说明了这是一个受欢迎的步伐上的改变，改变了自 1949 年中华人民共和国成立以来美国对外政策讨论里似乎处处可见的自我鼓吹的中国问题专家；然后费正清列举了出他的反驳。38 关于对中国十九世纪历史的再叙述，在费正清看来，佩克声称用“革命性的马克思主义”作为“现代化理论”的替代是误入歧途。“革命性的马克思主义”是“行动导向的信条”，用“调查来进行实际目的”，从而引导思想相似的跟随者参与革命行动，使政府做出改变。39 此外，从“封建主义”、“资本主义”到“社会主义”的必经之路是十九世纪的词语，这些词由来已久，犹如老祖宗的遗传。40 尽管费正清认识到用马克思-列宁理论来解释中国历史也有特别的好处——许多研究中国的美国学者花费相当多的时间在这个问题上——马列主义是，但只是现代化理论里的其中一个，因此并不是替代“现代化理论”的唯一选择。关于知识的方法，“现代化理论”本质上是一个没有实际的词，是纯粹用在学术阐述上的多个理论的集合，只是与政治现代化、经济现代化等放在一起作为叙述方式来获得固有意义。41 这是一个广义上的教堂，没有任何尝试去掩饰西方帝国主义，而是“点点滴滴的收集，以分析为导向”。42

费正清也在佩克的文章中发现了一个循环历史编撰的改变。十九世纪三十年代，他将自己方法论上的难题告诉他的导师，“很辛苦地试着超越对外记录在案的历史蓝皮书”，即马士的《中华帝国对外关系史》。43 马士的著作记录了在中国的对外活动、他们做了什么及怎么对中国的影响。外部因素是该方法关注的重点。比较发现，费正清的著作更多地强调内部影响，分析当地政府体系、特定事件的文化和历史的先例、以及政府官方文件；基本上，尽量在探索西方接触的同时也纳入中文记录。调查中国历史内部问题的方法论上的趋势也在近几年延伸至“主要传统机构、国内叛乱、省级发展、思想以及其他所有一切的研究，而不仅仅是“现代化””。44 费正清视佩克的争论为中国历史的外表因素的回归，这受到广泛利益与身份的刺激，对于人类的初级挑战是人类“自身的成长和扩张”。45 关于佩克的“革命性的马克思主义”是决定性的方法、应该用来探索西方帝国主义的这一定论，费正清反击道，对帝国

36 在外交关系委员会，美国参议院，第八十九届大会，第二届会议之前的听证会，《关于中国大陆的美国政策》，华盛顿：美国政府印刷局，1966 年第 124 页，引用在佩克，《言辞的背后：美国的中国观察家的职业性立场与观点》，第 22 页。
37 同上。
38 费正清，《交流》，《关心亚洲学者通报》1970 年第 2 卷，第 3 期，第 51-54 页，第 51 页。
39 科恩，《发现中国历史：美国就近代中国历史的撰写》，第 101 页；费正清，《交流》，第 52 页。
40 费正清，《交流》，第 52 页。
41 同上。
42 同上。
43 同上，第 53 页。
44 同上。
45 同上。
主义的检视足以理解二十世纪扩张的根源。其次才考虑是否要用“革命性的马克思主义”、“现代化”或者仅仅“国际关系”来解决，这并不是一种不能有其他选择的命题。46

最后的言辞还是属于佩克。在费正清的回应的同期的附录里，佩克称费正清文章的内容仅仅为呈现他的观念而服务：研究中国历史的学者和美国政策制定者参与了一场“巧辩的道歉”，作为一种方式来掩盖事实及放置了一个阻碍理解和重大行为的障碍物。47 尽管他的回答不如费正清般精细，但他指出了一个令人信服的论据，即之前的方法论掩饰了十九世纪在中国的西方帝国主义。此外，在二十世纪五十年代，佩克看到了这种“巧辩”的延续，美国政治即是扩张主义者用来使其野心和反共产主义运动合法化的工具。48 引用乔治·奥威尔 1949 年出版的《政治与英语》，其中称政治陈述被用来调和骇人听闻的事件，佩克阐明道。

对于中国研究专家所说的美国国际责任及其全球角色（代替美国帝国），现代化与民族建设（替代帝国主义和新殖民主义），非暴力改变和稳定（替代反革命和惯常暴力），以及外国援助和经济投资（替代国际资本体系）。49

在佩克看来，这种分析中国历史和当代外交政策的方式首先需要得到承认，然后才能正式提出。

孔飞力和中国十九世纪的军事化

关于西方帝国主义有一个明显的问题，对于研究中国的学者来说这个问题依旧未被解决：当“中国受到外国列强侵害的时候……留下了一个基本而重要的问题未能得到解答——为什么中国对外来入侵的反应不再早一些、明显一些呢?” 50 隐含在费正清的观点里的假设是西方军事侵略是中国军事化的催化剂。之前的分析强调了政治机构、而不是中国统治优先的军事，从而来解释中国无法经受住西方的军事力量。正如前文所述，费正清推论道，中国行政体系的恢复力是有助于确保中国延绵不绝的坚实的基础。中国征服者最终被汉化，因为尽管他们拥有军事上的强劲，但入侵者“缺乏必要的文书人员和本地基础来对人口众多的中原领土进行官僚管理……而因此必须依赖与中国政府的合作”。51 1970 年，孔飞力发表了《晚清帝国的叛乱及其敌人：军事化和社会结构，1796-1864》, 在费正清的方法基础上进行扩展，研究中国十九世纪历史的内部因素。他质疑中国开始加强其军事是十九世纪中叶以来西方入侵的结果这样的论断。

与费正清研究中国历史的内部因素的方法一致，孔飞力的分析开篇便是对中国十八世纪时的情况环境的研究。52 他称特定地区人口过多导致了十八世纪的人口膨胀和大规模内部迁徙，酝酿了宗派暴力，即表现为农民起义的形式。在这场大规模的迁徙运动中，传统的社

46 同上。
47 佩克，《交流》，《关心亚洲学者通报》1970 年第 2 卷，第 3 期，第 54-70 页，第 54 页。
48 同上，第 56 页。
49 同上，第 66 页。
50 费正清，赖肖尔，克雷格，《东亚：现代化转型》，波士顿：霍顿·米福林，1965 年，第 404 页。
51 费正清，《中国沿海的贸易与外交：1842-1854 年通商口岸的开埠》，第 24-25 页。
52 孔立飞是费正清的博士学生。鸣谢在孔立飞，《晚清帝国的叛乱及其敌人：军事化和社会结构，1796-1864》，剑桥：哈佛大学出版社，1970 年。
会控制方式如保家系统——用来进行人口普查、监督和保护——变得无效。53 与不充分的防御有关的问题因为“白莲教”而引起了清政府的注意，“白莲教”从1796年持续到1805年，严重扰乱了社会和政治秩序。54 纯粹由于中华帝国的疆域面积，中央政府权威十分依赖地方民兵组织来镇压社会的不和谐。为了应对日益频繁的起义所面对的内部威胁，帝国的皇帝认识到允许地方官员或有影响力的学者-乡绅来支援其地方军事以便充分解决威胁社会稳定因素的必要性。中央权威意识到主权受到威胁的严重性超过了他对地方行政者让扩大强化权利的怀疑，超越了其对割让权力给地方势力的偏执。55

孔飞力论证道，中国军事化的过程也是对本土问题的回应，而不全是十九世纪西方帝国主义的结果。在他的书的介绍里，孔飞力概述了一些他认为对中国历史造成误解的方法论上的问题。他称朝代更替与“现代”中国史的命名都造成固有的记叙问题。对于朝代更替——一个中国文化固有的概念，颂扬中华帝国经受住朝代衰亡的先天的能力——孔飞力认为这一概念带来了“中国政治体系”和“地方社会持续的因素”稳定的错误印象。56 中国皇帝存在于一种不变的状态：“政体的崛起和陨落，国家事务里的派系冲突，都仅仅是一湖深潭表面的波澜。”57 费正清在十九世纪七十年代前的发表无疑陷入这个比喻的范畴里，而孔飞力相信中国循环改变的概念在西方帝国主义形式的外界力量“成为中国历史进化的决定性力量”这一点上阻止了完全的周期化。58 启始于“历史运动的时期......基本由中国社会和中国传统之外的外界力现势力主导”的“现代”中国的理念是令人误导的。59 尽管这是一个有用的划分，这一划分潜在地夸大了西方入侵的角色，并且将一些特定的社会和政治运动归属于对外部力量的回应，而不是将这些时间看作内部问题使然。毫无疑问，西方军事扩张影响了中国社会。要问的问题是：影响有多大，有多深？

通过强调中国区域的军事化是应对内部威胁的结果，孔飞力说明十九世纪西方帝国主义并不是这一时期对中国政治的决定性影响。虽然十九世纪三十年代英国引进鸦片的幅度扰乱了治安管理且迫使当地社区的区域民兵力量崛起，“这些趋势是更大的持续到本世纪[十九世纪]的军事化过程的早期阶段”。60 此外，通过检验与西方帝国主义无关且已经威胁到中国的社会和政治稳定的内部过程，孔飞力揭露出现清王朝在西方列强刚登陆中国的时候就已经很弱了。然而，这些列强的确加速了这个岌岌可危的王朝的陨落。61

结论

十九世纪六七十年代，美国的政府精英被与人民的利益脱离。他们被认为极力追求自己的基本上与大众舆论相违背的帝国主义计划。针对共产主义力量而发动的战争并没有在入侵古巴猪湾失败后终止，红色浪潮从中国“一路南下”，而美国从政者和官僚决定阻止共产主义向东南亚的扩散。直接或间接与柬埔寨和泰国发生冲突的证据，在越南战争中达到鼎盛，
都向美国百姓提供了帝国主义还在还很顽强的赤裸裸的证据。十九世纪六十年代的时间迫使美国人检查他们自己的帝国主义计划，激起了其历史根源里的利益。

许多学者和学生被政府的行为激怒。然而，对于一部分人来说，美国的军事扩张代表了十九世纪帝国主义野心更凶险的延续。研究中国的学者开始发现当代外交政策和美国清朝末年在中国的活动的相似之处。对佩克这样的学者越来越多的忧虑显现出在研究中国的历史学家立场上完全否认了西方的罪行。美国通过指明内部因素是中国无法现代化的原因这样的叙述方式来为其错误行径开脱。为了给他的方法辩护，费正清认为佩克的愤怒是大众舆论的体现：“自我批评是新的心境”，而这些沉思代表了为探索“我们对越南的大体罪行”的努力。然而，费正清承认关于帝国主义的问题“必须成为新政策努力的开始”。

围绕美国在二十世纪六十年代的军事入侵，研究中国的学者开始回顾西方帝国主义在亚洲的历史。有的面临被看作一次洗刷西方帝国主义遗产的尝试；还有的认为他们在方法论上的仅仅是用来努力理解复杂的过去。然而毋需质疑的是，正是美国二十世纪六七十年代的外交政策刺激了对帝国主义在十九世纪的中国的研究。多亏了大量学者的研究不断质疑他们前辈的方法，我们才得以向一个日益公平的关于西方在中国历史上的评估迈进。

62 费正清，《交流》，第54页。
63 同上，第54页。
SECTION III
OPINION ARTICLE
ENGLISH

第三部分
个人评论部分
英语类作品
China and the Great Outdoors:  
What Australia Can Offer as China ‘Returns to Nature’

Gary Sigley

This article was awarded the ACYA Journal Opinion Article Prize (English).

Dr Gary Sigley is a Professor in Chinese Studies at the University of Western Australia. His research interests are broadly based within the social sciences and critical cultural studies with a particular focus on government, community and cultural heritage in the context of a rapidly changing China. A research project investigating cultural heritage and regional identity in southwest China along the ‘Ancient Tea Horse Road’ (chama gudao 茶马古道) is currently underway. He is also leading an international collaborative project on ‘China and the Uses of Culture’ through the Worldwide University Network. Gary maintains a blog of research and other activities at: http://www.chinawatch2050.com

The prefectural government of Diqing in northwest Yunnan, an area that includes the region known as ‘Shangri-La’ (Xianggelila 香格里拉), has recently decided that its developmental focus will exclude activities such as mining and environmental exploitation, and instead focus on developing sustainable ecotourism. Environmentalists and nature enthusiasts in China and abroad will no doubt welcome Diqing’s strategic decision. If handled well, it should also reap large rewards as the market for ecotourism and engagement with the outdoors in China is experiencing rapid growth, by some accounts 30% over the last decade. A visit to any medium or large Chinese city, where you can now see many outdoor fashion and equipment retailers, is just one of the visible reminders that China is thirsty for a ‘return to nature’.

However, in China, a land of 1.3 billion people, everything goes back to scale. Whilst the ‘return to nature’ should rightly be welcomed, if not handled correctly the masses of Chinese nature and outdoor enthusiasts—known as ‘donkey friends’ (luyou 驴友)—could actually cause more damage than commercial mining. As an avid outdoor enthusiast myself, and now actively engaged in research and intervention in this field in China, I have witnessed firsthand the dramatic rise of the donkey friends and seen what happens when once remote communities in areas of natural beauty are suddenly inundated with literally thousands of hikers. In this short piece I would like to give something of an explanation as to this growth and how Australia—a nation with much accumulated experience in managing ecotourism and outdoor leisure in areas of high conservation value—can contribute to shaping China’s outdoor industry in ways that will ensure ongoing conservation so that China’s unique natural heritage is passed onto future generational custodians.

The ‘return to nature’ represents a combination of push and pull factors. Through regular media reports and confirmation from first-hand visits to China, it is common news that the air quality in China’s major cities is abominable. A blog on The New York Times quoted recent Chinese surveys that concluded only six out of 161 monitored Chinese cities passed the ‘clean air’ test. Water quality is not much better, and in many places it is actually worse than the air we breathe.

On top of that, in a period of rapid urbanisation and a strong sense of social competitiveness, many people are feeling the anomy of stress of modern urban living. I would not be the first commentator to describe contemporary Chinese society in Social Darwinist or Dickensian...
terms. It is a real struggle for many people to get a good job, earn enough to buy an apartment, put their child or children through school, save enough for retirement and hopefully enjoy a few of modern life’s ‘benefits’ along the way. Thus, on the ‘push’ front, it comes as no surprise that the crowded, polluted and alienating urban environment is pushing those who can afford it out to the countryside for respite. The pollution and congestion in the cities in itself generates a desire for clean air, blue skies and pleasant vistas.

In terms of the ‘pull’ side of the equation, there are a few factors worth mentioning. First is the rapid development of a relatively affordable and efficient national transport network that can provide access to once-remote parts of China. Over the past 30 years, but especially the last two decades, Chinese authorities have invested heavily in building a national transport infrastructure. Through an ever-growing network of expressways, airports, high-speed railways and so on, it is now possible to escape the city for a few days to what were once regarded as remote and inaccessible regions—including places now within just a few hours drive of a major urban centre.

Second, greater disposable incomes and the growth of budget travel and accommodation, as well as the rise of the privately owned automobile, have made travel for leisure more affordable and widespread. The mass tourism industry has provided the platform for the emergence of a more diverse tourism market, including the growth of the independent traveller and, in particular, the budget backpacker.

Thirdly, the emergence of social networking platforms has made the sharing of itineraries and group travel organisation fast and efficient. The widespread use of online platforms such as QQ and WeChat enable the sharing of information with fellow travellers in ways that are encouraging new forms of self-development as outdoor enthusiasts seek challenging situations to prove their mettle. These platforms also provide individuals the opportunity to share information and form social groups that disrupt the conventional travel-for-leisure model, which relies heavily on mass travel and mass tourism providers.

In the 1990s, the first donkey friends, typically university students or young white-collar workers, began to escape the cities for a few days hiking. Over time, clubs were formed, some officially registered, but more often than not nothing more than a natural coming together of likeminded individuals. Some clubs now have more than one million members and act as semi-commercial travel companies. The trickle has become a torrent.

Unfortunately, many local government authorities and communities don’t have the time, skills, or resources to deal with this sudden influx of visitors, other than taking advantage of a golden opportunity to erect a gate to collect entrance fees. Otherwise, the destinations frequented by hikers are poorly managed and suffer from lack of proper waste management and from trail degradation. A more serious issue is the lack of safety awareness and preparation among hikers. This is leading to regular media reports of lost hikers, and fatalities are also not uncommon.

Having noted these trends and issues from the sidelines for some years (while also collecting information), a number of colleagues and I decided to take action by convening the inaugural ‘Australia–China and the Great Outdoors’ workshop, held at the University of Western Australia in September 2013 (with special thanks to our sponsors: Osprey (China) and Peak Adventure Travel). The workshop was attended by outdoor tourism providers, government regulators and hiking and outdoor enthusiasts from China and Australia. It also involved taking a select group of Chinese outdoor tourism providers and donkey friends on a trek along

As a nation with decades of experience in managing the outdoors, Australia has much it can share with China. Many of the Chinese donkey friends will, in time, want to explore opportunities for ecotourism and adventure travel in places like Australia. In fact they have already started to do so, with some outdoor tourism providers in Tasmania already offering regular hikes in Cradle Mountain during summer.

In April 2015, the workshop will become a forum, to be held on location in Yunnan, southwest China, in the historic regional city of Baoshan along the Southern Silk Road. We are pleased to have strong support from the Asian Development Bank (ADB), which is also actively engaged in promoting sustainable ecotourism in the Greater Mekong Subregion, and I would like to acknowledge the generous support from Sea to Summit and the University of Western Australia. The forum includes a site visit to the nearby Gaoligong Mountain Nature Reserve, through which the ancient Southern Silk Road passes. This site may eventually become a model for sustainable hiking in China, the first of its kind. We will bring trail design and management experts from Australia to the forum to share their experiences and to also provide advice on the potential pilot project site. This is a good example of the kinds of collaboration between Australia and China that we envisage. Through these efforts we hope to establish a dialogue and information-sharing platform that, over time, will have a positive impact on China’s outdoor and hiking destinations.

With so much news about China’s unbreathable air and polluted water, it is easy to overlook the country’s vast areas of natural beauty. We hope to work with the likeminded to preserve these assets for future generations. Please visit the website at www.outdoorspartnership.com for more information and ongoing updates. You are also welcome to follow and support our endeavours via our Facebook Page at: https://www.facebook.com/australiachinaoutdoors.
Outside China, Inside the National Gallery of Australia

Paul J. Farrelly

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Huh?

From time-to-time I have been asked, “So, how did you become interested in China in the first place?” It is a fair question and one that, as an Anglo-Australian researcher of religion in Taiwan and China, has given me pause for thought over the years. Barring the children’s story Tikki Tikki Tembo, John Woo’s Hong Kong gangster epics and the Beastie Boys’ excursions into Tibetan Buddhist-flavoured hip-hop (the ‘Chineseness’ of which all could be debated), my youth was almost completely devoid of Chinese culture. I did not have a Chinese pen pal, nor did I spend my gap-year teaching English in a third-tier Chinese city. I did not even learn how to use chopsticks until I was 19. While it is not easy to pinpoint a defining moment that sparked my current career, there is one event that often comes to mind.

Inside Out

The exhibition ‘Inside Out: New Chinese Art’ 脫变突破: 华人新艺术 opened at the National Gallery of Australia (NGA) in June 2000.1 A major survey of modern Chinese art, curated by the Asia Society in New York and the San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, it travelled from the States to Australia, Hong Kong and a number of other locations.2 Fortuitously, ‘Inside Out’ made it to Canberra due to a Japanese gallery’s cancellation freeing up a space in the tour schedule. While the majority of artists featured were from the People’s Republic of China (PRC, hereafter ‘China’), artists from Taiwan and Hong Kong were exhibited too. Years later, reflecting on this unexpectedly formative experience has indulged me to consider some issues relevant to the connection between Australia and China: art as soft power, the vagaries of ‘Chineseness’, and through this, how Australia and the Chinese world interact in the twenty-first century.

While I now maintain a casual interest in modern Chinese art, I was a complete neophyte when I attended ‘Inside Out’ aged 21. My lack of awareness of the traditions and trends in Chinese art was only matched by my ignorance of the artists in the exhibition. Having caught the end of a report on Zhang Huan’s 张洹 performance art piece My Australia on the local late-night TV news, my interest was piqued. While Zhang’s piece comprised copious nudity, fake blood and a lamb on a lead—all things guaranteed to catch the attention of even the most inattentive and jaded viewer—it was Zhang’s spirit of bold provocation that captivated me. The following day, the Canberra Times printed an image of the naked Zhang and his lamb

inspecting his own work, To Raise the Water Level in a Fishpond. In an accompanying article, Zhang’s “exhilarating” performance was described as an image “that will stay with me forever.”

The exhibition clearly had an effect on Canberra Times reporters. A reviewer of the opening gala remarked, “The controversial exhibition is brutal in its effect, yet the viewer returns, and returns again, because it is fascinating.” Reviewing 'Inside Out', art critic Sasha Grishin praised it on two counts: “Firstly, it brings to Canberra some absolutely stunning work, which is outstanding as art in any company. Secondly, it does present a “time capsule” of a very important and exciting moment in Chinese visual culture when there was a great fecundity of creative work”. Just as the local cognoscenti had been wowed, so too was the Chinese Embassy irked. Meeting with NGA director Dr. Brian Kennedy and senior staff, cultural counselor Sun Gengxin was believed to have raised concerns “related to political content, the inclusion of Taiwanese artists and aesthetic concerns – a more traditional approach was suggested rather than the confronting nature of some the contemporary works [sic].”

Admirably, the NGA did not budge. China and Australia had come together in the most perplexing of fashions, and right in my hometown. Intrigued, and with $7.50 in my pocket, I made my way to the NGA.

For all my lack of sophistication in appreciating modern art, 'Inside Out' jolted my imagination. I had entered a wonder world of colour, confusion and confrontation. Beyond the pop art pieces (a style I was familiar with thanks to a Roy Lichtenstein-loving high school art teacher), there was much that captivated me. Casting my mind back, the first things I recall are the works featuring attention-grabbing faces. There was the wary family of Zhang Xiaoang's 张晓刚 Bloodline: The Big Family No. 2, contrasted with the multiple bald-headed figures (one looking pained, the other three seemingly doped up) in Fang Lijun's 方力均 Series 2: No. 2 and the contorted and forceful yet emotionally ambiguous expression in Geng Jianyi's 耿建翌 The Second Situation, Nos. 1-4. All left an impression on me, and even now if you say 'modern Chinese art', the first word that comes to my mind is ‘faces’. But it was not only these striking images of the human face that remain etched in my memory.

What the images in 'Inside Out' evoked was a place where thousands of years of artistic techniques and visions had yet again (as I would later learn) been infused with new ideas and influences. A dynamic, chaotic and at times unpleasant society was unveiled to me. Even representations of mundane material objects, such as furniture, teacups, dumplings, derelict buildings, skyscrapers and building sites appeared thrilling and novel. These competing visions of Chinese cultures on the cusp of the twenty-first century gave me a visual yardstick to gauge my observations during later trips to Hong Kong, China, Tibet and Taiwan.

The merit of the art shown in 'Inside Out' has been debated, but its aesthetic qualities were not what stimulated my urge to get serious about China. Rather, it was how the complexity of China was shoved right in my face. ‘Inside Out’ seemed a physical manifestation of an emerging region of contorted histories and irrepressible forms that I had hitherto only

3 'Artist not sheepish about stripping off for opening', Canberra Times, 3 June 2000, p. 1.
5 Cindy Pans the critics and turns the gallery inside out’, Canberra Times, 6 June 2000.
7 Gia Metherell, ‘NGA tells embassy: no change to show’, Canberra Times, 3 June 2000, p. 6.
8 For an excellent analysis of ‘Inside Out’ that places the artists and their work within the context of modern art in China, Taiwan and Hong Kong, see: Nicholas Jose, ‘Inside out: anatomy of an exhibition’, Art Monthly Australia, July 2000, pp. 8-12.
superficially grasped. It was like a super-stylised China dropped into Australia, providing me with striking visual textures not normally present here. Beyond some images of Chairman Mao, I did not get a strong sense of politics in the show. But as is so often the case with Chinese artists and writers, subtle plays on words and images excavated from within layers of culture and history would have been used to make political comments. For all the dissident deftness shown by the artists of ‘Inside Out’, such mastery may have well been lost on the average Aussie punter meandering through the gallery.

**Hard Core Soft Power**

As a window for me into contemporary China, ‘Inside Out’ was sublime. It is unfortunate that the ruling Chinese Communist Party (CCP) sought to censor the exhibition. That said, the urge to stifle the expression of ideas that do not neatly mesh with state-authorised narratives or are ‘confronting’ is hardly the sole prerogative of the CCP: Australia has not been immune from acting such. Nowadays, the culturati are fond of gauging a country’s prowess though its ‘soft power’, loosely defined as “the ability to get what you want through attraction rather than coercion or payments. It arises from the attractiveness of a country’s culture, political ideals, and policies.” While the merits of the CCP’s ‘political ideals and policies’ are ripe for debate, especially among those on the Chinese state’s margins—be they geographical (Taiwan, Tibet, Xinjiang and Hong Kong) or social (Falun Gong, political activists and certain Christians, among others)—the magisterial qualities of Chinese culture can transcend such political strictures. ‘Inside Out’ showed that even avant-garde fare has the ability to provoke an audience that might not otherwise have been aware of, or indeed open to, Chinese culture.

**Chineseness**

Reflecting on my impressions of ‘Inside Out’, it is worthwhile to consider the ‘Chineseness’ portrayed within. Certainly, from an artistic point of view, I could not differentiate the works of artists from the PRC, Taiwan and Hong Kong. The curator dealt with the historical and artistic aspects of this trifurcation in the catalogue, but to me, in 2000, it was just not an issue. Rather, Chineseness was evinced as some sort of radical ‘otherness’. The landscapes, symbols and representations in the images were so evidently not of my relatively cloistered worldview. The ambiguities of Chineseness appeared through the creative representations of cultures that I—and most Australians for that matter—had but a cursory understanding of.

Decontextualised, some images seemed nothing more than bland representations of globalised life. Yet the preponderance of Chinese text, as well as the refined techniques of ink and brushes, hinted at the continuing relevance of well-established artistic methods to contemporary China. For me, this was no better expressed than in Ren Jian’s 任戬 ethereal, soft monochrome *Primeval Chaos*: evidently informed by modern painting techniques but seeming to simultaneously evoke an idealised Chinese past and the incredible Chinese present. Gu Wenda’s 谷文達 *United Nations Series: Temple of Heaven (Africa Monument)*—a room-sized installation of bizarre screens made of human hair woven into fake scripts from various

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9 The only other time I have experienced a similar chimera of China in Australia was when the Olympic Torch visited Canberra on its way to Beijing, and Anzac Parade was awash with hundreds of boisterous Chinese-flag-toting youngsters, bussed in to support their country and admonish misguided Australian supporters of Tibet. See: altered_statues, Bad vibes at the Canberra Olympic Torch Relay 奥林匹克火炬中转, 24 April 2008, http://youtu.be/lLFn6wgrS24.


languages—was particularly striking once inside. As provoked by Gu, I could not differentiate the legitimate scripts from the abstract ones, a similar effect to that created by Xu Bing 徐冰 with his PC-generated Chinese pseudo-characters.

#auschina

Australia and China are now connected to an extent I could not have conceived of as I wandered the halls of the NGA 14 years ago. Our nation’s social, political and economic connections with China have only grown in importance, and all the while Taiwan and Hong Kong have continued as major regional partners. In May 2014, Australian Foreign Minister Julie Bishop noted in a speech that Australia has the “need to broaden and deepen and diversify our relationship with China.”

The Minister is correct: depth and diversity are vital. In her speech of just over 3,200 words, Minister Bishop’s articulation of the commonly understood dynamics of this relationship became clear: 30 references to the economic and the economy and 11 references to trade and trading, but only one reference to culture. Just as trade between Australia and China is an essential part of the Australian economy, I am sure that the relationship between Australia and China (and Taiwan and Hong Kong, for that matter) will become ‘deeper’ and more ‘diverse’. I believe that Australians are poised and willing to avail themselves of our nation’s well-established connections with China.

The tragic chaos of events in China in 1989 prompted many to leave the country, and noted Chinese artists such as Guo Jian 郭健, Shen Jiawei 沈嘉蔚 and Ah Xian 阿先 now call Australia home. While they all exhibit regularly here, building up the China-literacy of Australians remains no small task. Seasoned observers will talk of decades of good intentions and White Papers and the ever-ringing lament of Australia’s failure to truly engage with our regional neighbours. But for all the emphasis on increasing resources for teaching the cultures, histories and languages of Asia (something I support), it is worth remembering the role that chance can play. While curricula that are more open to the diverse realities of Asia will surely increase the ability of young Australians to deepen their interest in the region, there is much to be said for the unexpected flow-on benefits from cultural events such as ‘Inside Out’. Creative provocation can capture our attention in a way that trade figures never will.

Chance

Happenstance, be it through art, film, a translated short story, or some other injection of Chinese culture into urban Australia, is just the sort of thing that I believe Australians are open to. So many have shared with me their interest in events in Taiwan, Hong Kong, China and other parts of Asia, often gleaned through travel experiences but increasingly because of something they read or saw here. I sense a growing curiosity about Chinese culture, be it mainstream or underground. As a nation let us keep this conversation going. ‘Inside Out’ did not lead me to become an artist or even a student of art. But when I walked out of the NGA’s discrete front door, it was not only into Canberra’s mid-winter sunshine that I exited, it was into a slightly bigger and more fascinating world.


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In Search of Common Ground: Australia and China’s News Media

Bill Birtles

Bill Birtles is a journalist with the ABC’s Asia Pacific News Centre in Melbourne, specialising in North-East Asia, and a former editorial staffer at Xinhua News Agency’s international television division in Beijing. He was part of the Australian delegation that took part in a journalist exchange forum organised by the Australian Embassy in Beijing in June 2014.

On a humid Beijing summer’s afternoon in late June, six Chinese journalists sat along one side of a table littered with cups of tea and sweet biscuits in the air-conditioned cocoon of the Australian Embassy. Sitting opposite were five Australian counterparts, notepads and pens at the ready, tentatively awaiting the premier event of their whirlwind six-day tour of China.

With the clock ticking past 4pm, it fell to a consular official to kick proceedings off and explain to everyone present what they were actually there for. And with the reigns handed over to the participants of this ‘journalists dialogue’, the Chinese side proceeded one by one to introduce their respective media outlets. Forty-five minutes later they had finished, and I noticed we had almost used up half of the allocated time for discussion without a single question being asked. The Australian side then raced through our introductions so as to allow for enough time to get down to the nitty gritty of the big issues. And before long, we were discussing them.

This meeting was not the first time journalists had sat down face to face to ‘exchange ideas’ relating to their field. The template had been set by a similar get together the previous year organised by the Asia Pacific Journalism Centre and the All China Journalists Association. By multiple accounts that session turned a bit testy when an Australian journalist probed about how the system of censorship actually works in a Chinese newsroom.

This time around, the tone of the discussion remained good natured. The Australian contingent of five relatively young reporters from print and television had been pre.warned that the Chinese journalists had likely been handpicked to deliver a few key messages from the Foreign Ministry, and that a more relaxed discussion may flow, along with a few refreshing Yanjing beers, at the dinner afterwards.

A suggestion was offered from a representative of the Economic Daily that the Australian media create a positive environment for discussion of the Free Trade Agreement with China. And a Xinhua reporter who had previously spent time in the Sydney bureau turned the discussion to the topic of bias in the Western media, recalling the tone of coverage in the Australian press during the 2008 Beijing Olympic Games torch relay.

As a journalist who had spent more than a year as a young reporter working in one of the major newsrooms of the Xinhua News Agency, this passionate claim to unfair treatment at the hands of the Western media was nothing new. On my first day at Xinhua’s imposing headquarters in Beijing’s south-western district of Xuanwumen, several colleagues questioned me about it within a moment of shaking my hand and welcoming me to the office. If anything, it was surprising that with six years and two Olympic Games having passed, the torch relay was still proffered as an example.
The coverage around those Olympics prompted Xinhua’s President Li Congjun to pen an op-ed in The Wall Street Journal in 2011 calling for a global media oversight body, like the United Nations, to promote ‘all-win’ outcomes and curtail reporting that does not respect the values of different nations. The Chinese government also established a World Media Summit that continues to bring together the chiefs of major media companies for talks on cooperation each year. The journalism dialogue we took part in appeared to embrace the same ethos of the summit, just on a smaller scale.

The perspectives of the Australian journalists there that day were honed by the increasing prominence of China in the domestic media, ranging from serious discussion of Chinese politics in the broadsheet papers to the subtitled version of popular Chinese dating show If You Are The One screening on SBS TV. With increasing exposure to Chinese society, it would appear that the tone of Australian media discussion about China is becoming increasingly nuanced. Accompanying this are some encouraging signs of cooperation.

The Australian Broadcasting Corporaiton (ABC) took a major step this year in securing a deal with the Shanghai Media Group to share entertainment content and to establish a commercial base in Shanghai. A signing ceremony took place in Sydney amidst much fanfare, including a visit by the Shanghai Party Secretary, Han Zheng. The deal is just a snapshot of the outreach the ABC and others have been doing with Chinese media companies.

And yet holding back more substantial leaps is the underlying difference in journalistic and political values. In July this year, China’s State Administration of Press, Publication, Radio, Film and Television tightened rules around Chinese journalists cooperating with foreign media companies, effectively banning them from accepting interviews with overseas media outlets. These sorts of measures put the media industry in a difficult spot in Australia’s overall effort to more thoroughly embrace the ‘Chinese Century’.

There has been such a push from Australia’s federal and state governments, business and the tertiary sector to ‘engage’, ‘exchange’ and ‘cooperate’ with China in recent years, and across the fields of business, education, tourism, government and even the military, that there appears to be substantial momentum. But in the media – an industry so vitally important to each side’s understanding of the other – there remains a point where any common ground has to give way to an acceptance of unreconcilable differences. Acknowledging the gap between the journalistict cultures in Australia and China and respecting it may be a good starting point for any future dialogues bringing media professionals from both countries together.

As the dialogue in Beijing was winding down, a question was raised by the Australian side in response to the concerns about anti-China bias. The Australian journalists pointed out that obtaining comment from Chinese officials or representatives of Chinese companies was comparatively far more difficult than accessing relevant people from other Asian countries. The Australians pointed out that even a journalist’s ‘last resort’ of interviewing a reporter in another country about a big story was harder because of the approvals Chinese journalists must seek to speak to the foreign media.

It was thus put to the Chinese side that this inability to regularly access a Chinese perspective may contribute to perceptions that Australian media stories are not balanced, and we asked if they could offer suggestions for how Australian journalists could better access answers from people in positions of responsibility. With a slightly weary expression, one of the Chinese journalists looked at the interlocutor and deadpanned ‘this is a problem for all of us too’. Finally, after two hours, we had found our common ground.
Australia-China Agricultural Cooperation
Opportunities and Challenges

Sinead Ferris

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The Australian economy rode out the Global Financial Crisis on the back of China’s growing demand for minerals, but now moving from ‘mining to dining’ is the latest catchphrase among commentators. A McKinsey & Company report released in July with the Business Council of Australia identified agriculture as one of only a handful of Australian sectors that were internationally competitive. This is good news, but bringing Australia’s advantage to China will require effort and ingenuity.

There are two elements of agricultural cooperation, and the simplest of these is sales. Selling beef and grain to China is palatable to an Australian public already used to exporting metals and minerals. For the growing Chinese middle class, food safety is a paramount concern and Australia has an excellent international reputation for trustworthy, disease-free food products. This natural complementarity explains why in 2012-13 almost 20% of our agricultural exports went to China. The China-Australia Free Trade Agreement, coupled with increasing Chinese demand, means that figure will continue to grow. In a promising development, this year the National Association for Sustainable Agriculture Australia won approval to certify organic produce for export to China, where Australia is already one of the top three suppliers of organic produce.

However, this does not mean Australia should be resting on its laurels just yet. In a world of high media coverage, a single safety slip-up could have drastic implications for Australia’s impeccable food safety record. Australia’s strict regulatory environment is at the heart of our comparative advantage against producers in South America and Asia. It must not be compromised in the rush to meet increasing demand or to secure trade agreements.

In addition, the Australian Farm Institute has noted that Australian farmers need to work more closely with Chinese importers and retailers to tailor their products to the needs of a new and discerning Chinese market. These marketing challenges are one of the reasons why in 2014 mining magnate Andrew Forrest launched the Australia-Sino 100 Year Agricultural Food Partnership (ASA 100) to help Australian agribusiness promote a single ‘brand Australia’, synonymous with quality, all over Asia.

In the face of such positive engagement from the private sector, the Australian government can do its bit by ensuring that agriculture will not be compromised by politics. For example, we cannot afford a repeat of 2011, when Australia suddenly ceased live exports to Indonesia for a full month in response to animal cruelty allegations. Unilateral decisions like this could seriously compromise Australia’s reputation as a reliable part of China’s crucial food security apparatus. If Australia wants to be taken seriously in the market then we must set up and use reliable avenues for resolving complaints without interrupting exports. Agricultural exports need to be protected from exposure to politically sensitive issues and not used as a domestic political bargaining chip.
Of course, there is more to agricultural cooperation than just sales. Chinese demand for agricultural products will far outstrip Australian supply. One way to increase supply is to promote overseas investment. Chinese investors are keen to have a financial stake in their country's food supply and have access to incredible infrastructure-building potential—something Australian agribusiness sorely needs. However, Chinese investment in Australia has been presented to the Australian public as ‘selling off the farm’, and the extent of investment has been exaggerated, resulting in considerable public anxiety about high levels of Chinese agricultural investments. In reality, a 2013 KPMG report, conducted with the University of Sydney China Studies Centre, revealed that China was only the ninth-largest foreign investor in Australian agriculture, well behind the first-ranking USA.

Increasing people-to-people linkages between Australia and China is one way to combat the ill-founded suspicion that seems to be driving this anxiety. Prominent strategic commentator Professor Hugh White, of the Australian National University, has already highlighted the importance of personal connections in the ‘Asian Century’. Professor White advocates sending ten thousand young people to Indonesia each year, and China should be no different. While the government's New Colombo Plan—a university exchange program to Asia—is a step in the right direction, the Australian agriculture sector in particular needs to be thinking like Professor White and aiming to encourage more young Australians to connect with China.

Of course, even operating at full productivity, Australian supply will never meet the growing need for food products in China. Here too, Australian expertise could be better used to assist China in building its own agricultural capacity. Australia is a global leader in agricultural technology and farming techniques. The Australian Centre for International Agricultural Research (ACIAR) has been running successful long-term programs in India and Bangladesh, among other countries, adapting Australian dry-land farming expertise to local conditions. Australian researchers can build on this experience to work with Chinese farmers to improve long- and short-term yields across China's varied terrain. Conservation agriculture, one of ACIAR's focus areas, will be increasingly important in a China that is perhaps more aware than Australia of the importance of environmentally sustainable practices. Joint sustainability programs would ultimately benefit both countries.

There are also opportunities for Australian investment in Chinese agriculture and agricultural support, though the Chinese government will need to work with foreign companies to encourage investment. China’s political environment can be seen as a barrier to the kind of large-scale agribusiness investment that Australian companies are used to. Land reform is one policy option, but the government should be prepared to be creative about dealing with potential investments that could effect technology transfer and increase agricultural productivity.

Real agricultural cooperation between Australia and China encompasses trade, research and development and investment in both directions. Achieving this kind of true engagement will require creative thinking and a commitment to communication that covers government, business and individual citizens in both countries.
Beyond the Great Wall

Christian Dunk

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It was an unexpected morning in November when my partner suggested we go to China in February 2014. It took me a few hours to think over—China was not the first place on my list of travel destinations, not to mention it would be freezing in February. But, in the end, I relented. Curiosity had got the better of me, the kind of curiosity that has spurred on travellers from the ‘West’ for centuries, perhaps since Marco Polo (as clichéd as that is).

That is not to suggest I was entirely ignorant of ‘China’, per se. I had the opportunity several years prior to travel to both the Republic of China (Taiwan) and to Hong Kong. Of course, that is without trying to quantify the countless hours spent at yum cha or enjoying the incredible sights and sounds of Chinese New Year celebrations in Sydney.

I had several months to prepare myself, so I let my intellectual curiosity wash over me, with a particular focus on Chinese history. History has always been one of my preferred subjects, striving for a deeper understanding of what the past lends to the present. It was a perfect excuse to delve into Rana Mitter's China's War with Japan 1937-1945 and Julia Lovell's The Opium War (both of which I would recommend).

This lead to a more contemporary exploration of travel guides, maps, apps and even went as far as a Mandarin phrasebook. To say the excitement was palpable would be an understatement. The allure of the Middle Kingdom had set in.

In reality, any Australian consumer of nightly news or newspapers would be familiar with China and its importance to our ongoing future and prosperity. We all know, more or less, that China is our largest trading partner, a keen consumer of our resources to fuel its staggering economic expansion, and eager to access our universities—which in turn enables Australian students to enjoy the opportunities that come without having to pay university fees upfront. Indeed, it is commonly accepted that without Chinese demand for Australian goods and services our experience of the Global Financial Crisis would have been more akin to that of our American and European counterparts.

However, the positive aside, there is always an unknown element that comes with a foreign political system. Again, we all know, more or less, about China's tense history with Tibetan and Uighur communities, the troubled status of Taiwan, territorial claims in the South China Sea, the Great Firewall that censors social media, and, above all else, the all-encompassing influence of the Chinese Communist Party.

So it was that I found myself, a Sino novice, finally on the verge of my trip and feeling pretty well armed in terms of my understanding of what China ‘was’ or ‘is’. It was not long after that point that I found myself in Tiananmen Square on a freezing, wintry Beijing day absorbing the
scale and grandeur of what was imperial China. My sense of wonder only continued as I contemplated the majestic Temple of Heaven and surrounding parks, set out to align with the celestial bodies and designed to promote bountiful harvests and ensure harmony through the intercession of the Emperor.

Yet there were so many contradictions within Beijing itself. An ancient, imperial capital ringed by grotesque, squat, concrete buildings that had bulldozed countless traditional alleyway neighbourhoods (hutong 胡同) to make way for the modern marvel of the Olympics. It is only fairly recently that some thought has gone in the other direction towards conservation, building replicas of old hutongs and filling them with modern shops and eateries.

Not surprisingly, this feeling of confusion, if not dislocation, was heightened when we ventured south to Shanghai—a bustling metropolis that could be mistaken for a more familiar Western CBD. It is a city on the move, expanding at a rate of knots, whether it is new skyscrapers or new public transport investment that puts our own progress to shame (despite obvious differences in planning and construction regulations). In the heart of it all there is also the strong remnant influence of the European concessions. To hear the local Shanghainese mock Beijingers for being uneducated, bureaucratic and lacking in style and sophistication was not something I had expected.

Before I had really had time to fully comprehend these stark contrasts and contradictions, the adventure rolled on to Hangzhou and Suzhou. Both destinations were stunning examples of a ‘quieter’ China, making use of grand canals and waterways to build a civilisation with a distinctly artistic, if not philosophical, edge. This feeling was reaffirmed when I was told that Hangzhou was a destination for retired mandarins and generals, who would come to write poetry and see out their days by the tranquillity of the West Lake.

Once again, up against this incredible expression of natural beauty was the relentless march of progress. Skyscrapers and unfinished apartment blocks dotted the landscape as the population in these cities boomed and people found greater opportunities away from coastal port cities.

This adventure across four cities only served to demonstrate how little I actually knew of China. Not only of the place itself, particularly its regional differences, but the people and their goals and motivations. One of the aspects of travel I enjoy most is the direct interface with local people. You may not be able to share a word beyond ‘hello’ or ‘goodbye’, but to be there and soak it up directly with locals is priceless.

If anything the trip made me realise that not only do I not understand the complexities of China, but also as a general rule we as a society do not truly understand or engage with China beyond a surface level. Given Australia’s place in Asia and the ongoing socio-economic and political changes in the region, there are benefits to lifting that level of understanding and exchange. The obvious vehicle is through our human capital and investment in education and tourism. This affords us, and our Chinese interlocutors, the opportunity to better understand each other and our respective motivations through mutually beneficial exchanges. As a developed nation, we should also maintain a creative outlook on how we can contribute to China’s ongoing socio-economic development.

I have decided to follow the trend and have taken up Mandarin lessons, so next time I visit China I can go beyond ‘hello’ and ‘goodbye’, and delve deeper into a remarkable language, culture and people. I cannot wait to go back.
‘Bananas’: A Perspective

Louisiana Wang

This article was awarded the ACYA Journal Opinion Article Prize (Chinese).

Louisiana Wang, from Shangyu in Zhejiang Province, was a member of the first batch of students eligible to be admitted directly from China’s rigorous university entrance examination (gaokao) into the University of Sydney. Siyu is currently studying at the University’s Business School. Louisiana is extremely passionate about media and law and has had considerable experience as an MC over the years. Louisiana was a liberal arts student back in high school with a strong interest in creative writing, especially fiction and poetry.

Translated into English from the original Chinese by Callum Smith.

Chinese civilization is one of over five thousand years of history, and feudal imperial rule. Australia is an easy-going, leisurely and multicultural nation. It is migration and the proliferation of different ethnic groups that have allowed two unsuspecting cultures to collide and give birth to the concept of Chinese-Australian hybrid culture – ‘the banana’.

‘Banana’ banteringly refers to those with ‘yellow skin and a white heart’ – the Australian descendants of Chinese migrants – otherwise known as ‘ABC’ (Australian-Born Chinese). While not dissimilar to Chinese in appearance, they don’t recognize Chinese characters, nor is their Australian accent anything short of authentic. In light of my own intrigue with this growing demographic, I share here a few of my encounters with ABCs.

S: A fashionable and candid girl

S was the first ABC that I met in Australia. Fashionably dressed, outgoing, eloquent with words, highly competitive and a typical example of a high achieving ABC. In one of my group presentation groups, along with S there was another more reserved ABC, and a few of us Chinese students. It was evident that S possessed advantage not only in linguistic ability, but also in personality, continuing her ‘dominance’.

Based on an analysis of our language ability, S would always allocate the easiest and shortest questions to us Chinese, and took the difficult ones herself. Despite our prolonged criticism of S, with the knowledge that our English proficiency could not compare to her, and that she wouldn’t understand our Chinese, we helplessly submitted. During that group presentation, I made a bold decision. While S paused to think for a few seconds, I shared my own explanation and understanding of the topic. As I was speaking, quite fluently at that, my eyes brushed over the expressions of my shocked group members, and S’s embarrassment, written all over her face. I thought our friendship was over. But, to my surprise, S actually took the initiative to speak to me afterwards, and later continued to greet me and chat on occasion.
This incident changed my opinion of the outgoing S. She ponders issues in a mode of thinking that she has developed throughout her childhood, so she feels no remorse for wearing a bikini on the beaches of China, and does not hesitate to express her dissatisfaction with others in the classroom. She makes obvious her ambition, and spares no embarrassment for her group members, but she does respect and understand the bold standing up of others with their own views. I later met many high achieving ABCs, and slowly discovered that only when we international students have the opportunity to express our views will a group be truly harmonious.

C: A not-so significant guy

Humans like to speculate about things that they are unfamiliar with. My girlfriends and I like to have some imaginary discussions, for example what sentiments would our children have if they were ABCs? Would they be depressed and lose themselves, due to their dissimilar appearance? Would it be challenging to find an identity, and a sense of belonging?

Unable to understand the ABC experience for myself, for a long while I would not have dared to ask those ‘bananas’, for fear of potential aversion and being deemed inappropriate. Until I met C, an ABC whose parents are from Shanghai.

C sat next to me in one of my classes, and we were on relatively good terms. One day, I finally built up the courage to ask him this baffling question one evening. C remained in silence for about a minute before replying, “I am most willing to answer your question, but what exactly do you want me to address?”

C kept talking, saying, “When I was young, I felt like there was something different about me, but later on I felt nothing. If I asked you how you felt in China, how would you respond?”

I paused for a moment. “But I am Chinese! If I was the offspring of an American family growing up in China, perhaps I would feel different.”

C smiled gently and said, “That’s exactly what I mean. I don’t feel anything special, because I am Australian.”

He was precisely correct. We anticipate answers based on our own perspectives, just as I did, imagining the ABC experience.

So what do we even really care about anyway?

H: A calm and quiet boy

While C has an interest in Taoism and the esoteric Chinese classic, the I Ching 易经, H is a ‘banana’ with no interest in the traditional Orient at all. H is the descendant of migrants from Taiwan, born in the 21st century. He’s also my classmate and sits next to me in my German tutorial. His German is fantastic – much better than mine – so besides praising him for his
linguistic abilities in German, I encouraged him to take advantage of his youth to learn Chinese, but he was always indifferent.

We later spoke about musical instruments, and H mentioned that he had learned the saxophone, so I told him that I had learned the guzheng 古筝 as a child. Looking rather dull, I asked him “do you know what the guzheng is?” He simply shook his head.

I was determined, having not given up hope yet, “the guzheng is to China what the piano is to the West.” H nodded indifferently. From then on, I gave up on any hopes of persuading H to explore Chinese culture, despite the fact his mother comes from the culturally rich Taiwan.

Just like Ms S and Mr C, as a second generation migrant H has no sentiments for his Oriental heritage, or what others think about his appearance. He has his own worldview – he is completely Australian.

Through my interactions with ABCs, I have come to realise the connotation behind the ‘banana’ phenomenon is becoming ever clearer. They cannot be called ‘new Australians’, having breathed the air and tread the earth of this country from the day they were born. Apart from their physical appearance, they are a demographic with Australian traits, representative of this Pacific nation in their every movement.

Genes are a mysterious thing. They alone define the starting point of every human being, yet at the same time, one’s cultural environment and surroundings possess a profound ability to catalyse transformations in one’s traits. So, when I see those ABCs again, I will say to myself, “G’day, Australians!”
RIMPAC 2014: China’s Enhanced Military Soft Power

Sheldon Zhao

Sheldon Zhao is currently in her second year at the Australian National University, studying towards a Bachelor of Actuarial Studies and Bachelor of Computer Science. Xiaodong is very interested in world politics and even tried to enlist for the Chinese army. She has various leadership positions on campus and is the recipient of the ANU National Merit Scholarship and Chancellor’s Letters of Commendation.

Translated into English from the original Chinese by Fount Zhu.

Introduction

While China and the US were disputing cyber-security and the East China Sea in June 2014, China, a member of the Pacific Rim family, was unprecedentedly invited to join the RIMPAC 2014 military exercises hosted by the US Pacific Fleet, the largest international maritime military exercise in the world. Through this, China not only showed the world that it would join such an exchange, but also developed its navy’s soft power and international image.

The Concept and Meanings of Military Soft Power

In the late 1980s, the American scholar Joseph Nye proposed the term ‘soft power’, a co-optive power that influences, lures and persuades others to accept or support your actions. It helps a nation incur fewer costs to pursue desired outcomes than conventional ‘carrot and stick’ hard power approaches.¹ This power is increasingly important in today’s world. Some nations are gradually relying more upon soft power to lead affairs, to affect international politics and ultimately to consolidate their international positions and influence.

Although China has been slow to consider soft power’s application to the military, Chinese academic Huang Jianguo opines, “Military soft power can be regarded as a capability that effectively transfers goods and human resources to fighting capability, and that influences and shapes other nations via non-coercive approaches; different from military hard power, this power indirectly shocks and attacks opponents.”² Nowadays, countries are evermore interdependent and the cost of wars keeps rising; in such circumstance, it is important to skilfully and effectively use military soft power to take the initiative, before military combat, to safeguard national interests. The following three factors explain why China must enhance its military soft power.

First, building and enhancing military soft power is a requirement of the times. Scholar Wang Hongwei believes, “the approach that military soft power uses to protect the national interest is so unique that it cannot be replaced by hard power”.³ Great changes and great readjustments are happening in the world. Different and complex conflicts fill the international stage, most of them involving non-confrontational disputes, and to which the

best solution is to cooperate rather than fight. Facing such problems as international terrorism, which threatens the security of humankind, and financial crises, which impair worldwide progress, China must seek international cooperation, which in turn requires China to enhance its military soft power.

Second, building and enhancing military soft power is necessary for China’s development. Celebrated psychologist Abraham Maslow believed that human needs could be classified into five levels—Maslow’s hierarchy of needs—which, from bottom to top, are physiological needs, safety, love and belonging, esteem and self-actualisation. Since its foundation in 1949, the People’s Republic of China has achieved independence and economic development for China, and subsequently China’s national needs have progressed from ‘seeking survival and security’ to ‘seeking development’ to ‘seeking esteem’ and ‘seeking belonging’. To meet its escalated needs and further develop, China, as a responsible country in the international community, must build a good image, defend the current international security order whilst creating an order it perceives fairer and more reasonable to replace it, and take actions to build a harmonious world based on long-lasting peace and common prosperity.

Third, military soft power multiplies military hard power. Chinese professor Tang Guanghong cites with regard to China the famous Comprehensive National Power equation created by Ray Cline, saying, “Spiritual factors can multiply an army’s strength and fighting capability.” Fellow intellectuals Wang Xingsheng and Wu Zhizhong believe that, “An army’s fighting capability and executive capability, which is based on its fighting capability”, are the product of both hard and soft power. Hard and soft power can be imagined as the two wheels of a carriage or the two wings of a bird. Military hard power is the basis and backbone of soft power; without strong hard power, soft power lacks support. On the other hand, military soft power is pervasive; wars in all times involving all nations show that if a country’s soft power is weak, the cost to use its hard power will increase. Mao Zedong even remarked about the Korean War that, “Our spiritual power exceeds the weapon power of the enemy”. This remark clearly demonstrates the capabilities of soft relative to hard power.

China’s Performance Showing its Military Soft Power at RIMPAC 2014

The RIMPAC military exercises are joint naval exercises involving several countries and are amongst the largest military exercises in the world. The US, the host of RIMPAC, had its own reasons to invite China to participate for the first time this year. But through this, China also managed to develop its military soft power and realise two strategic goals.

Firstly, China showed the world its military soft power and projected an international image of seeking peace and cooperation. During the RIMPAC exercises, China had sent its pure-white ‘Peace Ark’ hospital ship; standing apart from warships filled with armed soldiers, it was the attractive business card of a peaceful national image. China tried to tell the world that it develops its military power only to keep the peace, provide humanitarian aid and proactively propel international security and cooperation. In the meantime, China showed a philosophy of ‘A man of noble characters seeks harmony in diversity’, and asserted that it would never advocate alignment, let alone blindly resort to force.

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Secondly, China participating in RIMPAC had a meaningful effect upon promoting positive US-China military interaction and improving US-China relations. In addition to the one ship that China had promised to send during initial discussions in 2012, China sent three more ships in a show of its good faith to further cooperation with the US. Meanwhile, China communicated a significant message to the international community, that China is rising but it does not want to use its disagreements with the US to replace the US. The Asia-Pacific is an area where US-China interests intertwine the most, where the US and China interact most. On this occasion, US-China military relations greatly improved, which will reduce the possibility of the direct confrontation and disputes between the US and China, and improved US-China military relations will greatly promote world peace and stability.

Actually, apart from RIMPAC, China has in recent years been using many different military missions and activities to send out signals that the Chinese army seeks peace and cooperation. The most familiar example might be the Chinese navy accepting the invitation of Somalia, Germany, France, Spain and many other nations to cooperate in cracking down on piracy off the Somali coast—China has sent 18 fleets to escort both Chinese ships and citizens passing by the Gulf of Aden near Somalian waters, as well as ships dispatched by organisations such as the World Food Programme to transport humanitarian supplies. This cooperation was lauded by the United Nations Secretary-General, Ban Ki-moon, and many nations. The Chinese army is an indispensable force to promote international naval cooperation and preserve regional stability.

**The Status Quo of China’s Soft Power and the Opportunities and Challenges for its Development**

*Building a Positive Image of the Chinese Army*

The quality of the product is the foundation of any successful advertisement. Likewise, if China wishes to strengthen the influence and persuasiveness of its military soft power, and increase the international legitimacy of Chinese national interests in international affairs, it should first build a positive image of its army that is attractive to governments and publics.

Ultimately, speaking, military affairs are the violent means available to a nation, but countries should also use them to develop their national culture and values. Chinese military culture has a long history and is already broad and deep. In the long course of revolutionary wars and army building, China has moulded a rich and influential values standard, code of conduct and philosophy of life, and has developed a characteristic military culture reflecting the discipline of the PLA, historical traditions and combat spirit. From the ancient military classics such as the *Seven Military Classics* to modern highlights such as the ‘spirit of Lei Feng’ (*Lei Feng jingshen* 雷锋精神) and the ‘Great Wall culture’ (*Changcheng wenhua* 长城文化), what they reflect is far more than the arts of wars; they reflect deep and broad Chinese military philosophies including ‘regarding wars with caution’ (*shen zhan* 慎战) and ‘game theories’ (*boyi* 博弈). The Chinese army’s courageous spirit in marching forward to safeguard their country and their homes, and the management philosophies of the Chinese army focusing on the mutual compensation between morality and laws and putting kindness and justice first. The modern Chinese army is absorbing these philosophies and spirit to strengthen its cohesion, and trying to make the international community further acknowledge Chinese military cultures. China should explore and promote these values, use its advanced military cultures to manifest a positive image of its army and employ the brightness of its civilization.
and strength of its ethics to shape an attractiveness, influence and persuasiveness that transcends national boundaries.

The PRC’s defense and foreign policies and practices also possess appeal and persuasiveness; they are key elements of Chinese military soft power. Sixty years ago, China declared its Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. This is an independent diplomatic policy with Chinese characteristics, expressing China’s goodwill to achieve regional peace, development and cooperation. In current times, when the power of nations is changing, these principles are especially important in international relations management and international friendly cooperation; more and more nations accept these principles. On the other hand, since modern China has suffered invasion and plunder, and was several times on the brink of destruction. Chinese people and the Chinese army abhor war and invasion, and they will now and forever do their best to make a stable world and regional peace. China will unswervingly pursue its defence policies and advocate the construction of a new international order based upon mutual respect and mutual non-interference. This convinces those who desire world peace, especially peoples who have suffered or are suffering wars, to recognise the Chinese army as ‘a mighty and righteous army safeguarding peace’.

In recent years, China has positively demonstrated its soft power to the world by carrying out various military practices and missions. Jane Harman points out that, since disasters relief and humanitarian aid directly helps people in need and builds relations between governments and people, they are efficient foreign policy tools that help a country to fully manifest positive military soft power. From the 2008 Wenchuan earthquake to the 2008 Southern China snow disaster, to the large peacekeeping forces that China sends abroad on United Nations Security Council missions, international observers see the efficient and systematic integration and deployment, the noble spirit to bear hardships and the high efficiency in disasters relief of the PLA. They see a shining image of China as a responsible nation; they see different nations and races support the PLA. While the PLA shoulders the responsibility of such ‘public diplomacy’, serving these missions directly links to the world’s understanding and recognition of the PLA and strengthens China’s military soft power.

Thus, in order to develop its military soft power, China should first build a positive and attractive image of the PLA. Only through this can China further promote itself to the media and take the initiative to build a positive image on the international stage. To achieve this goal, China should fully study its historic military knowledge and apply this to its modern defence and foreign policies and practices, to continuously enhance its military soft power with Chinese characteristics.

**Strengthening Promotion Abroad and Agenda-Setting Ability**

Yi Wenhua, director of the *Comrade News* agency, believes that in modern informationised warfare, more attention is paid to the conquering of opponents’ spirits. In these wars, journalism and communications, media wars and control over news broadcasting are vital strategic factors. Under present conditions, when China promotes its advanced military culture to the world, it faces rare historic opportunity but also severe challenges. For instance, Western media perpetuate the ‘China threat theory’ and file hostile negative reports about

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riots in the Xinjiang Autonomous Region, all of which discredits the image of the Chinese army. According to statistics, in 2005, the Associated Press, Reuters, Agence France-Presse, TASS Russian News Agency, Kyodo News and the Central News Agency of Taiwan issued 2,640 news releases about Chinese national defence and the Chinese army, of which only 6.9% were positive.\(^8\) Thus China has to pay more attention to winning approval from the international community. Additionally, the Chinese military must show its international image to nations and ethnic groups with different cultures and values, and the natural gap between Chinese and Western cultures greatly prevents effective communication.

The author believes that China should improve the transparency of its defence policies and create a sound environment of mutual trust and collaboration by taking the initiative to improve its agenda-setting abilities. In recent years, China has proactively joined in joint international military exercises, and more and more nations are cooperating with China. Just take 2013 as an example. That year, China participated in anti-terror exercises with Russia such as joint naval operations and peace missions, military exercises for maritime security decided by the ASEAN+8 Defense Ministers’ Meeting, the ‘Hand-in-Hand 2013’ China-India joint anti-terror army trainings and many other military exercises. However, China is not yet very open about announcing these military exercises to the news media. Even looking at RIMPAC 2014, during the military exercises US Major General Hall accepted an interview from China Central Television (CCTV) and shared his opinions in his living room. In contrast, China only allowed the Western media to report on its ‘Peace Ark’ hospital ship and reserved its veto before reporting.\(^9\) China should timely, objectively and clearly show its defence policies and strategic intentions to style itself as a great Asia-Pacific country, and it should take the lead in its reporting. This is because the first word on a matter can more easily lead subsequent remarks and mainstream media coverage in a certain direction. In order to promote a positive image of its army, China should change its passive mode by answering the international community’s questions, and proactively creating news topics, leading public voices and taking the favourable position to international promotion.

Yi Wenhua states that China should more proactively “express its voice and standpoint to the world”. China should abandon the traditional mode of promoting its army through a single official voice and speak a “world language” more accessible to Westerners in order to win more worldwide appreciation and support. China should skilfully report facts to reflect its political and cultural views and intentions.\(^10\)

Proactively Cooperating with or Leading Nations to Set the Rules for Regional and International Security

As a great power in the Asia-Pacific with increasing worldwide influence, China must consider how to achieve win-win outcomes with other great nations.\(^11\) To achieve this goal, China should first enhance its policy influence and discourse power on the international stage. China has many neighbouring countries. It ought to keep peaceful and stable relations with its neighbours including Russia, the nations of Central Asia, Afghanistan, India and Pakistan; and it ought to solve existent problems around its coastal areas and territorial conflicts in the East and South China Seas. Apart from economic approaches to strengthen business and trade

\(^8\) Ibid.


\(^10\) Ibid.

interactions and mutual benefits to create more sound strategic conditions, China should also play an active role in bilateral and multilateral dialogues about defence and security. As a regional great power, it should proactively join to build regional and international security systems, and in particular circumstances it should even take leadership in setting up fundamental rules for mutual trust between nations. The Chinese army not only continues negotiations about defence and security with the US, Russia, Japan, Australia, the UK, France and other nations, but also is gradually commencing such negotiations with many other surrounding countries including Pakistan, Mongolia, Thailand, Vietnam and the Philippines. Meanwhile, given the fact of China’s escalated security needs, China should better understand international rules and skilfully use them; it should continuously and innovatively improve the current international rules and also create the new rules.

What China Should Note in Developing Its Military Soft Power

In 2001, Colin Gray, Professor of International Politics and Strategic Research at the University of Reading, published a monograph arguing that, in the course of developing its military soft power, China should not regard hard power as an “anachronism”. Since soft power cannot be easily developed or controlled by any other nation, policies and strategies make less sense with regards to soft power as hard power. Today, hard power is still a significant tool to implement policies; it is the ultimate approach that nations seek to safeguard their national security. Additionally, military soft power can hardly work when one’s counterparts are hard to influence, lure, or persuade. For example, it is far more effective to militarily hit terrorist organisations and religious extremists than to change their values or buy their support. Because of this, hard power should still be the first choice when nations address these difficult missions. Thus, China must put its defensive security policies first, then gradually convert its economic strength to military capability, greatly propel its military reform and integration and build a modern army equipped with intelligent weapons and composed of highly educated high-calibre soldiers. This way, its army will be able to fight and fight to win, and will more effectively intimidate separatists and terrorists.

Conclusions

From the development of military soft power by the Chinese army, especially through its exemplary performances in international peacekeeping and humanitarian aid over recent years, we can reach a conclusion—that soft power is a key component of a country’s comprehensive strength, and the development of military soft power greatly helps a country show its positive image and better handle international affairs. When Australia deals with international relations, it can also draw upon such conclusions.

First, the development of soft power can greatly boost a country's overall strength. In the Second Sino-Japanese War and the Chinese Civil War, the armaments of the Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army and the knowledge and skills of their officers and soldiers were far inferior to those of the Japanese army and the Kuomintang army. But the Communist Party of China and its army won the support of the masses and won the wars; what they relied on was firm belief, courage and a revolutionary spirit that did not fear sacrifice. In today’s peacetime, non-warfare military actions are widely advocated, which puts forwards new

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requirements to building soft power. Through developing military soft power, China can not only safeguard its security, but also effectively execute peaceful military actions such as disasters relief, dealing with security issues and safeguarding social stability. Combating the 1998 Yangtze River floods, the 2003 SARS outbreak, and the 2008 Wenchuan earthquake disaster relief, settling riots and safeguarding the people’s interests all prove that, via developing its army’s soft power, China most effectively protects its people’s interests and protects national security. On the international stage, with the development of the soft power of its army, China is playing a more positive and significant role in diverse events including international peacekeeping missions, such as naval escorts of humanitarian aid off the Gulf of Aden. Hence, more and more nations recognise and appreciate the Chinese military.

Second, China is a significant force in protecting world peace. The US is the most developed and powerful country in the world, and China is the most important developing country and rising power. Therefore, Asia-Pacific peace cannot be realised without friendly cooperation between the Chinese and US militaries. RIMPAC 2014 reflects that these two countries value the improvement and development of their military relations. The US invited China to join because it has to cooperate with China to handle regional and international affairs. When China accepted the invitation and proactively joined the military exercises, its consideration was to show the world its determination to safeguard peace. A smart country should read US-China cooperation reflected in RIMPAC. As a member of the Pacific Rim, Australia should clearly understand that Asia-Pacific nations will prefer multilateral security cooperation, there is an unstoppable trend to create the new international political, economic and security order, and all nations should understand this trend and adapt to it. All nations should understand the real meaning of win-win cooperation in order to preserve peace in the Pacific Rim and the world. China is not a threat to Australia; its development brings Australia great opportunities and huge benefits. Thus it is wise to proactively develop positive political and commercial relations with China.

It is pleasing to see that China and Australia are deepening their military relations and developing their defence exchanges and cooperation. This October, China was for the first time invited by Australia and the US to join a small-scale military exercise held in northern Australia.14 In return, China unprecedentedly invited the Australian Defense Force to join the ‘Phoenix Spirit’ emergency response and disaster relief military exercises on Chinese territory. Additionally, this year, the top leaders of the Australian army, air force and navy visited China, and in July Fang Changlong, a Vice Chairman of the PRC Central Military Commission, made a reciprocal visit. The (now former) Australian Defense Minister, David Johnston, the Chief of the Australian Defense Force, Mark Binskin, and the Secretary of the Department of Defense, Dennis Richardson, all visited China too.15 The present writer looks forward to China and Australia exploring further opportunities for military exchange.

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SECTION IV
OPINION ARTICLE
CHINESE

第四部分
个人评论部分
中文类作品
我眼里的“香蕉人”

王丝雨

这篇文章荣获了“中澳青年联合会学报个人评论部分一等奖（中文）”。

王丝雨，来自浙江上虞，悉尼大学第一批高考学生。目前就读于商学院。对传媒和法律有着强烈的热爱，同时拥有多年主持经历。高中时为文科生，热爱写作，尤其是小说和诗歌。

中国，一个弥漫着五千年文明，浸淫过漫长封建皇权的国度；澳大利亚，一个散发着悠闲洒脱气息，且极具多元包容性的民族。正是人类的迁徙和种族的繁衍，让这两个极难有交集的民族，产生出包容着中澳双重元素的概念——澳洲“香蕉人”。

“香蕉人”，有黄肤白心的戏谑意味，英文名“Australian-Born Chinese”，简称 ABC，专指那些澳大利亚华人移民的华裔后代。虽然在样貌上和中国人无异，但他们不识汉字汉音，说着一口流利的澳式英语。面对这个日渐庞大的群体，太多的好奇促使着我与大家分享一些我和 ABC 的故事。

S：一个热烈率真的个性潮妞

S 是我在澳洲遇到的第一个 ABC，衣着时尚，热烈张扬，能言善辩，争强好胜，很典型地代表了大学里那些高分高能的 ABC。某次小组 presentation，当时组里除了 S，还有另一寡言温和的 ABC 及我们几个中国学生。很明显，占据性格以及语言双重优势的 S 继续着她一贯的“独霸”的风格。

根据对我们几个华人语言能力的判断，她总是把最简单及简短的问题留给了我们，自己当仁不让地承担了最复杂和最困难的部分。虽然我们几个对她微词已久，但纠结于讲英文我们拼不过，讲中文对方听不懂的无奈，权衡之下都选择了隐忍。就是在那次的 presentation，我做了一个大胆的决定，在 S 的陈述过程中抓住了她几秒钟思考的空隙，开始了我对那个问题的理解和阐述。在还算流利的陈述过程中，我的余光扫到了全组人惊愕的表情以及 S 尴尬的眼神，我当时以为自己和 S 是彻底陌路了。结果，在那之后 S 反倒主动和我说起话来，在后来的时间，我们也会在偶遇时打招呼并且闲扯上几句。

这件事让我对 S 这个张扬的女孩有了不一样的看法，她以自小习惯的思维方式考量问题，所以她会很自然地在中国的海滩上穿比基尼，在课堂上自由地表达对他人的不满，她会显性地表现出自己的好强，不顾及组员的面子，但也会对别人的大胆展示表现出理解和尊重。之后我也接触过很多高分高能的 ABC，渐渐发现，其实当国际学生顺畅有力地表达自己观点的时候，一个学习小组里才会有多真的和谐。

C：一个没有特别感觉的大男生
人们总是喜欢去猜测一些他们不熟悉的事物，比如我和闺蜜闲聊时总会做一些设想，假设我的孩子是一个 ABC，那么他/她对外界的感触是怎样的？会因为外貌的不同而忧郁失落吗？会难以界定自己的身份归属吗？

我无法亲身体会作为 ABC 的感觉，并且在很长一段时间内都不敢去问身边那些“香蕉人”，因为怕自己的问题不妥当，怕别人反感。直到我遇见了 C，一个父母来自上海的 ABC 大男生。

我和 C 一直是某门课的同桌，因而关系还算不错，这也使得我鼓足勇气在某天傍晚向他询问了这个困惑已久的问题。

C 听到问题后沉默了一分钟，"我很愿意回答你这个问题，但你想让我回答些什么呢？"

C 接着说道，"在我很小的时候，我曾觉得自己和别人有些不同，但后来就没有了：如果我问你在中国的感受，你会怎么回答？"

我一时间愣住了，"我本来就是中国人呀，倘若我是美国人的孩子却生长在中国，或许会不同。"

C 对我很温和地笑笑，"其实我就想说，我没什么特别的感觉，我就是澳洲人。"

C 没有说错，我们总是以自己的观念去希望别人做出相应的回答，就像我一直以自己在留学澳洲的经历幻想着 ABC 的感觉。那么，我们在意的究竟又是什么呢？

H：一个平静而淡定的小男孩

和 C 对中国传统的《易经》和“道教”还有所关注不同，H 算是“香蕉人”中对传统东方文明根本没兴趣的一类。H 是一个台湾移民后代的 00 后小男孩，也是我德语辅导班的同桌。H 的德语非常棒，高过同班的我一大截，因此我在赞美之余总是建议他趁着年龄还小学一些中文，H 不置可否。之后我们也谈过乐器，H 说他学过萨克斯，于是我告诉他我小时候学古筝。

当我看到 H 平淡的表情后便问他，"你知道什么是古筝吗？"，他摇摇头。

我仍不死心，"古筝在中国就像钢琴在西方世界一样重要呢"，H 仍是一脸平静地点了点头。在那之后我再也没有动过劝 H 去了解学习中国文化的念头，即便 H 的母亲来自中华传统文化盛行的台湾。

和 S 小姐以及 C 先生一样，H 作为第二代移民，他并不在意自己东方的血统，也不在意别人对他外貌的看法，他对外界有自己的认识和喜好，他已经完完全全是一个澳大利亚人了。

在和 ABC 一次次的接触中，我发现“香蕉人”背后的含义正在越来越清晰，他们甚至不能被称作新澳洲人，因为他们已经融入了澳大利亚广阔的土地和天空之中。除了体貌特征，他们是被所有澳洲元素组装的一群人，举手投足都代表着这个太平洋上的大国。
基因是个神奇的东西，它以顽强的力量决定着每个人都有着一个特定的初始值；同时，承载着基因的人文环境，也有着巨大的能量，它顽强地促成着人文基因的激变。因此，当我再次遇见那些 ABC 时，我会在心里对他们说：“你好呀，澳大利亚人!”
从“环太平洋—2014”军事演习看中国军事软实力提升

赵晓冬

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引言

2014年6月，中美网络安全问题以及南海和东海争端硝烟未平，作为环太平洋国家的一员，中国首次应邀参加了“环太平洋—2014”军事演习，不仅向世界传递了中国愿意参与交流、增进双方或多边合作的态度，而且展现了中国海军的软实力和中国形象。

一、军事软实力的概念

软实力这一概念最早由美国学者约瑟夫•奈在上世纪80年代提出，他认为软实力是一种同化性权力（co-optive power），即通过影响、劝诱和说服使别人相信或支持自己的行动，在实现国家利益方面比“萝卜加大棒”的传统方法代价更低。如今，这种力量的重要性正在日趋凸现。一些国家正越来越多地借助“软实力”来掌控主导权，干预国际政治，最终确保他们国家的国际地位和影响力。

在军事领域，中国目前对于软实力的应用的研究还不多。黄建国教授认为“军事软实力是指将物质与人力资源转化为有效战斗力的能力，是用非强制手段影响与塑造别国的能力，是相对于军事硬实力而言间接形成威慑与打击能力的实力”。当今世界，国家之间的相互关系日益密切、战争成本不断攀升，恰如其分的用好军事软实力，对于争取军事斗争的主动权，维护国家利益，具有重要意义。

首先，加强军事软实力建设是时代发展的要求。汪红伟认为中国军事软实力“维护国家利益的特征、方式是硬实力无法替代的”。当今世界处在大变革、大调整之中，国际上各种矛盾纷繁复杂，从性质上看，许多矛盾属于非对抗性矛盾，基本的解决方式不是斗争，而是合作。从形式来看，国际恐怖主义等威胁着人类的安全，金融危机影响着世界的发展，解决这些问题只能通过国际合作，提升军事软实力是关键。

其次，加强军事软实力建设是中国发展的客观需要。心理学家马斯洛认为，人的需求按照由低到高分为五个层次，依次是：生理需求、安全需求、归属需求、尊重需求和自我实现需求。在国家层次上，新中国成立60多年来，我们实现了国家独立和经济发展，国家需求实现了从“求生存”、“求安全”到“求发展”再到“求归属”和“求尊重”的历史性转变。作为国际

1 约瑟夫•奈，《软实力：世界政治成功的手段》，纽约：公共事务，2004年。
2 黄建国，《军事软实力问题初探》，《国防大学学报(战略问题研究)》，2004年第7期，第22-24页。
3 汪红伟，《论军事软实力视野下的中国军事外交》，《甘肃社会科学》，2009年第2期。

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社会负责任的一员，树立良好的国家形象，维护国际安全秩序并推动建立公正合理的国际安全新秩序，“推动建设持久和平、共同繁荣的和谐世界”，是当代中国发展的客观需要。

第三，军事软实力是硬实力的倍增器。汤光鸿教授通过类比著名的克莱因国力方程式，提出“军队的实力或战斗力...由精神要素放大”4。王幸生和吴志忠也认为“一支军队的战斗力及其实战斗力为承担的履行使命的能力”是硬实力与软实力的乘积。软硬实力是车之双轮、鸟之双翼：军事硬实力是软实力的基础和后盾，没有过硬的硬实力，软实力缺少支撑；而军事软实力是一种渗透性的力量，如果一支军队缺乏软实力，必将增加硬实力的使用成本，这已经被古今中外战争史证明。当年毛泽东用我军“钢少气多”、美军“钢多气少”点评朝鲜战争，就生动的说明了军事软硬实力的作用。

二、从“环太军演-2014”看中国运用军事软实力

环太平洋军演是国际上规模最大的多国海上联合军演。美国主导的“环太军演”今年首次邀请中国参加有着自己的考虑，但是中国也成功地通过发挥军事软实力，实现了此次参演的两个主要战略目标：

一方面，中国向世人展示了中国的军事软实力和追求和平与合作的国际形象。中国此次派遣通体洁白的“和平方舟”号医院船参加演习，和军事演习中实兵武力对抗截然不同，是一张靓丽的国家和平形象的名片。北京想要显示，中国不断增长的军力是为了和平与人道主义目的，能在国际安全合作中发挥积极和建设性作用。同时进一步表明中国“君子和而不同”的立场，我国历来主张不结盟，更不会穷兵黩武。

另一方面，中国此次参演对促进中美两军良性互动以及改善中美关系意义重大。中国参演舰船从2012年确定的一艘，增加到四艘，向美国传递着主动深化中美合作的诚意。同时也向国际社会发出重大的政治信号：中国正在崛起，但中国并不想因为分歧而取美国而代之。亚太地区是中美利益交织最密集、互动最频繁的地区，此次中美军事关系向前迈进了一大步，降低了中美因此产生直接敌对和冲突的空间，对中美两国两军关系的发展以及地区与世界的和平稳定，都将起到积极的促进作用。

其实，不仅仅是通过此次环太军演，中国在近年来通过不同军事任务军事行动放出中国军队谋求“和平”，“合作”的信号。譬如，其中最为人耳熟能详的，中国海军接受索马里，德、法、西班牙等多国邀请，参与到打击索马里海盗的行动中，前后派出共计十八支索马里护航编队为航经亚丁湾、索马里海域的中国船只、人员，以及世界粮食计划署等国际组织运送人道主义物资的船舶护航，受到联合国秘书长潘基文以及众多国家的称赞。中国海军是促进海军之间的国际合作，维护地区稳定的一支不可或缺的力量。

三、中国发展军事软实力的机遇及挑战

1. 树立中国军队正面形象

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4 汤光鸿，《必须重视我军‘软实力’建设》，《南京政治学院学报》，2006年第6卷，第98-99页。
5 王幸生、吴志忠，《军事软实力刍论》，《解放军报》，2007年6月7日。
任何一个成功的广告的基础都是产品自身的优质，同理，中国若想使其军事软实力具有强大的影响力与说服力，并使中国国家利益在国际事务中更具有国际合法性，首先需要建立一个对政府及公众都具有吸引力的军队形象。

军事其根本是国家的暴力手段，但同时也应发挥国家文化与价值观载体的功能。中国军事文化历史悠久，博大精深，在长期的革命战争和军队建设实践中，塑造出内涵丰富辐射力强的价值准则、行为规范和生活理念，并形成了人民军队的宗旨、历史传统、和战斗精神等特色军事文化。古有《武经七书》等兵家精粹，今有雷锋精神、长城文化等品牌和亮点。它们传达的不仅是兵法谋略，更是中华军事文化博大精深的“慎战”、“博弈”等思想，中国军人勇往直前，护国保家的尚武精神，以及中国军队礼法互补，仁义为本的治军思想。这些思想流演在当今中国军人的血液中，对内滋养着军队的凝聚力和向心力，对外增进国际社会对中国军事文化的认同。其价值值得进一步挖掘以及宣扬，以先进军事文化提升中国军队的良好形象，以文明之光、道德之力形成超越国界的吸引力、影响力和征服力。

新中国国防外交政策与实践也具有强大的感染力与吸引力，是中国军事软实力的重要来源。今年恰逢和平共处五项原则发表了60周年。作为中国代表性的独立自主的外交政策，体现的是中国谋求地区和平，发展合作的态度。其作为规范国际关系准则，促进国际合作的价值在当今世界权力转移时期尤为重要，也的确为越来越多国家所接受。另外，中国古代遭遇侵犯，几度面临亡国，中国人民及军队对战争侵掠深恶痛绝，现在以及未来将一直是维护世界和地区和平稳定、反对战争侵掠的坚定力量。中国坚定不移地奉行防御性的国防政策，要求建立互相尊重、互不干涉的国际新秩序。这种对于和平的诉求使中国军队作为“正义之师、和平之师”对全世界期盼和平的人民，尤其是曾经或正饱受战争摧残的人民，具有强大的吸引力。

近年来，中国军事软实力正面形象的也在不同的部队实践与任务中走向世界。简·哈曼女士指出，赈灾及人道主义救援工作将援助对象直接指向公众，紧密联系起两国政府和民众，是高效的对外政策工具，帮助国家充分展示其正面军事软实力。中国人民军队在赈灾以及国际人道主义援助方面出色。从汶川地震和南方雪灾，到中国派出了联合国常任理事国中人数最多的维和队伍奔赴世界各地积极完成任务，世界看到了人民解放军部队表现出的高度的系统整合调配力以及不怕吃苦、高效抢险救灾的能力，中国负责任大国的形象，与赈灾过程中来自各国各民族群众对解放军最深层广泛的支持。在此中国人民军队同时肩负起了“公众外交”的职责，而他们完成任务的成效则直接与世界对于人民解放军的理解和认同力联系起来，转化为中国军事软实力的一部分。

建设好一个积极的有吸引力的人民军队形象是发展中国军事软实力的第一步。由此我们才可以进一步进行媒体宣传，并以根植人心的正面形象在国际事务方面占据先机。因此中国应充分挖掘其军事方面的历史财富，结合新中国成立以来的国防外交政策与实践任务，以中国视角不断充实中国特色的军事软实力，宣扬军队“威武之师、正义之师、和平之师”的形象。

2. 增强对外宣传，增强设置议题能力

战友们报社社长易文华认为，现代信息化战争更注重精神征服，而新闻传播、新闻战、新闻传播权，已成为决定战争胜负的重要战略力量。⑦在当今世情、国情、军情的大背景下，推进中国先进军事文化走出去，既要面临难得的历史机遇，也面临着严峻的时代挑战。比如西方媒体散布的中国军事威胁论，恶意负面报道新疆自治区暴乱等，都是在刻意抹黑中国军队形象。据统计，2005年度美联社、路透社、法新社、俄塔社、共同社以及台湾“中央社”播发有关中国国防和军队稿件2640条，其中正面报道仅占6.9%。⑧因此中国需要付出更多努力才能取得国际社会的认同。而中国军队国际形象的传播面对的是全世界的受众，分别来自不同国家和民族，拥有不同的文化和价值观，中西文化天然的鸿沟给军事文化对外传播造成巨大障碍。

笔者认为，中国一方面应该提高国防透明度，营造互信协作的舆论环境。先声夺人，努力提高议程设置能力。中国近年来积极参加中外联合军事演习，合作国家数目不断增加，仅2013年一年就参加了“海上联合-2013”、“和平使命-2013”中俄反恐演习，东盟防长扩大会议海上安全演习，美中人道主义救援减灾联演，“携手-2013”中印陆军反恐联合训练等联合军演。但中国在面对军事演习的新闻媒体报道的态度方面还比较保守。环太军演期间，霍尔少将在舰上起居室接受了中国中央电视台采访，相比之下，中国只是允许西方媒体登上“和平方舟”号医院船。且他们坚持报道发表或广播前有权否决。⑨中国应该及时，客观，清晰地展示自己的国防政策和战略意图，彰显作为环太大国的气度。同时争取抢先进行报道，因为网络上最初的评论对后续评论有很强的方向引导倾向，甚至有时主流媒体都会“被引导”。主动设置议题，掌握舆论，而不是被动接受国际上的提问，在国际舆论中掌握主动权，才能更好地推广宣传中国军队的形象。

另一方面，易文华认为中国应该积极拓展对外宣传，通过“中国立场，国际表达”，改变中国军队宣传惯于用官方一个声音说话的倾向，用西方人可接受的方式进行传播，用“世界语”打动受众。“春秋笔法”，寓政治与文化，将宣传意图巧妙地蕴含在新闻事实当中。⑩

3. 积极参与或主导构建区域性和全球性国际安全新机制

中国是具有世界性影响的新兴亚太大国，如何寻求与原有大国共赢是中国今后发展的必要条件。⑪首要的是要提高中国自身的政策影响力和在国际舞台上的话语权。中国邻国众多。陆地上需要维护与包括与俄罗斯、中亚诸国、阿富汗、印度、巴基斯坦等国家的边界和平与稳定，在海疆上需要面对近来硝烟四起的东海及南海问题。除了采用经济手段，通过加强经济贸易互惠来改善中国的战略环境，中国还应积极推动双边或多边防务安全对话，以地区大国的姿态主动参与并在一定情势下主导构建区域性和（和）全球性国际安全体系，以此为国与国之间的互信提供机制保障。“截至目前，中国军队在与美国、俄罗斯、日本、澳大利亚、英国、法国等国家建立防务安全磋商机制的基础上，逐步拓展到巴基斯坦、蒙古、泰国、越
南、菲律宾等周边国家”。同时，中国应该深化对国际制度的认识和利用，并在参与国际制度建设的过程中不断引领对制度的完善创新与新制度的制定，使其更符合中国拓展其安全利益的客观需要。

4. 中国发展军事软实力的挑战

英国雷丁大学国际政治与战略研究教授科林•格雷教授 2001 年发表专著，特别提示我们在发展中国军事软实力的过程中要注意军事硬实在今日并非一个时代错误（anachronism）。软实力并非可被一个国家政府简单培养并完全掌控利用，所以政策、战略对军事软实力的意义要小于其对军事硬实力的意义。军事硬实力仍具有作为政策工具的时代意义，是保障国家安全的最后堡垒。同时，因为军事软实力对本身较难被影响，劝诱和说服的国家或组织的影响较小（比如针对尤其是建立在极端排外的宗教信仰上的恐怖组织的军事打击，效果要远远高于尝试对激进恐怖分子进行价值观感化，或金钱收买）。军事硬实力仍是保证完成许多难度较高的任务的首选。因此，中国必须在奉行防御型安全政策的前提下，稳步将经济实力转化为军事能力，大力推动军事改革整合，军队现代化，武器智能化，以及培养高学历高素质军人，以保证军队对外“能打仗、打胜仗”，对内对分裂组织和恐怖分子施加有力的震慑。

四、结论

中国军事软实力的发展过程，特别近几年在国际维和行动和人道主义救援中的突出表现，告诉我们，软实力是国家综合实力的重要组成部分，军事软实力的发展对展示国家良好形象，更好的发挥在国际事务中的作用，具有重要意义。对于堪培拉处理国际关系，也有很大的借鉴意义。

第一，软实力的强大对增强国家的总体实力有重要作用。从历史上看，中国的抗日战争和解放战争时期，八路军、新四军的武器装备乃至指战员的军事技能都远远落后于日军和国民党中央军，但是，中国共产党及其领导的军队，凭着坚定的理想信念和英勇无畏、不怕牺牲的革命精神，赢得了广大人民群众的支持，打赢了战争。而在当今和平时期，非战争军事行动是我军软实力建设的新平台。军事软实力的发展，不仅可以保护国家安全，更重要的是在抢险救灾、应对安全事件和维护社会稳定等非战争军事行动中发挥作用。从 98 抗洪、2003 年抗击非典、2008 年的抗震救灾，到平息骚乱，保护人民生命财产安全，军队软实力的提升都提供了最迅速、便捷和有效的保障，有力的保护了人民利益，维护了国家利益。从国际上看，中国军事软实力的提升，在国际维和行动、人道主义救援、亚丁湾护航中也发挥着越来越多的作用，被越来越多的国家向中国海军伸出了橄榄枝。

第二，中国是维护世界和平的重要力量。美国是当今世界最大的发达国家，也是实力最强的大国，中国是最大的发展中国家和新兴大国，中美两军合作友好是实现亚太和平的基础。中方应邀参加 2014 年环太平洋军演，说明两国均高度重视改善和发展两军关系：美国之所以提出邀请中国参加环太军演，是因为美国在本地区乃至国际事务中不能不与中国进行合作；中国积极响应并参加军演，也想世界展示了维护和平的态度和胸怀。聪明的国家，应

12 章沁生，《中国的军事外交》，《学习时报》，2007 年 5 月 14 日，
www.china.com.cn/aboutchina/data/guofang/2008-07/05/content_15959902.htm。
13 科林·S·格雷，《硬实力和软实力：在二十一世纪运用军事力量作为政策工具》，宾夕法尼亚：美国陆军战略研究所，2011 年。
该从环太军演中阅读出中美之间的竞合关系。澳大利亚作为一个环太平洋成员国，应该清醒的认识到底边安全合作是亚太安全格局的潮流，建立新的国际政治、经济、安全秩序势不可挡，要顺势而为。充分认识到合作共赢对环太平洋地区安全以及世界和平的重要意义，以及军国主义和战争对国际社会共同的威胁。中国不是澳大利亚的威胁，中国的发展是澳大利亚的机遇，亚洲、特别是中国的崛起，能够为澳大利亚提供强大现实利益。积极发展与中国的友好关系和经济往来才是明智之举。

令人欣喜的是，中澳之间的军事关系正在加深，国防交流合作正在加强。中国第一次受美国和澳大利亚邀请参加今年十月在北部澳大利亚举行的一次小规模军事演习，各方都很期待通过此演演习加深军事合作，并提高各方之间的透明度。14同时，中国也第一次邀请澳大利亚国防军参加在中国领土举行的“凤凰精神”军事演习，在应急救灾方面进行演练。此外，澳洲的海、陆、空三军首领今年都曾前往中国访问，而中国中央军委副主席范长龙也曾在7月访问澳洲。澳洲国防部长庄士敦（David Johnston）、国防军司令宾斯金（Mark Binskin）及国防部秘书长理查森（Dennis Richardson）也将在今年内赴华访问。15笔者期待中澳双方在不久的将来探索更多军事交流的机会。

14 法新社,《中国参与美澳军演》，《国防新闻》，2014年7月17日，

15 布伦丹·尼科尔森,《澳大利亚国防军与中国解放军同路》，《澳大利亚人报》，2014年9月1日，
中国和伟大的户外活动：
当中国“回归自然”时澳洲有何提议

席格伦

这篇文章荣获了“中澳青年联合会学报个人评论部分一等奖（英文）”。

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英语原文由佳蔚翻译为中文。

最近，云南西北部的迪庆辖区政府，香格里拉属于该区域，决定其发展重点将不包括例如采矿、环境开发的活动，而是着重发展可持续旅游业。中国及海外的环境保护论者们和自然爱好者们无疑对这一战略性的决定表示欢迎。如果经营得当，这还会带来丰厚的回报，因为中国的户外生态游市场正经历快速的发展，从数据上看，在过去十年内增长了 30%。现在，在任何一个中国中型或大型城市，你可以看到许多户外时尚和设备零售商，这只是我们可以看到的中国渴望“回归自然”的提示之一。

然而，在中国，在这片拥有 13 亿人口的土地上，所有事情都要重新衡量。尽管“回归自然”理所应当地应该受到欢迎，但如果经营不当的话，事实上大量中国自然和户外爱好者们——被称为“驴友”——会比商业采矿产生更多破坏。作为一名劲头十足的户外爱好者，我正积极地参与到中国这一领域的研究和干预中去。我亲眼目睹了“驴友”的大量增长，并且看到一些拥有美丽自然风光的偏远地区突然被成千上万的远足者淹没时，会发生什么。在这不长的篇幅中，我想对其增长做一些解释，并且谈谈澳洲作为一个在有保护价值的区域进行旅游业和户外休闲管理有丰富经验积累的国家，如何帮助中国户外产业发展成型，并确保环境保护得以进行，使中国独特的自然遗产可以继承到未来监护人手中。

“回归自然”是一个推拉因素的结合。通过定期的媒体报道和去中国直接旅游得到的证实，中国主要城市糟糕的空气质量是众所周知的消息。纽约时报的一个博客引用了中国最近的一项调查，调查总结道在 161 个监控的中国城市中仅有 6 个通过了“洁净空气”测试。水质也没有太好，而在许多地方水质实际上比我们呼吸的空气质量更差。

不仅如此，在城市化进程快速发展期间，以及在强烈的社会竞争意识下，许多人感觉到社会道德沦丧和现在城市生活的压力。我不是第一个用社会达尔文或狄更斯风格的术语形容当代中国社会的评论者。对于许多人来说，获得一份好工作，挣钱买房，送孩子入学，存钱退休并且希望在此过程中享受一些现代生活带来的“好处”，这些都很困难。因此，在推力下，拥挤、污染和相互疏远的城市环境推动那些有能力支付的人们走到乡村去得以喘息，这也不足为奇了。城市污染和交通拥堵本身就引起对于清新空气，湛蓝天空和舒适景观的渴望。
在公式的拉力那一边，有一些因素值得一提。首先是相对便宜高校且快速发展的全国交通网，它为中国偏远地区提供可到达的方式。在过去 30 年里，特别是过去 20 年内，中国当局在建设全国交通基础设施上大量投资。通过一直发展的高速公路网，航空网，高铁网等等，现在从城市逃离到被视作偏远和难以抵达的地区待上几天，已经成为可能，这些地方还包括从大市中心驱车几小时就可到达的区域。

第二，更多可支配的收入，旅游住宿预算的增长，以及私家车的增长使得休闲旅游更加负担得起且更加普遍。大规模的旅游产业为更多样的旅游市场的出现提供平台，这包括独立旅行者的增长，特别是低花费的背包客人数的增长。

第三，社交网络平台的出现可以行程共享和组团旅游组织更加快速高效。广泛使用的平台例如 QQ 和微信使得人们对一种令人鼓舞的方式与旅行者们共享信息，他们鼓励像户外爱好者一样的自我发展的新方式，这些爱好者们寻找具有挑战的状况，以提高他们的耐力。这些平台还为个人提供机会分享信息，组织社会群体，以打破传统的休闲旅游模式，该模式极度依赖大型的旅游提供者。

在 20 世纪 90 年代，第一批驴友通常是大学生或年轻的白领，他们开始逃离城市，画上几日远足。随着时间的推移，一些社团成立了，一些人正式注册，但是往往除了与其他兴趣相投的同伴一起接近大自然没有其他内容。现在，一些社团拥有超过一千万会员，而这些社团以半商业化旅行社的模式经营着。涓涓细流汇成奔腾的江流。

不幸的是，许多当地政府和社区没有时间，技术和资源来应对这些突然涌入的游客，他们只能利用这大好机会立起大门收取入门费。否则，由远足者们频繁光顾的地方会疏于管理，会因缺少适当垃圾管理和踩踏留下的痕迹受到损害。更严重的问题是远足者们缺少安全意识和准备。这也导致媒体报道有远足者失踪，而一些死亡事故也并非少见。


作为一个在管理户外活动有着几十年经验的国家，澳洲有太多可以与中国分享。许多中国驴友会希望在澳洲这样的地方探索生态旅游和冒险旅游的机会。事实上，他们已经开始这样做了，今年夏天，塔斯马尼亚的一些户外旅游提供者已经在克雷德尔山为远足者提供服务。

今年，研讨会将发展成论坛，在中国西南部的云南举行，作为举办地的历史城市宝山位于丝绸之路的南段。我们很高兴可以得到亚洲发展银行的大力支持，他们还积极参与到促进大湄公河次区域的可持续旅游中。我还想感谢 Sea to Summit 和西澳大学的慷慨支持。这次论坛包括去往附近高黎贡山国家级自然保护区游览，沿途课饱览古老的丝绸之路南段。这一景点将最终成为中国可持续远足旅游的典范，是同类景点中的第一个。我们还将从澳洲带来路线设计和管理专家，让他们在论坛上分享经验，同时对潜在的项目景点提出建议。这是我们所能设想的中澳间此类合作的良好范例。通过这些努力，我们希望建立对话和
一个可共享信息的平台。随着时间流逝，它们可以对中国的户外活动和远足目标产生积极地影响。

听到这么多关于中国无法呼吸的空气和污水的报道，我们很容易忽视这个国家广袤美丽的自然风光。我们希望与志同道合这共同合作来保护下一代的资产。请访问以下网站获取更多信息和持续的更新：www.outdoorpartnership.com。同时也欢迎您关注和支持我们作出的努力，我们的脸书网主页：https://www.facebook.com/australiachinaoutdoors。
中国之外，澳洲国立美术馆之内

Paul J. Farrelly

Paul J. Farrelly 是澳大利亚国立大学中华全球研究中心的博士生。他的博士论文是通过研究《Tikki Tikki Tembo》、吴宇森警匪题材的大片和乐队 Beastie Boys 有藏族佛教风的嘻哈音乐（这到底会不会被认同为有“中国味”也不是很清楚），我的青春几乎毫无中国文化的痕迹。我没有来自中国的笔友，也没有利用澳洲高中和大学之间的间隔年在某个中国三线城市教英语。我甚至在 19 岁之前没学过用筷子。虽然辨别那个激发我职业生涯的决定性时刻并不容易，但有一件事却时常浮现在我脑中。

蜕变突破

2000 年 6 月，一场名为《蜕变突破：华人新艺术》的展览在澳大利亚国立美术馆（NGA）开幕。这是由日本的亚洲协会和旧金山现代艺术馆联合举办的一个中国现代艺术展览。此展览从美国巡游至澳大利亚，香港以及其它地方。但它能来到堪培拉完全是偶然。此前一个日本美术馆取消了它们的场次，才让展览日程上腾出了这个空，来到了堪培拉。尽管大多数参展的艺术家来自中国大陆，来自台湾和香港地区的作品也有许多。几年后，当我回想起这些意想不到让我潜移默化的影响，我会被沉溺于思考一些与中澳之间联系有关的问题：艺术是一种软实力，而“中国味”又是难以捉摸，那么中国和澳大利亚是如何通过艺术在 21 世纪相互影响的呢？

尽管现在的我对中国的现代艺术一直保持兴趣，我在 21 岁时参观《蜕变突破》展览的时候却完全是个新手。当时的我对中国的艺术传统和潮流缺乏认识，也对展览上艺术家们无所知。但偶然的是，我后来在新闻报道上看到的张洹的行为艺术作品“我的澳大利亚”激起了我强烈的兴趣。尽管张洹的作品是由大量的裸体，假血和一头被拴住的羔羊而组成，所有的这些东西都保证吸引着观众们的注意，甚至那些最不在乎和表达兴趣的观众们的注意。但正是张洹这种大胆挑衅的精神打动了我。在接下来的那几天，《堪培拉时报》刊登了一张张洹本人裸体以及一只在审视他的作品《为了提高鱼塘的水位》的羊的照片。

2 亚洲协会，华人新艺术，http://sites.asiasociety.org/arts/insideout/；爱丽丝·詹明慧，蜕变突破：华人新艺术，《降落伞》，1999 年第 95 期，第 48-49 页。
3 《艺术家对他在画展开幕时的裸体照并不忌讳》，《堪培拉时报》，2000 年 6 月 3 日，第 1 版。
照片附上的报道中，张洹“令人兴奋”的表演被记者形容为“将永远陪伴着我”。

这次展览显然对《堪培拉时报》的记者有所影响。一位展览开幕会的艺评说到：“这是一场有争议性的展览，而它激起的影响也是霸道的，但观众一次又一次地回来，因为它太令人着迷了。”在回顾《蜕变突破》的时候，艺术评论家Sasha Grishin在两点上对其进行赞扬：“首先，它为堪培拉带来了绝对令人震惊的作品，这些作品在任何眼里都是出类拔萃的。其次，它能作为中国视觉艺术史上的一个“时间胶囊”，因为它呈现了中国视觉艺术中的一个非常重要而且激动人心的时期，这一时期产生了许多有丰富创造力的作品。”但是当本地行家们为此叫绝的时候，中国大使馆却被触怒了。有关人士指出，负责文化事务的孙领事在与澳大利亚国立美术馆馆长Brian Kennedy博士和高层员工会面时提出了一些担忧，比如此次展览有涉及到政治内容，来自台湾地区艺术家的参展，以及审美上的关注，比如认为更加传统的做法比具有冲击性的一些当代作品更合适。值得称赞的是，澳大利亚国立美术馆没有改变做法。那样一来，中澳以一种令人费解的方式走到了一起，并且正好在我的家乡。蕴酿着浓厚兴趣的我便带着口袋里的七块半澳元向国立美术馆出发。

由于我缺少欣赏现代艺术的历练，《蜕变突破》震惊了我的想象力。我进入了一个色彩缤纷，令人困惑并充满冲击的奇妙世界。此展览中除了流行艺术（因为一个热爱罗伊·利希滕斯坦的高中艺术老师，我对这种艺术很熟悉）还有很多可以吸引我的作品。其中有张晓刚的《血缘：大家庭 2》中充满警惕性的一家人，对比着方力均的《作品系列 2之2》中的光头，还有耿建翌的《第二状态 1–4》中扭曲有力但又表情含糊的人脸。所有这些都给我留下了深刻的印象，甚至那么多年后如果你问我提及“中国现代艺术”，我会想到的第一个词就是“脸”。但是这些惊人的人脸并不是铭记在我脑中唯一的事情。

《蜕变突破》所描绘的画面是这样一个场所 — 在那里，几千年来艺术手法和幻想已经与新的思想和影响融合。一个充满活力，混乱，并时而令人不快的社会展露了在我面前。就连一些日常物品的展现，例如家具，茶杯，饺子，被废弃的建筑，摩天大楼和建筑工地的出现都令人感到激动和新鲜。看到这些作为在二十一世纪初百花齐放的中国文化的代表让我对之后我在中国大陆，香港，西藏以及台湾地区之行的观察有了一定的视觉标准。

《蜕变突破》的艺术价值是备受争议的，但它的美学质量并不是刺激我想要认真研究中国动力的。实际上是中国的错综复杂给我了那迎面一击。《蜕变突破》看似是一个新兴领域的实物表现，而我至今也只能在表面领会这个领域中歪曲的历史和遏制不住的形式。它就像一个已被极度风格化的中国直接降落到了澳大利亚，并给了我一些在这里不常见的视觉震撼。除了一些毛主席的形象外，我并没有在展览中感受到强烈的政治色彩。但是，
中国的艺术家和作家常常从文化和历史的层次中挖掘出微妙的文字和形象来发表他们的政治评论。《蜕变突破》中微妙地展现出来的异见也许在普通澳大利亚民众眼里并未能浮现。

**强硬软实力**

作为带我走进当代中国的一扇窗，《蜕变突破》是出众的。但让我感到遗憾的是中国执政的共产党试图过封闭此次展览。但是，因为不符合官方的认可或有“冲击性”而去遏制思想的表达不仅仅是中国共产党独有的特权，就连澳大利亚也未能避免这样做。现在，文化界人士喜欢用一个国家的“软实力”来衡量其国力。“软实力”可大致定义为“通过吸引，而非胁迫或偿还来达到目的的能力”。这种实力来自一个国家的文化，政治思想和政策的魅力。尽管中国共产党的“政治思想和政策”的优劣已可得到充分的讨论，特别是对于一些处于国家边缘上的群体，如地区群体（台湾地区，西藏自治区，新疆自治区和香港特别行政区）和社会群体（法轮功，政治激进分子以及某些基督教徒等等），中国文化权威性能超越政治上的约束。《蜕变突破》表明，哪怕是大胆前卫的展示也能够激发观众们的兴趣，就算他们平时根本不会注意到或者真正地接受中国文化。

**中国味**

回想起我对《蜕变突破》的印象，它其中所描绘的“中国味”是很值得思考的。当然，从一个艺术家的角度来看，我无法辨别中国大陆，台湾地区和香港特别行政区之间艺术的区别。展览管理人曾在展览介绍本中从历史和艺术这两个角度讨论了这三个分支，但是在中国2000年时对我来说这不是个问题。更确切地说，中国味表现为一种极端的“他者化”。这些景色，符号以及这些图片的呈现显然不是我相对封闭的世界观中的一部分。中国味这模糊概念在创作作品的呈现中产生，而我像大多数澳大利亚人一样对其只有走马观花似的了解。

如果脱离了它背景，有一些图片看起来只是普世生活中平淡无奇的呈现。然而，中文的广泛性以及精湛的笔墨功底都暗示了一贯的艺术传统在当代中国仍有重要的角色。对我来说，这一点在画家任戩难以捉摸但轻柔的单色画《天地冥》中得到最好的体现。显然，任戩运用了现代绘画的技艺，但是《天地冥》看起来好似又同时在描绘理想中过去和不可思议的当代中国。谷文達的《联合国：中国纪念碑－天坛》中风格怪诞的屏风上是头发编织成的不同语言的手稿特别震撼人心。受到谷文達的影响，我已不能区别正规和创作出来的汉字，就像艺术家徐冰用电脑生成的假汉字一样。

**# 中澳**

如今中澳的关联程度是我在十四年前徜徉在澳大利亚国立美术馆内的时侯无法想象的。我们的国家与中国大陆在社会，政治和经济上的联系不仅越来越重要，而我们与台湾和香港地区也一直是重要的合作伙伴。澳大利亚外交部毕晓普在2014年5月的讲话中强调，澳

**部分澳洲民众。参见：《堪培拉奥运火炬传递中出现不愉快的气氛》，2008年4月24日，http://youtu.be/lLFn6wgrS24。**

**10 约瑟夫·奈， 《软实力：世界政治成功的手段》，纽约：公共事务，2004年，第x页。**

**11 高名潞，《向跨国的现代性而迈进：概述蜕变突破：华人新艺术》，于高名潞（编辑），《概述蜕变突破：华人新艺术》，伯克利：加利福尼亚大学出版社，1998年，第22-27页。**
澳大利亚“有必要拓宽，深入并丰富我们与中国的关系”。部长的意见是正确的 — 一个关系的深度和多样化至关重要。在她不到三千两百字的讲话中，毕晓普把大家都普遍认识的双边关系重点给予了清晰的陈述：她三十次提及经济，十一次提及贸易，却只有一次提及文化。当然中澳之间的贸易是澳大利亚经济的重要组成部分，但我相信中澳关系（当然囊括与台湾和香港地区的关系）将变得更加深入以及更加多样化。我相信澳大利亚人已经做好了这个准备，并且愿意从已巩固的中澳关系中贡献与获益。

1989 年在中国发生的悲惨动乱使许多人中国人离开了祖国。现在，一些艺术家例如郭健，沈嘉蔚，阿先已视澳大利亚为新家。尽管他们时常在这里做展览，增进澳大利亚人对中国的认知并非易事。长期的观察者们会谈到澳大利亚这数十年来的良好意图，白皮书以及未能真正地与我们地区内邻国交流的遗憾之情，但是当我们总是强调我们应该用更多的资源用于教授亚洲文化，历史和语言（我当然支持），可是我们也要记得机遇的作用是很有价值的。尽管澳大利亚学校的课程更加面向多样化的亚洲，而且必将加深澳大利亚青年对此区域的兴趣，可是我们还是有很多的机会去谈一谈文化活动，例如像《蜕变突破》给我们带来过意想不到的益处。创意的激发可以捕获我们真挚的注意力，这是贸易数据做不到的。

机遇

通过艺术，电影，短篇小说译本或其他注入中国文化的偶然方式正是我认为澳大利亚人会接受的那一套。有很多人跟我说他们对来自台湾地区，香港地区，中国大陆以及亚洲其他国家的活动很感兴趣。他们有一些人是通过旅行经历发现的，但是越来越多的机会就是通过他们在澳大利亚的所见所闻。我感觉到大家对中国文化的好奇心越来越重，无论是主流文化还是非传统文化。作为一个国家，让我们把这个对话继续进行下去。《蜕变突破》未能使我变成一个艺术家，甚至连一个艺术生都不是。但是当我走出澳大利亚国立美术馆前门的那一刻，我不仅走进了堪培拉冬日的阳光中，还走进了一个刚刚变大了些的，更加有趣的世界。

12 朱莉·毕晓普，《在中国世纪中的澳大利亚》（演讲），2014 年 5 月 30 日，
求同之路：中澳之新闻媒体

Bill Birtles

Bill Birtles 是澳大利亚广播公司亚太区新闻中心的记者，并专门从事东北亚地区的报道。他曾在中国新华社的国际电视部担任编辑。他也曾是由北京澳大利亚大使馆在2014年6月举办的记者交流论坛中澳大利亚代表团的成员。

英语原文由程敏宜翻译为中文。

在一个六月末北京潮湿的夏日午后，澳大利亚大使馆开着空调，桌上放着茶和甜点，六名中国记者坐在桌子的一边，另一边坐着五位澳大利亚同仁，笔和记事本都准备好了，时刻等着这次为期六日的匆匆中国之行中的首要事件开始。

随着时钟走过下午四点，一名领事馆官员宣布开始，并向在场的各位说明此次会面的实际目的。轮到此次“记者对话”的参与者发言，中国记者们一个接一个地介绍自己所属的媒体单位。四十五分钟后他们才结束，我意识到我们花了大概一半的可支配时间却没有真正讨论一个问题。为留出足够时间讨论正题，澳大利亚方面快速做完介绍。过不多时，我们开始了讨论。

这次会议不是第一次记者们坐下来面对面地就自己相关领域的问题“交换意见”。去年亚太新闻中心和中国记者协会就举办过同样形式的会面。据多方反映，在那次会议中，当一名澳大利亚记者探究中国审查制度在新闻编辑部的实际运作问题时，会场气氛变得有些紧张。

这一次，讨论都还和颜悦色。澳大利亚方面由五名较年轻的报刊以及电视传媒记者组成的代表团被事先告知中国的记者很可能是精心挑选出来传达几点外交部授意的重要讯息的，而随后晚餐中伴着清爽的燕京啤酒的交谈将会更为轻松。

一名《经济日报》社的记者建议澳大利亚媒体为同中国签订的自由贸易协定提供更积极的讨论环境。而一名曾在悉尼办事处工作过的新华社记者回忆了2008年北京奥运会火炬传递时澳大利亚媒体报道的口吻，将讨论的主题转到西方媒体的偏见这一问题上来。

作为一名在新华社主要编辑部工作超过一年的年轻记者，这一对西方媒体不公正对待的控诉并不奇怪。当我第一天走进新华社位于北京西南城区宣武门那宏伟的总部大楼时，一些同事一边和我握手欢迎我的到来一边还在询问这件事。就算事在人心，都过去六年和两届奥运会了，还拿这个说事儿是有些不可思议。

对这些比赛的报道促使新华社社长李从军2011年在华尔街日报写专栏呼吁建立一个类似联合国的全球媒体的监督机构，促进和谐并避免对于不同民族的价值观不尊重的报道。中国政府还创设了世界媒体峰会，持续每年汇集大型媒体公司的首脑们进行年度合作商议。我们参加的记者对话与该峰会秉持相同的精神，只是规模较小。
当日澳方记者的观点表达已被受过了磨练，这是因为中国在澳洲媒体的日益显著：从关于严肃讨论中国政治的大版面到翻译版流行约会节目在澳大利亚民族电视台（SBS）的播出。随着越来越多的与中国社会的接触，澳大利亚媒体讨论中国的口吻也会越来越审慎。这些都体现着鼓舞人心的合作。

澳大利亚广播公司迈出了一大步：今年与上海传媒集团达成了分享娱乐性内容的协议，并在上海建立一个商业基地。在悉尼举行的签约仪式十分热烈，包括了对上海市委书记韩正的访问。而这只是只是澳大利亚广播公司和其他澳洲媒体与中国媒体合作的一部分内容。

然而，在新闻和政治价值上的观念的差异阻碍了更多实质性的飞跃。今年七月，中国国家新闻出版总署和广电总局限制中国记者与外资合作的媒体公司合作的规定，禁止他们接受海外媒体采访。这些措施在澳大利亚全方位努力全面迎接“中国世纪”的形势下使澳洲传媒处于窘境。

近年来，澳大利亚的联邦和州政府极其努力，企业和第三产业与中国进行“合作”、“交换”和“配合”，商业、教育、旅游、政府间，甚至军事方面都呈现出巨大的动力。但对于媒体这样一个如此重视合作者互相理解的行业，还是不能为了勉强达成共识而接受不可调和的差异。承认并尊重中澳新闻文化的差异应该对于两国新闻从业者在未来进行对话是一个良好的开端。

随着在北京举行的对话接近尾声，澳方为回应对于反华偏见的忧虑提出了问题。澳大利亚记者指出，获得中国官员和中国公司代表的意见相对比其他亚洲国家此类人员难得多。澳方指出，记者如万不得已只能就一个重要事件采访别国的记者会更难，因为中国记者与外国媒体对话必须经过许可。

归咎到了中国这里，由于难以获得中国的观点导致了他们认为澳洲媒体是一面之词，我们询问他们澳大利亚记者怎样可以更好地访问有关方面的负责人。其中一名中国记者面露无奈，他看着提问者，面无表情地说：“这不是单方面的问题。”

经过了两个小时，我们终于就这点达成了一致。
中澳农业合作的机遇和挑战

Sinead Ferris

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英语原文由佳蔚翻译为中文。

由于中国对矿产持续增长的需求，澳洲经济安全度过全球金融危机。如今，“由矿产转向餐饮”是时评者们最新的口号。七月，麦肯锡公司和澳大利亚商业委员联合发布了一份报告，将农业定义为澳洲为数不多具有全球竞争力的行业之一。这是一个好消息，然而将澳洲的优势带向中国需要努力和创新。

农业上得合作有两个部分。其中最简单的是销售。将牛肉和谷物卖给中国，这对于已经习惯出口金属和矿产的澳洲民众来说很合心意。对于正在增长的中国中产阶级，食品安全是最需要关注的事，而澳洲值得信赖且无疾病的食品拥有绝佳的国际口碑。这种自然的互补，解释了为何 2012 至 2013 年我们几乎 20% 的出口农产品流向中国。中澳自由贸易协定与中国不断增长的需求联系起来，意味着其需求量还将继续增长。去年，澳大利亚农业可持续发展联合会获得准许为出口到中国的有机产品进行认证，而在中国澳洲已经成为前三位的有机产品供应商之一。

这并不意味着澳洲应该吃老本。在这个媒体高度覆盖的世界，一个安全疏忽都会严重牵连到澳洲无可挑剔的食品安全声誉。澳洲产品相对南美和亚洲产品拥有优势，其严格的管理环境是关键。我们不可以因为急于满足增长的需求或保证贸易协定而使它做出让步。

此外，澳洲农场协会注意到，澳洲农民需要与中国进口商和零售商开展更紧密的合作，使其产品适合精明的中国市场的需求。这些市场挑战是矿产巨头安德鲁费雷斯特（Andrew Forrest）启动“中澳 100 年农业食品合作关系”（ASA 100）的原因之一，该举措是为了帮助澳洲农商在全亚洲推广“澳洲品牌”及品质的概念。

面对私营企业如此积极的参与，澳洲政府也可以通过确保农业不会为政治做出让步而做点什么。例如，我们不能重蹈 2011 年的覆辙，那一年，澳洲突然停止对印度尼西亚的活物出口，以回应关于残忍虐待动物的指控。澳洲作为中国重要食品安全机构一个可以信赖的部分，像这样单一方面的决定可能会严重损害其声誉。如果澳洲希望在市场上真正得到接纳，那么我们必须有所计划，在不影响到出口的情况下使用可靠的渠道解决控诉。农业出口需要得到保护，使其避开政治敏感问题，避免成为国内政治谈判的筹码。

当然，农业合作不仅仅是销售。中国对农产品的需求大大超出澳洲的供应量。促进海外投资是提高供应量的一个途径。中国投资商希望在国家食品供应上获得经济利益，而他们在基础设施建设上拥有不可思议的潜力，这一潜力正是澳洲农商非常需要的。然而，在澳洲的中国投资商为澳洲公众呈现的是一种“贱卖农场”的形象，而其投资程度被夸大，这导致公众对中国人农业投资高水平的极度担忧。 事实上，一项毕马威会计事务所（KPMG）的报告
以及悉尼大学中国研究中心表明，中国在澳洲农业外资投资中仅占第九，远远落后于排名第一的美国。

中澳之间不断增长的民间联系是对抗这种毫无根据的质疑的一个途径，这些质疑似乎正驱使焦虑的产生。著名的战略评论员，澳大利亚国立大学的休怀特教授已经强调过与亚洲国家民间交流的重要性。怀特教授提倡每年派一万名年轻人去印度尼西亚。中国也是如此。而澳洲政府针对亚洲的新科伦坡计划——一项刚刚启动的亚洲大学交换项目——是向正确方向迈出的一步。澳洲农业部门特别需要怀特教授一样思考，并力求鼓励更多的澳洲年轻人与中国沟通交流。

当然，甚至是马力全开，澳洲的供应量也无法满足中国对食品独断增长的需求。这里也是如此，澳洲专家可以更好的协助中国建立他们自己的农业最大生产力。澳洲在农业技术和耕种技术上是全球领导者。澳洲国际农业研究中心（ACIAR）一直在印度，孟加拉和一些其他国家成功运行着一些长期项目，将澳洲旱地农业技术应用到当地的环境。澳洲研究者们可以在他们经验的基础上与中国农民合作，在中国各种土地上提高长期和短期产量。"农业对话"是ACIAR的重点领域，对于一个比澳洲更加认识到环境可持续的重要性的中国，它将愈加重要。可持续化的合作项目最终会使两国都受益。

澳洲在中国农业和农业支持的投资同样也有机遇，可是中国政府需要与外国公司合作，以鼓励投资。中国独特政治环境可视作大型农业投资的阻碍，澳洲公司已习惯这种投资。土地改革是一项政策上的选择，然而政府应该做好准备，在对待潜在投资者的时候有所创新，这些投资者可能影响技术转型并提高农业生产率。

中澳之间真正的农业合作包括贸易，研发以及双向的投资。取得这种真正的合作需要创新的思维以及包括两国政府，商界和公民个人的努力交流。
中国见闻：中国不是只有万里长城

Christian Dunk

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英语原文由马赫擎翻译为中文。

十一月的一个清晨，我接到了一份意外的邀请，我的一个朋友提议在 2014 年 2 月跟他一起去中国。听到之后，我花了一些时间考虑这个问题，因为“中国”这个国家并没有排在我的“旅行目的地清单”的首位，而且我知道，在中国，二月份正值冬季，天气非常寒冷。但是后来，我还是改变了心意，决定跟朋友去中国。使我改变想法的是我对未知事物的好奇心和求知欲，而这份“好奇心和求知欲”从马可波罗开始已经激励了无数来自西方的旅行者去探索这个东方古国。

其实我对中国并非一无所知，在几年前，我曾经去过台湾和香港。当然，在那里，我自己都算不清我有多少时间花在享受饮茶上。并且在悉尼，我也看到过及其美妙热闹的中国农历新年庆祝活动。

我有几个月的时间为我的中国之行做准备。为了进一步了解中国，我翻阅研读了大量有关历史的资料，尤其是有关于历史方面的。从历史中我们可以更深层次的理解“过去”带给“现在”怎样的影响，所以一直以来历史都是我比较感兴趣的学科。正因为如此，我想这正好是潜心研读《中日战争（1937-1945）》（作者：Rana Mitter）和《鸦片战争》（作者：Julia Lovell）两本书的好机会。（这两本书我强烈推荐的有关中国历史的书籍）。

在研究历史的同时，我也大概的了解了当下流行的中国旅行手册，地图，手机应用，我甚至开始阅读普通话学习手册。对于古代中国所展现出来的魅力，我感到异常的兴奋和期待。

事实上，任何一个澳大利亚晚间新闻的观众和报纸的读者都对中国都非常熟悉，而且大家也都知道中国对于澳大利亚未来经济社会发展繁荣的重要作用。我们大概知道，目前中国是澳大利亚最大的贸易伙伴，中国是购买澳大利亚的资源进而发展本国经济的能源消费大国，同时，大量的中国学生渴望进入澳大利亚的大学学习，这一点也使得澳大利亚的学生可以享受免除学费的的待遇。与此同时，在澳大利亚被广泛接受的观点是：在这次全球金融危机之中，如果没有中国对于澳大利亚产品和服务的需求，澳大利亚将会有与美国和欧洲各国相似的境遇。

然而，抛开这些积极方面不谈，对我们来说总会有一些未知因素伴随着这些外国政治体系。同样的，我们也粗略的了解到有关中国大陆政府与藏族和维吾尔族之间非常紧张的关系，台湾独立问题，南海领土争端，对媒体的限制和审查，以及对于中国大陆，“中国共产党”有着高于一切，涵盖一切的影响力。
作为一个中国文化的初学者，我终于踏上了去往中国的旅程，并且我对这次旅行有非常好的预期，因为我已经较为深入的了解了中国的“历史”和“现在”。在不久之后的一个寒冷冬季的一天，我发现此时的我已经站在了天安门广场上，体会着中华古国的雄奇和宏伟。当我欣赏壮观的天坛及其周围的公园的时候，我始终有着强烈的兴趣，因为天坛这座建筑的含义是：与宇宙天体相互连接，进而向上天祈求每年农业上的丰收和古代帝王统治的稳定。

对于北京这座城市本身来说，有这许多矛盾之处。它是一个古老的，威严的首都，同时有充斥着各种奇异的、怪诞的现代钢筋混凝土建筑。这些现代建筑是在举办奥运会期间，中国为了给世界一个现代化的北京而建设的，当时为了给这些现代建筑腾出空间，北京不少的古建筑---胡同被强行拆除。但是最近一段时间，由于人们对古建筑的保护有了新的认识，北京开始兴建许多古建筑的复制品，但是在这些“胡同”之中，又充斥着现代的商店和餐饮店。

意料之中的事情是当我们到了南方的城市---上海的时候，我对中国的这种困惑变得更加强烈了。就像我们所熟知的西方发达国家的中心商务区一样，上海是一座熙熙攘攘的国际化大都市。这是一座永远都在运转的城市，并且它在以非常惊人的速度不断的扩张。这里崭新的摩天大楼和公共交通设施让我觉得虽然我们两个国家有不同的基础设施设计和建设方案，但我们国家的基础设建设远不如这里发达。透过所有我所见到的这些现象的表面，我能够很强烈的感受到来自欧洲意识的影响。我同样没有想到的是上海人会嘲弄北京人无知，官僚主义，赶不上时代的潮流并且过于世故。

还没来得及完全理解上面提到的这些强烈的反差和矛盾，我的新奇冒险之旅又在杭州和苏州开始了，这两个城市是“安静中国”的代表。苏州河杭州因为京杭大运河和水道的缘故，形成了一种独特的文化，即便称不上是一种哲学，也是一种独特的艺术文明。

我的这种想法再一次被确认是当有人告诉我，对于中国的一些已经退休的人来说，杭州是他们的“梦想之城”，因为他们在城市里写写诗，在宁静的西湖畔度过美好的时光。

面对着这些不可思议的，美到难以用语言表达的自然风光，我的中国之旅继续进行着。在我所途径的城市中人口数量激增，因为人们在这些城市中找到了更多的机会，得以离开拥挤的沿海城市。因此，摩天大厦和多到数不清楚公寓大楼点缀着沿途的风景。

在这里讲述我在这四个城市的新奇冒险之旅的经历只是为了表达实际上我对中国的了解非常之少。我不曾了解的不仅仅是这个国家本身，尤其是这个国家中的地域差异，还不曾了解生活在这里的人们以及他们生活的目标和动力。在这次旅行中，我认为最有趣的一点就是我可以与我所在城市中生活的当地人进行交流。也许在语言交流方面，我们只能用“你好”或是“再见”这样简单的词语，但是你生活在一个地方并且能够融入当地人生活的经历是非常珍贵的。

这次的旅行让我了解到，不仅仅是我个人不了解中国的复杂性，作为一般准则的整个澳大利亚社会都没有真正的了解和认准表面之下真正的中国。鉴于澳大利亚在整个亚太地区所处的地位以及在这一地区社会，经济，政治等方面的巨大变化，提升对中国的认识程度，加强澳中双方的交流是非常有必要的。最显而易见的媒介就是我们双方在教育和旅游业领域的人力，技术及资本。这样的合作可以使我们，同样也让中国，更好的理解对方的国情，
在互惠交易中更加了解对方的观点和动机。作为一个发达国家，我们应该有一种创造性的观点并且希望我们能够为中国持续发展的社会和经济做出我们的贡献。

我现在已经决定开始学习汉语普通话课程，所以下次我可以更深层次的探索和研究中国的语言，文化并且更深层次的了解中国人，而不仅仅只会用“你好”和“再见”进行简单的交流。我真的希望能够再次回到中国。
SECTION V
CREATIVE WORK
ENGLISH

第五部分
原创作品部分
英文类作品
Alone, Looking Back on the Past

Aily Jiang

This piece was awarded the ACYA Journal Creative Work Prize.

Aily Jiang is a student at the University of Sydney, majoring in digital cultures, film and music. In China, she was a writer, blogger and editor.

Translated into English from the original Chinese by Callum Smith.

The Sydney sky illuminates with an indigo that not even the greatest artist could replicate with his canvas. Each stroke is perfectly executed. The white clouds float swiftly, and while they are obviously part of the same sky that covers my hometown, they feel freer. Not an ounce of restraint in their free movement, in the blink of an eye they drift from one end of the skies to the other. I don’t know if the sky here really is vaster than in my hometown, or simply evidence of my loneliness and longing. As I look into the heavens, pondering upon those memories, teardrops fill my eyes.

The clock strikes midnight, ushering in the New Year. The scars and melancholy of yesterday suddenly become merely memories of the year that was.

Time possesses a unique and peremptory veto over our last connection with any former occurrence. It seems as if those experiences were merely disconnected memories, simply an illusion – an illusion that is impossible to distinguish from reality. We therefore wander throughout this blurred world, drifting through time – asleep then awake, awake then asleep, like clockwork.

Time goes on, like flipping through the pages of a story. The stack of paper that is one’s memory is finite, and volatile. A page is written as another is lost; a year goes by while another is forgotten. The story isn’t finished, yet days pass like the wind. So I am scared, scared of the possibility that the remainder of the story will be left unwritten, and those cheerful moments of the past will be impossible to return to. Life is full of uncertainties, yet we have no choice but to accept this reality, no matter how lamentable or indecisive, and go with the flow. The road ahead is blurry, and the destination is out of sight. But as is the nature of life, this is reality. No matter how tight your grip, time slowly runs from your palm like grains of sand, leaving behind not a single trace of existence.

Sydney’s scenic views are deserving of slow and fine appreciation. Yet, this distraction from reality can only ever be exactly that – even the most beautiful of views are not an escape from the chilling silence of one’s heart. Loneliness solidifies into a lifeless piece of writing, falling feebly from between the fingers, piercing blurry eyes. Once persistent in my search for direction, I was left with but faded memories of blossoms in the dust. Those dreams we leave behind on this earth are but a rough outline, a shed of familiar light. Nevertheless, those
pleasant memories of years past are merely memories, no matter how vivid, detached from the reality of today.

But how am I to give the story some depth, what am I to do with my remaining years? Must I everyday embrace the sun, to stop this drift of meaningless memories once and for all? It is saddening to realize, that my smile is not an expression of my own happiness. My world suddenly becomes empty. I search endlessly for its profound meaning, yet the further I search, the more meaningless it becomes, and my hopes for this life become void.

What was so good about the past anyway, that people are so sentimental? Lyrics tell us, “the last love I could offer is to let you go”, but how many people can really do so?

Perhaps we are blessed with an excessive luxury of time. We are unwilling to let go of our memories, yet at the same time, we are burdened with regret. Our inability to forget is merely a spited acceptance of our inability to relive. This is our everlasting pain, tirelessly floating in our memories, ever-present in our minds. But really I too know, that these experiences will eventually become part of the abyss of the distant past, never to be repeated – even as an impulse of lust lingers as I awake. Words cannot express that unique warmth that nostalgia brings to the heart – warmth that seemingly only exists in memory, and can never be experienced in the present. Those distant shadows and memories of times past suddenly become alienated, as if to be merely an illusion, without a thread of proof of their existence.

_Blossoms and rain may fill the skies, but clouds inevitably disperse._

I know not why, yet as I stare into the skies, and watch as the petals flutter in the wind and rain, I suddenly felt a sense of sentiment, of grievance. Waves of yesterday's memories penetrate my mind, leaving behind a bitter aftertaste.

Sydney and my hometown both possess a horizon-less great sea. Tides come and go, the sea selflessly tolerates and forgives your worries – we needn't worry that our weaknesses be discovered or scorned upon. But even as the heavens and the sea meet as one, this is after all not the sea of my hometown, and thus it is impossible for me to reveal the soliloquy from deep within my heart. I begin to regret my resolute decision to reside here, a decision I made on the sole criteria of being in the company of the sea. Yet when I stepped into this place, I was merely left with impressions that met the eyes, but never entered my heart. I stand by the seaside, gazing at the billows of the ocean, barely able to decipher my almost unrecognizable reflection. Wave after wave crash upon my sand-warmed feet, the glaring sun warms my head as the chilling waves cool my feet.

It is time to wake up, or perhaps I should not even be dreaming at all. Belief that my dreams may be fulfilled is as naive as believing in the witchcraft of Grimm’s Fairy Tales as a child. Even the most aesthetically beautiful of dreams cannot bear the harshness of reality. “All roads lead to Rome” is a theory that only holds true if the final destination is indeed Rome; there is no real point at the crossroads that is open to choice or diversion. In this way, our reality is repeatedly influenced time and time again. We know this, yet we cannot break away.
On this Earth, nothing is forever – ‘forever’ has always been a choice. I can but sigh helplessly in regret, knowing that few of those once companions are around today. Now, I find myself in a foreign country, a foreign city, surrounded by foreign vehicles and unfamiliar people. So many times did I think I saw I familiar face, but perhaps those were merely false memories, the result of my longing. So many times did I wake up to find my pillow still dampened by tears, only to not remember the story, people and even whether we were together at the end. I can’t see the end of time, yet I know, we will slowly become irrelevant to each other, so I wave farewell and reluctantly depart. For whom do I reminisce, clinging to this mortal world, enduring the pain of yesterday's thought? Our lives are but two in the myriad of humanity.

Staring from afar, where the heavens and land meet, will our dreams still exist, and will the past remain pure? Those are our memories, our record of what we experienced in this world – the same story and the same us. Our smile, the cover for our memories is placed at the deepest point of human society. I am no longer young, yet now and again I cannot help but innocently imagine, what if we were to consider our actions more carefully? Would we be closer to that happy life we had hoped for? Suppose that every farewell was the carrier of fate. If fate were to come and go, just as flowers were to bloom and fall, would that not be a grand spectacle? As time goes on, and experiences turn to memories, how many of our dreams can come again? Just as fireworks are most spectacular as they reach their climatic end, our memories whither, as if they never existed.

We are brought together by fate, yet we separate with sentiment. Alas, we are merely part of this mortal world.
Meeting Autumn

Jia Xu

Dr Jia Xu works as a teacher and researcher at the School of Journalism, Fudan University. Her specialisations are international communications studies and new media studies. She loves all sorts of media forms and is particularly fond of text. She believes that text, as the basic and most essential medium, can yet be the most expressive in our new multimedia age.

Translated into English from the original Chinese by Callum Smith.

Written at the Beginning of Autumn 2014

Autumn, oh, new autumn, allay my sorrow please.
Spring, oh, early spring, to you I offer my gentle affection.

Day and night, night and day, 
I ask the wise man, why is it so?

The sun burns, the moon chills, 
Day turns to night, night to day, 
And so it goes. 

Blue lake, dark sea, 
Where might thou source be?

Pretty face, red dress, 
I long for her company.

A thousand words, 
Our conversation never ends.

China in the North, 
Australia in the South, 
In autumn shall we meet.

Notes

When the beginning of the lunar autumn (August 7, 8, or 9) comes to China in the Northern Hemisphere, Australia is about to farewell winter and welcome spring in the Southern Hemisphere.

At this time of year, the colour of the sky, the temperature and even the taste of the air in Beijing and Sydney are all very similar.

Such phenomena are not only interesting but also romantic, as just like there are many differences between Australia and China—people, places and seasons—there is also this one
time every year when they meet, like two youths exchanging a smile before continuing on their separate paths until they meet again the next year.
SECTION VI
CREATIVE WORK
CHINESE

第六部分
原创作品部分
中文类作品
看风起风落都是一人影

姜力

这篇文章荣获了“中澳青年联合会学报原创作品部分一等奖”。

姜力，在读于悉尼大学本科传媒电影和音乐专业。曾经以不同笔名混迹于文学圈博客圈和编辑圈。我相信文字是有灵魂的，它有自己的故事，或许平淡或许惊艳。而我想做的，只是把这些故事用小说，电影和音乐的方式分享给不一样的你们。

雪梨的天空是画板里调不出来的靛蓝色，每一笔都自然得完美。白云游走的飞快，明明和家乡是同一片天空却显得更加自由，就那么放荡不羁的潇洒，一眨眼从天际的一边就到了另一边。可是不知是这里的天空真的比家乡的广阔还是只是在孤单落寞下一厢情愿的的侧写，每每抬头仰望，记忆深处总会有泪珠在徜徉。

新年的钟声，踏着光阴逝去的痕迹，打破了我们对于昨天的惆怅，一转眼便已是去年。它以无比霸道的姿态，斩断了我们与这段光阴最后的联系，仿佛那断去的记忆里所经历的一切，都不过是一场虚幻的梦境，让人分不清真假的存在。于是，我们徘徊在这迷离的世界里，荡漾着时光的波纹，醒了又睡，睡了又醒。

时光的流淌，是奔着相反的方向前进，一如故事的翻阅，记忆的搁浅，总是一页少一页，一年忘一年。故事还没有完结，一天一天却流失得飞快。于是开始害怕，那些剩下的故事无法延续，故事里曾经停驻过的笑颜难以回首。不确定总是在无时无刻充斥着人生，而我们只能无奈的在可悲中纠结着接受着它赠予我们的摇摆，找不到方向，看不到终点。生活总是现实的，无论你握得多紧，也会如沙子般随时间慢慢流失，最终不留下一丝印记。

雪梨的风景是值得去停下脚步细细品味的，可是万般耐看却依旧逃脱不了心间蔓延的清冷，零落于半空留下寂寞的面庞，化为了一篇又一篇没有温度的文字，无力的跌落在指间，刺疼了朦胧的眼。曾经一度执着寻找时光的方向，得到的只是蒲公英随风而散的飘零。我们遗落在尘世的梦，曾经是那么浓烈的绽放过，即便眼前所沉淀的剪影只剩下模糊的轮廓，如今却依旧能寻觅到丝缕熟悉的光芒。可是那些美好，流淌着昨日的年华，却怎么也回不到今时的那片月光下。我不知道剩下的时光该如何去勾勒才能加深故事的色彩，是否每日都需阳光的拥抱，才能让单薄的记忆从此不再漂泊，难过的只是，再也找不回属于自己的微笑。于是，我的世界，突然变成了荒芜，流连着不尽的深邃，冷了这一世的繁华，也落了那一生的期盼。

过去究竟有什么好，让人这么的难以放手。歌曲里唱的最后的爱便是手放开，可是又有几人能真正做到。也许是时光太过富有，承载了太多不舍的记忆，也同时留下了太多无法挽回的遗憾，所以，我们总是不甘它的远去，只是含恨无从重来。于是，这便成了我们永远的痛，静静地沉浮在记忆的海洋里，不知疲倦的漂流着。其实我也知道，这些经历终会化为遥远的过去，再也无法回来，即使，渴望的心情，摇曳在每一个梦醒的瞬间，只是无法言说，心中留恋的那份温暖，似乎永远也带不到今天。于是，那些远去的身影，远去的时光，在这一刻里突然变的陌生了起来，仿佛所有的经历都只是一场镜花水月，怎么也找不到存在的
线索。花雨落满天，流云终散去。望着风雨中飘零的花瓣，不知为何突然有些感时伤怀。初识的记忆划过脑海，带起片片昨日的浪花，留下苦涩的味道。

雪梨和家乡一样，都有一望无际的大海。潮起潮落，海会无私的包容你所有的心事，再也不用担心被发现自己的软弱。可是再怎么天海共成一色，毕竟不是家乡的海，无法袒露内心深处的独白。于是开始后悔当初只是为了有海可以陪伴便笃定的选择了这个城市，直到真正身临其中，所有的一切却只是映在眼帘却走不进心间。站在海边，望着海浪一袭一袭的波澜而来，看不清自己倒映在水里的影子。海水一波又一波地拍打在被细沙温暖着的双足上，明明头顶便是炙热的阳光，从脚下传来的却无比冰冷。

梦该醒了，也许就不应该做梦。梦想成真只是小时候看着格林童话时相信魔法真的存在一般的谎言，再唯美都承载不了现实的残酷。条条大路通罗马也只是当终点是罗马才可能成立的假设，摆在面前的十字路口从来都不会真的给你退路去选择。就这样，我们被现实一次次的左右着方向，明明知道却怎么也挣脱不了它的束缚。

这个世上，没有什么是可以永垂不朽的，永远从来都是一种选择。只是无奈，曾经相伴而行的身影，此时又有几人在。而现在，陌生的国度，陌生的城市，周围川流不息却依旧陌生的车辆和陌生的人。多少次在街头会看到仿佛有些熟悉的身影，却知道也许只是执念太久脑海里杜撰出的一个轮廓；多少次在梦醒时分发现枕边是还未被风干的水印，却怎么也想不起来梦中的故事，故事里的人物，以及最后故事里我们是否还都在的结局。岁月的尽头，我无法望穿，留下彼此的淡忘，恋恋不舍的挥手告别。是谁的怀念，贪恋了这场人间，痛了昨日的心扉。浮生之中，我与你在人流万千。

遥望着远方，在那天地相接的地方，我们的梦想是否还在，过去的依旧是否纯粹，那是我们的记载，流淌了这份光阴的色彩，在那样古老的岁月里，同样的故事，同样的我们，恍然定格在微笑的瞬间，最后化作记忆的封面，陈放在红尘的最深处。现在的我，早已褪下了青涩的外衣，但时不时的我还会天真的幻想下，假如当初的我们，都走的慢点再慢点，那结局又会怎么样，是否一切都将伴随着阳光的洒落而欢笑满堂。倘若，人世间的每一场别离，都被寄予了一段美好的缘分。那么，缘来缘去，花开花落，那又是多么美丽的一副画卷。时光走过，故事留下色彩，有多少梦能够重来；记忆之缤纷，总如烟花般灿烂到极致的凋谢，仿佛从未存在。

离散有情，相逢无意，难过的，只是在人间。
《遇秋》 — 作于甲午立秋

徐佳

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新秋新秋，请解我忧，
早春早春，愿添君柔。

晨昏旦暮，数问智叟，
日灼月冷，几度同舟。

青湖靛海，难觅源头，
朱颜红袖，欲伴常留。

千言万语，畅说不休，
北中南澳，相遇新秋。

说明

当位于北半球的中国立秋之时，位于南半球的澳大利亚正要告别冬季迎来春天，此时北京与悉尼的天色、气温乃至空气的味道都是非常相像的！

这是一个有趣而浪漫的现象，恰如中国与澳大利亚之间，有君我、南北、春秋等诸多差异，却总能在每一年的这一时节相遇，像两个少年、交换一下笑颜，然后继续前行，直到下一年的相遇。
ACYA
Australia-China Youth Association