AUSTRALIA CHINA YOUTH ASSOCIATION
JOURNAL OF AUSTRALIA-CHINA AFFAIRS
2013
中澳青年联合会学报
The ACYA Journal of Australia-China Affairs is compiled, edited and translated by:

Australia-China Youth Association (ACYA)

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 20 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 (wwwACYDorgau), the Australia-China Young Professionals’ Initiative (wwwACYPJorgau), and the Engaging China Project (wwwEngagingChinaProjectorgau). ACYA belongs to all of who wish to see the Australian and Chinese people achieving new heights of mutual understanding, appreciation and friendship.

The ACYA Journal of Australia-China Affairs is peer-reviewed and sponsored by:

China Studies Centre, University of Sydney

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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# CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Author(s)</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Foreword</td>
<td>前言</td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Editorial Preface</td>
<td>编辑致辞</td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Translatorial Preface</td>
<td>译者致辞</td>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia-China Youth Association Preface</td>
<td>中澳青年联合会致辞</td>
<td></td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Profile of the 2013 ACYA Youth Scholars</td>
<td>2013中澳青年联合会青年学者简介</td>
<td></td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>SECTION I: Academic Essay – English</strong></td>
<td>第一部分：学术文章部分—英语类作品</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Looking Beyond the Land</td>
<td>看向土地之外</td>
<td>Sophia Slavich [Section Prize]</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China and the Asia Security Balance</td>
<td>中国与亚洲安全格局</td>
<td>Kara Hawkins</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic Food Security Concerns and Chinese Agricultural FDI</td>
<td>国家粮食安全问题与中国的农业FDI</td>
<td>Justin Steele</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaokao Recognition by Australian Universities</td>
<td>国内高考成绩澳大利亚大学认可</td>
<td>Gong Chuying (Translation)</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China’s Strategy Towards Obama’s ‘Asia Pivot’</td>
<td>中国应对美国重返亚太战略</td>
<td>Oliver Theobald (Translation)</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>SECTION II: Academic Essay – Chinese</strong></td>
<td>第二部分：学术文章部分—中文类作品</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>试析澳大利亚高等学府认可中国高考成绩新政</td>
<td>试析澳大利亚高等学府认可中国高考成绩新政</td>
<td>龚楚颖 [此类别一等奖]</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>中国应对美国重返亚太战略</td>
<td>中国应对美国重返亚太战略</td>
<td>希奥利</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>土地背后</td>
<td>土地背后</td>
<td>苏菲 (译文)</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>中国及亚洲地区的均势安全格局</td>
<td>中国及亚洲地区的均势安全格局</td>
<td>Kara Hawkins (译文)</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>中国公司走出去和在海外投资农业项目的主要动因是什么？</td>
<td>中国公司走出去和在海外投资农业项目的主要动因是什么？</td>
<td>温海林 (译文)</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>SECTION III: Opinion Article – English</strong></td>
<td>第三部分：个人评论部分—英语类作品</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Classical Chinese: The Usefulness of Uselessness</td>
<td>古典中文: 无用之用</td>
<td>Thomas McConochie [Section Prize]</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asia in Australia’s Century</td>
<td>亚洲在澳大利亚世纪</td>
<td>Matt Brent</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Can Chinese Consumer Brands Have Global Influence?</td>
<td>中国消费者品牌能有全球影响力吗？</td>
<td>Timothy Coghlan</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White Responses to Asian ‘Invasions’ in Australia</td>
<td>白人对亚洲‘入侵’澳大利亚的反应</td>
<td>Erica Lee</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
目录

Australia and China: A Geographical Comparison of Chinese Cuisine – Bowany Pugh 102

Looking Ahead at China and the World – He Kong (Translation) 105

Mining: A Bridge of Cooperation – Marie-Alice McLean-Dreyfus (Translation) 108

SECTION IV: Opinion Article – Chinese 第四部分：个人评论部分-中文类作品

用发展和长远的眼光看中国和世界 – 孔贺 [此类别一等奖] 112

矿业：澳洲与亚洲之间合作的一桥梁 – 郭骏程 114

古代汉语：无用之用 – 马常思 (译文) 116

亚澳新世界 – 博涛 (译文) 119

中国品牌能否拥有全球影响力？ – 高靖峰 (译文) 123

澳洲白人对于亚洲 “入侵” 的回应 – 李旻 (译文) 128

澳式中餐 vs. 正宗中国菜：中国饮食的地域性比较 – 杨娇龙 (译文) 133

SECTION V: Creative Work – English 第五部分：原创作品部分-英文类作品

Where is Home? – Guo Juncheng [Section Prize] (Translation) 138

The Naked Artist – Gareth Durrant (Translation) 142

The Beauty of Poems and Art in the Classical Gardens of Suzhou – Cloudy Liu (Translation) 144

SECTION VI: Creative Work – Chinese 第五部分：原创作品部分-中文类作品

何处是家乡 – 郭骏程 [此类别一等奖] 150

裸画家 – 吴忠彦 152

旅行随想：中国苏州园林的诗情画意 – 刘云 153
FOREWORD

The China Studies Centre at the University of Sydney is very pleased that we have been able to partner with the Australia-China Youth Association (ACYA) in the production of their annual *ACYA Journal of Australia-China Affairs*. It is important to support young Australians and Chinese in their understanding and engagement with each other, and the articles and essays in this Journal are a testament to the depth and level of this engagement. They cover some of the keys issues in social development in China, the role of Chinese investment abroad, and the kind of vision that China has of its international position in the coming decades.

For both countries, the next decade will be a critical one. For China, it will involve the journey towards doubling its GDP and achieving middle-income status. For Australia, it will see its deeper integration into the political and economic structures of the Asian region, and the entry into an era of even greater competitiveness within the global economy. Australia has maintained growth for 22 continuous years, a unique record amongst developed nations. But the future looks set to be tougher, with a greater stress being placed on the ability of Australia to be a service provider, particularly to the vast untapped market within China. In trying to get access to this, it will be competing with almost every other major economy in the world.

Equipping people with the conceptual and intellectual skills to be able to engage more deeply with another country and culture is a key function of education now. Where once universities aimed to create citizens of their host nations now they have to help people form a global outlook. This Journal contains evidence of the seriousness with which many are now doing this, working to understand more deeply issues around China, and China-Australia relationships, in innovative and imaginative ways, but ones which are based on sound evidence and well-grounded argument.

The China Studies Centre strongly supports the mission of ACYA and is proud to be involved in its work. We hope to collaborate more in the future, and hope that this Journal stands as one of the first steps in this process.

Kerry Brown
Executive Director, China Studies Centre
University of Sydney
前言

悉尼大学中国研究中心非常高兴能与中澳青年联合会（ACYA）联合推出 2013 年《中澳青年联合会学报》。支持澳大利亚青年和中国青年之间相互了解和交流十分重要。本学报中的文章和论文便是对其深度与水平的良好体现。学报探究了一些热点问题，包括中国社会 发展、中国对外投资的意义以及中国对其未来数十年间国际地位的展望。

未来的十年对于澳大利亚和中国都十分关键。对于中国来说，它面临着实现国内生产总值翻倍和跻身中等收入国家行列的挑战。而对于澳大利亚，它将与亚洲地区在政治和经济结构方面联系更加紧密，并会在全球经济中面临更加激烈的竞争。澳大利亚已连续 22 年保持经济增长，在发达国家中独树一帜。但是未来在提升服务能力，尤其是针对中国尚未开发的广阔市场上仍任重道远。同时，在实现这一目标的过程中，澳大利亚还会与世界上几乎所有其它主要经济体展开竞争。

当今，教育的一个主要目的是使人们具备能与其他国家和文化进行深入交流的观念和能力。大学教育曾经致力于培养本国公民，现在他们需要更加关注于培养国际人才。本学刊以一种创新、富有想象力却不失论证严谨性的方式展现出了许多人为更好地了解中国和澳中关系所付出的努力。

悉尼大学中国研究中心大力支持中澳青年联合会所承载的使命，并为参与到学报工作感到骄傲。我们衷心希望此次学报的推出能作为一个良好的开端，见证我们与中澳青年联合会未来更多的合作。

凯瑞·布朗（Kerry Brown）
澳大利亚悉尼大学中国研究中心执行主任
EDITORIAL PREFACE

As the 2013 ACYA Journal Sub-Committee, we are incredibly proud to present to you the 2013 and third volume of the *ACYA Journal of Australia-China Affairs*.

One year on from the 40th anniversary of Australia-China relations, we have seen a change in both the Chinese and Australian leadership. With this change comes new challenges and different perspectives to which vehicles such as the *ACYA Journal for Australia-China Affairs* allow us to meaningfully engage and explore. Against this change of leadership, we see continuity in the development of strong linkages between our two countries across a wide range of areas, evident in the diversity of submissions to this year’s Journal.

It was a great pleasure to read through the over 50 submissions received this year and selection process was rigorous. Everyone who made a submission to the Journal must be congratulated. Commendable writing across a vast array of topics entertained, encouraged and persuaded us. It is very exciting to see an ever-growing number of people from a broad cross-section of Australian and Chinese youth contribute to the body of Australia-China literature.

Enormous gratitude is owed to Kerry Brown and the University of Sydney China Studies Centre, our co-publishers and partners throughout this process, for their invaluable contributions to putting the 2013 Journal together. Their dedication to the peer-review process ensured the quality of the selections for the Journal. We would also like to extend a big thank you to Kelly Tang, Chelsea Zhou and the entire ACYA Translation Team for the fantastic work they put into making the Journal an entirely bilingual publication. Finally, the sincere thanks and congratulations of the ACYA Journal Sub-Committee go to our Executive Editor, Neil Thomas. It has been a great privilege to work alongside you and be part of the magnificent team that you put together. The success of this year’s Journal is not only testament to your capabilities, but also your passion and commitment.

Working as part of ACYA and the Journal production process has been an overwhelmingly positive and insightful experience for all of us. Additionally, for those non-native Chinese speakers amongst us, editing a bilingual publication has been invaluable for improving our Chinese, and vice versa. We would encourage all those within the ACYA network and beyond to read the Journal and contribute to or become involved in future volumes.

Happy reading!

Olivia Chang 张多恵, Sophie Lancaster 苏飞飞, Thomas McConochie 马常思
Cassie Shi 史小晨, Shelley Zhao 赵晓冬, Stephanie Zughbi 黄芬妮
Sub-Editors, ACYA Journal Sub-Committee 2013

Neil Thomas 牛犇
Executive Editor, *ACYA Journal of Australia-China Affairs*
ACYA National Publications Director
编辑致辞

2013 中澳青年联合会（Australia-China Youth Association）学报小组委员会非常骄傲地向您呈现 2013《中澳青年联合会学报》（第三编）。

今年是中澳建交四十周年后迈入的第一年。在这一年里中国和澳大利亚都经历了领导人的交替。这一改变带来了崭新的挑战和不同的观点，而媒介如《中澳青年联合会学报》使我们能够参与其中并做出有意义的探究。然而，领导人的变更并没有妨碍两国在多个领域内加强紧密联系的脚步。今年学报投稿作品的多样化便是对其的体现。

我们很荣幸能对今年 50 余篇的投稿作品进行审阅，并且进行了严格的筛选。我们必须向所有向学报投稿的人表示祝贺。阅读这些涵盖众多话题的优秀作品使我们深感愉悦，备受鼓舞，并为其中的观点所折服。我们也非常激动地看到越来越多来自中澳不同领域的年轻人为两国文学做出了自己的贡献。

在此，我们要向 Kerry Brown 和悉尼大学中国研究中心——我们的共同发行方、合作伙伴表达我们深深的谢意。感谢你们为 2013 年学报的发行所做出的宝贵贡献。正是有了你们的同行评审才保证了学报高质量的筛选。同时，我们还要向唐怡、周杨以及整个翻译团队表示感谢，感谢你们为实现学报双语发行所做出的杰出工作。最后，学报小组委员会要向我们的执行总编牛犇 (Neil Thomas) 表示由衷的感谢跟祝贺。我们非常荣幸能与您一起共事，并成为您出色团队中的一员。今年学报的成功发行不仅是您能力的体现，还是您热情和献身精神的彰显。

能参与到中澳大联合会以及其学报发行的工作对于我们每一个人来说都是一次极具意义、获益匪浅的经历。此外，编审一份双语出版物对提升我们的第二语言（如中文）极有助益。不论您是否为中澳青年联合会的一员，我们都期望您能阅读此份学刊，并能为未来学刊的发行做出贡献。

祝您阅读愉快！

Olivia Chang 张多惠, Sophie Lancaster 苏飞飞, Thomas McConochie 马常思
Cassie Shi 史小晨, Shelley Zhao 赵晓冬, Stephanie Zughbi 黄芬妮
《中澳青年联合会学报》小组成员

Neil Thomas 牛犇
《中澳青年联合会学报》执行翻译
中澳大联合会全国出版主任
TRANSLATORIAL PREFACE

This year marks the first time that the ACYA Journal of Australia-China Affairs is being published entirely bilingual in English and Chinese. We are proud to be a part of this historic milestone and that the Journal has been able to progress and improve each volume that is released. In addition, we also feel extremely grateful to be given such a unique opportunity to provide translations for such inspirational articles written with such thought and effort by their respective authors. It was truly a great pleasure to read through each article and translate them into the other language whilst also understanding the intentions and identifying with the opinions of the various writers. We really enjoyed this process!

Most importantly, as coordinators of this 2013 Journal translation project, we would like to express our most heartfelt appreciation towards our team of competent and talented translators and proofreaders, who dedicated precious time and effort to delivering such impressive work for publication. Without all of you, this would not have been possible. Thank you so much.

Although some errors may still be present in the translations due to the time and resource constraints that naturally exist with voluntary work undertaken for worthy causes such as the Australia-China Youth Association, we have done our very best to ensure both the accuracy and readability of the translations. We sincerely hope that you will enjoy reading our translations. We also hope that the work we have done will be able to contribute in some way to enhancing future exchanges between Australia and China.

Kelly Tang 唐怡
ACYA Journal Executive Translator

Chelsea Zhou 周杨
ACYA National Translator
译者致辞

今年是《中澳青年联合会学报》第一次完全以中英双语的形式发布。学报不断进步完善、不断超越自我，我们很荣幸能参与到这一具有历史里程碑意义的进程中。此外，我们还对能有这样一个独特的机会-为每一篇发人深省、蕴含作者卓越思想和心血的文章提供相应的翻译版本心存感激。品读每一篇文章、并在理解作者意图和观点的同时将它译成另一种语言是一件莫大的乐事。我们非常享受这一过程！

然而，最为重要的是，作为 2013 年学报翻译工作的组织者，我们要向我们有能力、有才华的翻译人员和翻译校对者们表达最由衷的谢意！感谢你们为 2013 年《中澳青年联合会学报》的发行所做出的出色努力和所付出的宝贵时间-因为你们每一个人，这一切才变得有可能。非常感谢！

受时间跟能力所限，我们的翻译作品中可能存在一些不足。但是我们已尽力保证翻译的准确性和可读性。我们真诚的希望您能阅读愉快。同时，我们也希望我们所做的工作能以某种方式促进未来中澳之间的交流！

唐怡（Kelly Tang）
《中澳青年联合会学报》执行翻译

周杨（Chelsea Zhou）
中澳青年联合会全国翻译
AUSTRALIA-CHINA YOUTH ASSOCIATION PREFACE

It gives us great pleasure to welcome you to the third volume of the *ACYA Journal of Australia-China Affairs*. The publication has gone from strength to strength over these last two years under the leadership of ACYA National Publications Director Neil Thomas, whose regular *AustraliaBites* and *ChinaBites* email newsletters also continue to be a popular ACYA mainstay. This year, the Journal is co-published in partnership with the University of Sydney Chinese Studies Centre. We are very grateful to Kerry Brown and the Centre for their unstinting support of ACYA, not only in terms of peer-reviewing the Journal, but also in partnering with ACYA’s New South Wales-based Chapters to run the HOME Project and various other ACYA events.

Throughout 2013, ACYA’s growth has continued to surge ahead at an exceptional pace. Our active membership base has expanded to over 5000. New Chapters have started at the University of Newcastle, University of Technology Sydney, Flinders University, La Trobe University, Shanghai and Hong Kong, expanding our network across Australia and China to over 20 active Chapters.

The quality, diversity and vibrancy of ACYA Chapters’ activities have been particularly impressive. Chapters ran over 100 events in 2013, including lectures, roundtables, language and writing tutoring, professional skills training sessions, careers fairs, exchange preparation events, permanent residency information nights, ‘串BQs’, fashion shows, cultural days, dragon boat races, an Amazing Race, junk boat rides, KTV nights, sport competitions and a Gala Ball.

ACYA has continued to generate volunteering, professional and study-abroad opportunities for our members. The inaugural Leizhou Volunteering Trip run in partnership with Zhongshan University was launched to great success and will be looking to expand next year. We have established an internship relationship with the Foundation for Australian Studies in China and the Australia-China Business Council, as well as growing our existing Austrade internship programme to include Taipei. Additionally, the National University of Taiwan has offered an exclusive language scholarship to Australian ACYA members.

ACYA has found new ways to promote international students’ integration into local communities through such projects as HOME, a large-scale intercultural festival held at the Sydney Town Hall. ACYA itself has become more interconnected and better capable of developing and running itself through the inaugural ACYA National Conference held at the University of Queensland, Brisbane.

ACYA’s media presence has become fully bilingual through the creation of a dedicated translation team. ACYA has also set up a one-stop-shop for Chinese language learners in the Cornucopia of Chinese, providing a comprehensive overview of Chinese learning resources, tools and techniques.

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  
ACYA National President (Australia)  
Victoria Kung 贡爱玲  
ACYA National President (China)
中澳青年联合会致辞

中澳青年联合会（ACYA）非常荣幸地在此向您呈现 2013 年《中澳青年联合会学报》（第三编）。在 ACYA 全国刊物编审主管牛犇（Neil Thomas）的带领下，《学报》在过去两年中不断发展壮大，而他负责的电子简报宣传常刊《澳洲时下》（AustraliaBites）和《中国时下》（ChinaBites）也成为了 ACYA 最受欢迎的读物之一。今年，ACYA 有幸与悉尼大学中国研究中心共同推出此次《学报》。对此，我们要向 Kerry Brown 和悉尼大学中国研究中心为我们提供的支持表示感谢。他们不仅为《学报》的同行评审提供了有力的帮助，也为 ACYA 新南威尔士州分会在举办“家园”（HOME）项目和其他 ACYA 活动中提供了大力的支持。

ACYA 在 2013 年取得了空前的发展。我们的现有成员数量扩展到了 5000 余人，并且我们还成立了许多新分会。它们是纽卡斯尔大学分会、悉尼科技大学分会、福林德斯大学分会、拉筹伯大学分会、上海分会和香港分会。至此，我们在中澳两国间已拥有超过 20 个分会。

ACYA 分会活动质量之高、多样化和活力令人印象深刻。在 2013 年，ACYA 各分会开展了超过 100 项活动，其中包括讲座、圆桌会议、语言和写作辅导、专业技能培训课、招聘会、国际交流前准备活动、移民咨询信息会、“烤串”聚餐会、时装秀、文化节、龙舟赛、“极速前进”比赛、帆船出海日、KTV 之夜、体育竞技活动和节庆舞会等各种各样的形式。

ACYA 今年继续致力于为成员们提供志愿者、职业发展和海外学习交流的机会。今年 ACYA 与中山大学合作推出雷州志愿者项目，并且首次举办便取得了巨大的成功。此项目有望在明年扩大规模。此外，ACYA 还与中国澳大利亚研究基金会和澳大利亚中国工商业委员会建立起了实习生合作项目，而我们已有的与澳大利亚贸易委员会合作的实习生项目也在今年成功拓展到了台北市。除此之外，台湾国立大学也在今年发起了一项只针对 ACYA 澳大利亚成员的语言学生奖学金项目。

ACYA 在提升国际学生与澳洲社会的融合中也有了新的探索。今年在悉尼市政厅举办的大型跨文化节活动“家园”（HOME）项目便是其中之一。ACYA 自身也通过在布里斯本昆士兰大学举行的首届 ACYA 全国大会，加深了各分会间的内部联系、增强了在未来继续发展和管理的能力。

由于新成立的翻译团队的加入，ACYA 在 2013 年的媒体表现已经全面迈入了双语化时代。此外，ACYA 还为中文学习者建立了一个一站式服务的项目：中国语言文化聚宝盆。“聚宝盆”为中文学习者提供了全面的有关中文学习的资源、工具和相关技巧。

《学报》和上述列举的 ACYA 各种活动与项目一起，展示了 ACYA 成员们不懈的努力跟热情，以及他们所拥有的不断提升中澳关系、深化中澳间相互了解的能力。在此我们要向 ACYA 学报小组委员会表示衷心的祝贺！

祝您阅读愉快！

Thomas Williams 卫涛
中澳青年联合会全国主席（澳洲）

Victoria Kung 贡爱玲
中澳青年联合会全国主席（中国）
PROFILE OF THE 2013 ACYA YOUTH SCHOLARS

ACYA Prize for Youth Scholarship (English)

Sophia Slavich 苏菲

Sophia’s engagement with China resulted from her keen interest in diverse languages and cultures, and was cemented during the year she spent studying Mandarin at Shandong University in Jinan in 2009-2010. Sophia maintains that language and cross-cultural engagement are highly important factors in facilitating international relations and negotiating domestic issues in today’s globalised world. These values have seen her both teach English in Shanghai and Mandarin at the University of Sydney, and prompted her involvement with the Sydney branch of the Engaging China Project, a youth initiative to promote China literacy in Australian high schools.

Since receiving First Class Honours for her thesis ‘Language policy and cultural identity in Xinjiang’ in 2012, Sophia has commenced her PhD candidature at the University of Sydney. Sophia’s current research reflects her continued interest in Uyghur-Han relations and investigates issues of bilingual education and ethnic conflict in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region. Sophia can be contacted at sophia.slavich@sydney.edu.au.

ACYA Prize for Youth Scholarship (Chinese)

Gong Chuying 龚楚颖

GONG Chuying is from the city of Guangzhou in Guangdong Province. Having majored in translation and interpreting at the Beijing Foreign Studies University’s School of English and International Studies during her BA studies, she is now a MA candidate in Australian Studies, taking a range of courses exploring different aspects of Australian culture and society. As a part-time translator and interpreter, over the past three years she has worked closely with Beijing Design Week, an increasingly influential event in the Chinese art scene including participants from Australia. It is her belief that cultural exchange is a crucial part of Australia-China communication and that translation, in particular, plays a significant role in boosting mutual understanding.

Gong’s prize-winning essay stems from her interest in Australia’s international education industry, to which she has been paying close attention since commencing MA studies in 2012. She is about to begin another research project based upon her experiences working on the ‘Hello from Australia!’ event held during the 2013 Australian Writer’s Week in Beijing, which will investigate the national image of Australia presented by the Australian picture books exhibited at the event. Gong can be contacted at chuyinggong@gmail.com.
中澳青年联合会青年奖学金（中文）
龚楚颖（Gong Chuying）

龚楚颖来自中国广东省广州市，现就读于北京外国语大学英语学院，是一名 2012 级硕士研究生，方向为澳大利亚研究。本科阶段在外院翻译专业的学习，使其更多从文化交流的角度来审视澳中事务，研究兴趣更多集中在教育、文化与翻译。出于翻译能增进不同文化彼此理解这一信念，她在进行澳大利亚研究学习之余，也积极从事笔译、口译工作，从 2011 年至今一直担任北京国际设计周的翻译，今年年初参与了 2013 年澳大利亚文学周活动的部分工作，并基于此次工作经历，正准备开展另一研究项目，旨在探讨活动上展出的澳大利亚绘本作品所映射的当代澳洲国家形象。入选今年学报的这一文章，则源于其对澳大利亚教育产业的一贯兴趣以及过去半年内对这一领域的关注与研究。龚楚颖的联系邮箱是 chuyinggong@gmail.com.

中澳青年联合会青年奖学金（英文）
苏菲（Sophia Slavich）

苏菲与中国结缘于她对中国多元语言和文化的浓厚兴趣。而她在 2009-2010 年间在济南于山东大学学习汉语的经历则更加牢固了她与中国之间的紧密联系。苏菲坚信，在当今全球化的世界中，语言和跨文化交流是促进国际关系和协调国内问题极其重要的因素。本着这一信念，她选择在上海教授英语、在悉尼大学教授中文，并参与到 Engaging China Project（一项旨在提升澳洲高中生对中国了解的项目）悉尼分会的活动中。

在 2012 年其毕业论文《新疆的语言政策和文化认同》（‘Language policy and cultural identity in Xinjiang’）获得一等荣誉后，苏菲便开始了在悉尼大学博士学位的攻读。苏菲目前的研究方向反映了她对维吾尔-汉族关系、新疆维吾尔自治区双语教育以及民族冲突问题上一直以来的兴趣。苏菲的邮箱是 sophia.slavich@sydney.edu.au.
Looking Beyond the Land
土地背后

Sophia Slavich 苏菲
SECTION I
ACADEMIC ESSAY
ENGLISH

第一部分
学术文章部分
英语类作品
Looking Beyond the Land: Land Rights, Autonomy, and Problems of Integration in China and Australia

Sophia Slavich 苏菲

This essay was awarded the 2013 ACYA Prize for Youth Scholarship (English).

Sophia Slavich is currently undertaking a PhD at the University of Sydney. Her research investigates Uyghur-Han relations and issues of bilingual education and ethnic conflict in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region.

Introduction

The Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region Museum (Xinjiang Weiwuer Zizhiqu Bowuguan 新疆维吾尔自治区博物馆) in Urumqi prides itself on its unique collection of historical artefacts. However, in addition to the display of ancient relics the museum serves another important purpose – the careful representation of Xinjiang’s social and political history. Throughout the museum, curatorial prefaces emphasise Xinjiang’s historically diverse population and celebrate the contributions of various ethnic groups to their motherland. An entire wing entitled ‘Heroes Contend for Hegemony, Nationalities Merge’ is dedicated to an educational exhibition on the cultural customs of Xinjiang’s many ethnic groups (minzu 民族).¹ These interpretations of Xinjiang’s social past exemplify contemporary Chinese Communist Party (CCP) ideology and policy towards ethnic groups in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region and in the nation at large: integration.

Assertions of terrorism, Islamic religious extremism, and Uyghur nationalist separatism have rendered Xinjiang one of the most politically sensitive regions in China today. Already, 2013 has proved to be a particularly turbulent year, with several major episodes of violence in the region incurring a cumulative death toll of 83 people between April and August.² The cause and nature of violence in the region is contested by polarised media coverage of the events; Chinese media blames terrorist forces and claims Uyghur insurgents are linked to Syria, while Western media emphasises underlying issues of ethnic tension between the Han and Uyghur communities. Despite the headlines, there is little evidence of links within Xinjiang to international terrorist organisations, or organised Uyghur terrorism beyond the context of China.³ More alarming is the academic literature suggesting a causal link between terrorism and/or ethnic conflict, and violations of political, security and civil rights.⁴ According to such arguments, increased ethnic conflict is more likely to occur in societies experiencing moderate and long-term oppression. Indeed, it has been argued that the CCP’s hard line policies towards the Uyghur people could be exacerbating the problem of violence in the region.⁵

¹ The term minzu is somewhat problematic to translate because of the connotations of various potential English translations. It has been variously rendered as ‘minority’, ‘ethnic’, ‘nationality’ or ‘people’. Given its use in the Chinese context I will use the original term.
One thing is certain: inter-ethnic relations in Xinjiang are far from stable. Despite a strong focus on integration over the past 20 years, escalating ethnic conflict in the region continues to undermine China’s nation-building schemes. Addressing issues of land rights, regional autonomy and the right to self-determination, this article compares integration methods in Australia and China and discusses the limitations of focusing upon structural elements of administration to resolve problems of ethnic conflict. Social, political and economic institutional structures derive from the ideological foundations of those who create them. Thus, in an effort to improve ethnic relations in Xinjiang, it would be fruitful to evaluate current CCP ideology as it manifests itself in policy and integration programs.

**Autonomy, Land Rights and the Australia Model**

It has been argued that a major source of instability in Xinjiang is the system of regional autonomy. Xinjiang was designated an official autonomous region of the People’s Republic of China (PRC) in 1955, a title that suggests governmental power and representation of ethnic nationalities within the political establishment of the region. Nonetheless, with ethnic majority Han members of the CCP holding a disproportionate share of power, the regional autonomy system in Xinjiang has been described as a facade with only limited administrative freedom. Scholars have speculated that rather than holding aspirations for an independent state of ‘East Turkestan’, many Uyghur would be satisfied if Xinjiang were simply granted ‘real autonomy’. Following this line of thought, one observer of the Xinjiang-China situation suggested, among others, the ‘Australia Model’ as a potential framework to diffuse ethnic tensions in Xinjiang. That is:

*Peoples regarded by themselves and international organisations as aboriginal and indigenous must have the right to address land and environmental rights issues, despite government disagreements about historical migration to the region. As yet, China’s extremely beneficial special entitlement laws for the official minority nationalities…apply only to those regarded by the state as designated official minorities, and not to those considered indigenous to a region or district (Korean migrants to Xinjiang have as many rights as Uyghur).*

There are a number of issues in applying the Australia Model to the Xinjiang-China context. First, indigenous land rights are not recognised in the PRC precisely because such laws contradict the socialist foundation of the Chinese state. Indeed, many would argue that the regional autonomy system renders indigenous land rights obsolete. In light of the CCP’s focus on unification and national goals of sustained internal stability, continued economic growth and political unity, changes to these laws seem unlikely. Adding to the danger in recognising indigenous land rights is the potential for other regions, such as Tibet and Inner Mongolia, to follow suit.

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Second, the CCP does not recognise the Uyghur as indigenous to Xinjiang any more so than other ethnic groups, including the Han. Official accounts claim that Xinjiang has been an integral part of China “since antiquity”.\(^{11}\) This incorporation and subsequent minoritisation of peripheral ethnic groups into China’s ‘great family of nationalities’ is justified using the retrospective application of current CCP national philosophy. One example is the changing representation of ‘Non-Han Others’ in history textbooks. Peripheral ethnic groups, who were depicted as ‘foreign barbarians’ in the 1950s, have since been rewritten as being participating Chinese citizens ‘since antiquity’.\(^{12}\) International associations and commentators outside of the PRC generally acknowledge the socio-cultural group now called the ‘Uyghur’ as native to the region.\(^{13}\)

Another important question to consider is; what has the recognition of indigenous land rights in Australia achieved? Were the legal recognition of Australian Aboriginals as indigenous people and the right to claim land through native title a successful strategy for reducing social inequality and fragmentation? Bearing in mind that the intended purpose of the Australia Model is to address issues of ethnic conflict, these are important points to consider.

Australia’s *Native Title Act* was introduced in 1993 following a history of shameful assimilation policies directed towards the Indigenous community: an aspect of Australian political history for which the national government apologised for only as recently as 2007. Under the assimilation policies of the early 20\(^{th}\) century, Australia’s leaders debated the ‘worth’ of Aboriginality to the nation and engaged openly in projects designed to reduce or eradicate the indigenous population. By the late 1950s, when such plans had failed to deliver on their promises of rights, respect and opportunity for the Aboriginal people, disillusion with the assimilation approach brought about a change in policy and terminology. It was proposed that ‘integration’ would replace assimilation as the method of dealing with the indigenous population.\(^{14}\) Contextualised within a broader movement towards reconciliation, Australia’s land rights aimed not only to provide equal social and economic opportunity, but also offered a way for the Indigenous community to recover “lost culture, identity and pride”.\(^{15}\)

The general improvement in relations between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians should be understood first as a consequence of a shift in official governmental policy and ideology, and only secondly as the implementation of new legal rights. Whilst the Native Title Act was an important part of the reconciliation process, it was a change in social perceptions and attitudes towards the Aboriginal community in the majority white Australian population that led to it and achieved greater results. In the case of Xinjiang, we are left with a dichotomy between indigenous land rights and the system of regional autonomy. However, Western scholarship has been criticised for focusing too narrowly on structural elements of ethnic division, such as the system of regional autonomy, and not enough on agents of change.\(^{16}\) What is lacking in this discussion is an understanding of the ideology that underpins policy-making and influences social attitudes.

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\(^{15}\) Ibid.

Nation Building and Integration in Xinjiang

Following the PRC’s transition from a planned to a market economy through the successful ‘opening up’ economic reforms of Deng Xiaoping 邓小平, the central government embarked upon a second quest to ‘open up the West’. The Great Western Development (Xibu Dakaifa 西部大开发) campaign launched by Jiang Zemin 江泽民 in 1991 emphasised the economic development of western provinces in order to close social and economic disparities with their comparatively well-off eastern counterparts. The campaign was underpinned by the idea that raising living standards would solve socioeconomic problems, and was an extension of the CCP’s nation building program. It also signalled a renewed focus on the integration of interior provinces into mainstream Chinese society. 17

In 1949, the CCP adopted a Marxist-Stalinist policy towards its minority groups that saw the systematic categorisation of all citizens into 56 minzu. The ‘minzu paradigm’ is best understood as an ethnic hierarchy that positions the Han majority as the most advanced and progressive society. The system enables the government to “educate and provide services and policies for [ethnic groups] appropriate to their minzu”. 18 The Soviet framework recognised the categorisation of different nationalities with the view that mutual ethnic convergence would occur along the path to communism. However, since the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, political discourse surrounding minzu and notions of nation building have shifted away from the Soviet model. Chinese scholars have speculated that the collapse of the Soviet Union resulted from the lack of a unified national identity, which is thus a crucial mistake that China needs to avoid. 19 With this in mind, new political discourse promotes ‘One Chinese Nation with Diversity’ (Zhonghua minzu duoyuanyiti 中华民族多元一体). Imbued with a renewed sense of hegemony and homogenisation, the Great Western Development is reminiscent of assimilative and civilizing projects associated with colonialism. 20

The Great Western Development has altered Xinjiang’s landscape in many ways. Investment in the natural resources sector manifests itself in the physical landscape, where fields of oil wells stretch for kilometres. Education reform has been introduced to balance student outcomes in an effort to provide equal opportunity. New policy has seen the introduction of a single ‘bilingual’ education system to replace existing mother-tongue schools under the pretext it will improve Mandarin language education. The general consensus on the ‘bilingual’ education system is that it places disproportionate value upon and recourses into Mandarin language, rather than striking a balance between the national standard and minority native languages. 21 Xinjiang’s new image as a ‘Promised Land’ has also lead to large-scale Han internal migration, which has dramatically changed the composition of the population away from Uyghur towards Han, and increased competition in the labour

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market. In addition to economic development and modernisation, the Great Western Development exhibits many traits associated with colonisation projects around the world. Thus, it has been argued that the Xinjiang-China relationship is one of “internal colonisation”.

Conclusion

Australia and China are not alone in their quest to provide fair and equal opportunity for their diverse populations. Integration of indigenous ethnic groups into a different mainstream society is a complex and long-term process. Determining the success, failure and completion of integration is similarly difficult. What is the motivation behind integration, and how can we measure its success? When, if ever, is the process of integration complete? Against the backdrop of globalisation, transnational migration and the breakdown of physical national borders, questions of integration and protection of civil rights are more important than ever.

Colonialism has taught the West that countries cannot ignore the historical and continued existence of indigenous peoples in particular regions and areas of land. The continuing negative effects of Australia’s treatment of the Aboriginal population should set an example for other nations facing similar issues today. Beneath terminological disagreements between ‘assimilation’ and ‘integration’ in the Australian context, “fundamental commonalities of aim and aspiration” remained. The change in political ideology was brought about not through political lobbying, but depended largely upon the public profile of the Aboriginal people. Once there was acceptance of the notion that “the land rights agenda did not counter the goal of Aboriginal membership of the Australia community”, legal and political rights were introduced. While it would be presumptuous to claim that Australia has achieved social, economic and political equality between its Indigenous and non-Indigenous population, there exists a more-or-less peaceful co-existence as part of the Australian nation.

While Uyghur culture is recognised as a distinct aspect of life in Xinjiang, it is celebrated only in the context of the minzu paradigm and Chinese sovereignty. Political bodies publicly state the need to civilise the ‘backwards’ minority people, educate them, bestow culture upon them and bring them into modern society. Common stereotypes of the Uyghur community depict the Muslim people as exotic and welcoming hosts, skilled performers of music and dance, and as the ubiquitous kebab vendor. These seemingly positive representations of Uyghur people, which are often produced and circulated by Han Chinese, appear at first glance to be a celebration of Uyghur culture and its difference. On closer inspection, however, such images display Uyghurs engaging only in trivial tasks that reinforce the latent belief that minority people are backwards, uneducated and uncivilized.


23 Goodman, op cit, 17.


25 McGregor, op cit, 14.

26 Ibid.


28 Baranovitch, op cit, 12.
Ultimately, the focus on integration in Xinjiang thinly veils a continuation of assimilative policies with colonial characteristics. With an emerging Han regional identity complicating the situation further, the two ethnic communities are becoming increasingly segregated, and their interactions characterised by mutual ideologies of contempt. Until there is a shift in social perceptions towards the Uyghur people and political ideologies about the potential threat local identities pose to national cohesion, discussions pertaining to the structural system of regional autonomy are premature and ethnic conflict is likely to continue.

China and the Asia Security Balance:  
The Boat Shall Rock, but will Not Capsize  

Kara Hawkins  

Kara Hawkins is a third-year undergraduate student at the Australian National University, studying International Relations. She majors in Arabic but also has a keen interest in Asia-Pacific studies.  

Introduction  

China’s rapid rise in the international system has sparked concern and debate as to future security conditions in the Asia-Pacific region and around the world. The USA has dominated the Asia-Pacific security architecture since the end of the Second World War through its ‘hub-and-spokes’ system of bilateral alliances. The question of whether China is content to preserve the status quo, or is a revisionist power intent on undermining it, has enormous implications for international security and the global economy. Yet much of the debate about whether China is either a status quo or revisionist power overlooks an important distinction: will China fundamentally upset the regional security order or merely seek to alter it. An upset would involve China posing a sudden, direct and aggressive challenge to American regional primacy in the short to medium-term, whereas an alteration would see a change in the distribution of regional power that falls short of a Chinese challenge to replace the USA’s regional primacy. This distinction is vital as perceptions of Chinese intentions and capabilities shape the responses and strategies of interested parties, and consequently Chinese threat perceptions. Thus, mistaken views of Chinese revisionism are likely to result in more threatening counterbalancing strategies that unnerve China and accordingly increase the probability of conflict, the very outcome the international community wishes to avoid.  

This paper argues that China will not seek to upset the regional security order due to a number of powerful constraints. Domestically, environmental and demographic factors are placing significant pressure on China’s economy, in turn generating greater potential for social unrest. Militarily, China’s abilities are vastly overestimated, with technology, capabilities and a military structure all far behind those of the USA. Even if China could match America in military might, other regional actors would be unlikely to defer to Chinese predominance, and thus Beijing would not have the same regional support as the USA enjoys for the preservation of its position in the region. This is not to say that China will cease being assertive. On the contrary, Beijing is likely to be assertive to the extent that this strengthens its primary interest of regime security and its other core interests in the retention and reclamation of disputed territories and the projection of regional and global influence. While this assertiveness increases the risk of miscalculations and an unintentional escalation of tensions, China’s primary national interests would be severely damaged by an upset of the regional order. Thus, unless circumstances drastically change such that challenging American primacy would be more likely to maximise core Chinese interests, Beijing will not seek to fundamentally upset the regional status quo.  

These considerations are vital to Australia’s foreign policy calculations. The Australian interest is in a stable Asia-Pacific region and avoiding excessive divergence between economic and security ties. The question of whether China has the potential to upset the regional security order is today arguably the most significant debate in Australian policy circles. Professor Hugh White of the Australian National University ignited this debate with his controversial suggestion that the USA should share power with China in Asia, or in the future face the alternatives of either conflict with
or the yielding of regional power to Beijing.\textsuperscript{1} At the other end of the spectrum, Paul Dibb argues that China’s abilities are exaggerated, particularly its perceived military threat.\textsuperscript{2} How Australia identifies and responds to China’s rising power will have a profound impact upon national defence preparations and spending. Given China’s lack of capability and incentives to successfully overturn the regional status quo, Australia should acknowledge this by not regarding China as a threat, whilst still recognising that the regional security balance will change. This point is especially pertinent considering the prospect of a conflict in the region stemming from misunderstandings and misperceptions, which are more likely to arise if states view and act as though China is more dangerous and its power more in need of constraint than is actually the case. Thus, in rhetoric and action, Australia must distinguish between reactionary perceptions of a China intending to upset the regional status quo, and the more correct and balanced view that China that will simply alter it. A failure to do so could heighten rather than minimise the prospects of conflict.

**The USA and the Asia-Pacific Region**

American domination of the Asia-Pacific security system has had a stabilising effect upon the region, something that continues to benefit China. The presence of the USA in the region has reassured its allies against any threats they may perceive from China, whilst simultaneously ameliorating threats that China itself perceives, particularly from Japan. The USA established a formal security alliance with Tokyo after the Second World War whereby Japan gained an American defence guarantee in exchange for allowing the USA to establish military bases in Japanese territory and agreeing not to rearm.\textsuperscript{3} The military restraint of Japan is particularly critical in Chinese security calculations due to historical Sino-Japanese tensions and previous Japanese invasions and imperialism.\textsuperscript{4} As many others in the region share China’s concerns, a remilitarising Japan could spark a regional arms race. Thus, the USA-Japan alliance has historically largely short-circuited a regional security dilemma that otherwise may have formed.\textsuperscript{5} The American hub-and-spokes security system consists of treaty alliances with South Korea, the Philippines, Australia and Thailand, as well as strong ties with China, India, Malaysia, Singapore, Brunei, Vietnam, Malaysia, Mongolia, New Zealand and Pacific Island nations.\textsuperscript{6} Some argue that the highest levels of regional insecurity since 1945 coincide with the highest levels of uncertainty about American commitment to the region, underlining the stabilising effect of the US presence.\textsuperscript{7} The resulting regional stability not only benefits China form a security perspective, but has also benefited the Chinese economy.

The presence of the USA as a stabilising force in the Asia-Pacific created conditions ripe for Chinese economic growth, and arguably continues to do so. Regional stability has allowed China to reduce its focus on military and defence concerns and concentrate resources on domestic economic development, the key to its current strength. The USA has also protected sea-lanes vital to the region’s growth, directly shielding Chinese trade and resource supplies.\textsuperscript{8} Furthermore, stability has promoted regional development, creating a market for Chinese goods and a source of investment in China. These security and economic benefits have helped lay the foundations of China’s current power, and thereby generate a disincentive for China to upset the regional security balance as the

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\textsuperscript{5} Ikenberry, op cit, 3.

\textsuperscript{6} Ikenberry, op cit.


\textsuperscript{8} Clinton, op cit, 6.
conflict this would likely cause would considerably damage China’s economic and national strength.

China’s Domestic Situation

Even so, China’s ability to transform its economic wealth into military power and regional influence is strongly constrained by domestic issues. China faces major environmental challenges that threaten to hold back its economy. A study by the Chinese Academy of Environmental Planning found that the cost of environmental degradation tripled between 2004 and 2010 to 3.5 per cent of China’s Gross National Product, or approximately $230 billion. Whilst the official Chinese estimate could be significantly understated, even this figure indicates that environmental factors are a major economic burden and amplify the structural challenges associated with China’s slowing economic growth. One of these concerns has been increasing unemployment – partially due to structural misalignment – creating substantial potential for social unrest. China’s low and decreasing birth rate will further reduce number of young and inexpensive labourers who have underpinned China’s economic growth over the last three decades. Additionally, China’s population is aging rapidly and the aged care dependency ratio is estimated to double from 16 retirees for every 100 working-age adults now to 32 in 2023, and again to 61 by 2050. These demographic changes will redirect funds from potential production and investment towards health and social costs, compounding the threat of economic stagnation. As the economy is the primary foundation Chinese Communist Party (CCP) legitimacy, such factors pose a major threat to regime stability and the Chinese political model. While China is likely to continue its assertive behaviour and play an increasing role in the international arena, given the plethora of domestic issues the CCP is facing, it can be expected to retain and probably increase its focus on internal issues. The primary rationale for such domestic emphasis is that these potentially destabilising factors could threaten the CCP regime itself and thus limit China’s power projection capabilities to a far greater extent.

Moreover, China’s ability to effectively challenge the USA as regional military hegemon is questionable. But many observers express concern over Beijing’s rapid military modernisation. The People’s Liberation Army (PLA) has 2.3 million active-duty personnel, and China’s military budget has been steadily increasing. Furthermore, China recently deployed the world’s first anti-ship ballistic missile and purchased its first aircraft carrier and stealth fighter jets. Nevertheless, further analysis shows that China does not in fact pose a severe military threat to American primacy

11 Ibid.
15 Wang, op cit, 13.
in the region. China borders fourteen different countries, and patrolling these potential hotspots (such as the Indian and Burmese borders) consumes a large portion of military resources. More significantly, China’s military is unprepared for such a major undertaking as conflict with the US. There is little coordination between military branches, and military hierarchies are undermined by the prevalence of ‘selling’ senior positions. Corruption has become “institutionalised”, making it “much more difficult to develop, produce and field the weapons systems required to achieve world-class power projection.” While China is rapidly building up its military, increasing military spending by 7.8 per cent in 2012 alone, “the United States’ overwhelming lead is not going to change in a hurry”. Although Beijing’s military expenditure of US$166 billion (9.5% of the world total) is the second highest in the world, it is still a long way behind American expenditures of US$682 billion (39% of the world total). In addition to deficient military capabilities, the PLA has had little experience of modern warfare. This reduces the likelihood of China being able to successfully challenge America’s regional primacy and shift the regional security balance in its favour.

**China in the Asia-Pacific**

Even though increasing Chinese military capabilities will inherently challenge US influence in the region, in order to truly achieve regional dominance Beijing requires the deference of regional actors to its strategic positions. However, most are wary of Chinese power and concerned about its potential revisionist aims. Many Asian states and regional powers such as Russia, India and Japan may actively limit or balance against unwelcome Chinese attempts at regional primacy. This would likely involve such states aligning more closely with the USA, potentially alienating themselves from their current position as key Chinese trading partners, upon which Beijing’s economy depends heavily. The stability of the USA-dominated regional security system is partially responsible for allaying fears of Chinese revisionism, but a resurgent China is likely to destabilise the region. Already China’s assertiveness is unsettling some states such as Vietnam and the Philippines, potentially pushing them towards closer relations with the USA. Thus, other powers and neighbouring states will most likely inhibit Chinese efforts to overturn the regional balance.

Consequently, a vital issue when considering China’s potential to upset the regional security balance is whether it is in China’s national interest to do so. The CCP’s primary objective is regime security, requiring the continuance of economic growth and development, as well as political stability. President Xi Jinping recently emphasised that the PLA’s first priority is to defend China’s national interest to do so. Other fundamental national interests include projecting regional and global influence, as well as retaining and reclaiming disputed territories. But regional and global power ambitions are contingent on the resolution of domestic issues and political stability, which are heavily reliant on China’s continued economic growth and regional security.

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20 Garnaut, op cit, 18.
21 Ibid.
23 Perlo-Freeman, Sam: Ibid.
24 Perlo-Freeman et al, op cit, 17, p. 2.
30 Garnaut, op cit, 18.
Given that the USA-dominated security system has fostered these key foundations, attempts to upset this balance would undermine and severely damage the CCP’s legitimacy, as well as China’s ability to defend its core interests and project its influence into the future.

China’s regime legitimacy has been underpinned by strong and continuous economic growth that has been supported by greater integration into the international economic system.\(^1\) China has forged ties with industrialised nations and benefited from their markets, technology and investment.\(^2\) America’s stabilising regional presence has assisted regional actors in becoming larger markets for Chinese products and allowed Chinese leaders to focus on economic as well as security concerns. Conflict with the USA would damage these economic ties and disrupt the regional stability that the Chinese economy so requires. Despite China’s potential desire to aggressively pursue regional hegemony, it continues to be dependent on its greatest competitors.\(^3\) The USA and Japan were respectively China’s second and fifth largest trading partners in 2011.\(^4\) China has also become increasingly reliant on the region for its natural resources. For example, it imports Malaysian palm oil, Thai rubber, Philippine copper, Australian iron ore, and Indonesian lumber and paper.\(^5\) China is also in the process of replacing oil with natural gas as its major energy supply, but it is predicted that by 2025 40 per cent of natural gas will have to be imported, mostly from South East Asia.\(^6\) China and other regional actors are so economically intertwined that it is arguably in all of their interests to maintain the status quo.\(^7\) The high level of integration and dependence upon regional and international actors for economic security illustrates how conflict that would disrupt such links would undermine China’s economic strength, CCP regime legitimacy and its ability to maintain present levels of influence.

Nevertheless, realists argue that China’s growth is inherently destabilising,\(^8\) and power transition theorists predict that conflict will inevitably result from the existence of a rapidly rising power.\(^9\) Notwithstanding China’s aforementioned inability and unwillingness to cause such a conflict, as China’s power grows it is likely to continue its assertiveness in regional affairs. China is involved in territorial disputes that have recently resurfaced with Japan, India, the Philippines, Vietnam and China has intensified disputes in the South China Sea, such as by sending a passenger ship to the Paracel Islands, which a number of South East Asian nations also lay claim to.\(^10\) On another front, Sino-Indian tensions increased when Chinese soldiers were found camped 19 kilometres beyond their side of the bilateral ‘line of actual control’.\(^11\) Although some argue that

\(^{2}\) Yuan, op cit, 19.
\(^{3}\) Nathan and Scobell, op cit, 26.
\(^{11}\) Ibid.
such assertiveness is largely the result of internal politics related to the recent leadership change.\textsuperscript{43} Others argue that this is part of a longer-term trend of increased Chinese assertiveness that began in 2009.\textsuperscript{44}

**Potential for Conflict**

Such behaviour may relate to connections between national interests and regional assertiveness, which are particularly relevant with regards to sea-lanes and energy security. Whilst American presence has helped prevent sea-lane disruptions, escalating Sino-American strategic and economic competition means China has become concerned that the USA could use its sea control as an instrument of economic coercion, or block Chinese access in the case of a military or economic crisis.\textsuperscript{45} This issue is of growing significance due to China’s increasing dependence on imported energy, most of which must pass through two key regional trading bottlenecks, the Strait of Malacca and the Strait of Hormuz.\textsuperscript{46} Thus China is likely to build its naval capacities for the purpose of sea denial and perhaps sea control, as well as secure energy import suppliers and expand trade more generally. Nonetheless, a more assertive China does not automatically imply a more aggressive China.\textsuperscript{47} Beijing is likely to push its territorial, security and economic interests, but this does not necessarily equate to an intention to overturn the regional security system.

However, increasing Chinese assertiveness and naval activity carries higher risks of miscalculation and misperception, generating the potential for China to accidentally or unintentionally upset the regional balance. China’s rising economic and military power is likely to cause it to “push against US power to find the boundaries of the United States’ will.”\textsuperscript{48} Internal politics and pressures will play a crucial role in potential miscalculations and misperceptions regarding the actions of other regional actors. Some suggest that Xi may have “exploited or even orchestrated”\textsuperscript{49} the recent tensions with Japan over the Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands in order to discover which military generals he could trust. This is a crucial element in a political system where political power is so strongly tied to control over the military, but also contains the potential to permit the escalation of tense strategic situations towards conflict.\textsuperscript{50} Another basis for misperceptions are Chinese naval developments, which, while most likely intended for energy security or sea denial, could also be perceived by regional actors as preparations to challenge American dominance. Thus, whilst it is unlikely that the CCP is intending to upset the regional security balance in the short to medium-term, miscalculations and misperceptions may intercede.

Additionally, there is a risk that Chinese foreign policy could become even more assertive and potentially confrontational under the influence of nationalist forces. Chinese nationalism is driven by a deep sense of humiliation at past imperialist domination, and often drives certain political and military actors to call for more aggressive stances against Western powers and rivals in regional maritime disputes.\textsuperscript{51} Some scholars identify 2008 as the turning point when CCP leaders became less willing to restrain nationalist forces, potentially due to the merging of state and popular

\textsuperscript{43} Garnaut, op cit, 18.
\textsuperscript{44} Wall Street Journal, op cit, 42.
\textsuperscript{45} Nathan and Scobell, op cit, 26.
\textsuperscript{46} Herberg, op cit, 35, p. 70.
\textsuperscript{48} Nathan and Scobell, op cit, 26.
\textsuperscript{49} Garnaut, op cit, 18.
nationalism.\textsuperscript{52} State nationalism portrays the Chinese nation and the Communist state as a single entity, reinforcing CCP legitimacy.\textsuperscript{53} So encouraging, or at least failing to restrain, nationalism may support the Chinese government’s primary interest of regime security but result in greater assertiveness on the international stage. This alters the CCP’s cost-benefit analysis regarding the risks of confrontation, leaving a greater opening for escalating tensions and entertaining conflict with the USA. Similarly, failures to resolve domestic economic or social issues may force the CCP to shift focus to external affairs in an effort to preserve national unity and popular support. Such assertiveness may result in a push that inadvertently goes too far and ignites conflict.

\bf{What Does this Mean for Australia?}

The discussion presented in this paper suggests that Australia must be prepared for China to unintentionally upset the regional security balance in ways that could result in conflict. However, China is likely to lack both the ability and the will to \textit{deliberately} upset the regional security balance in the foreseeable future. China continues to reap economic, security and political benefits from the USA-dominated Asia-Pacific security system, which has significantly contributed to China’s recent accomplishments. However, this success has not sufficiently translated into Chinese ability to effectively challenge American regional dominance. China is heavily restrained by serious domestic issues, its military capabilities lag far behind the USA, and the regional and international system is likely to reject Chinese revisionism. Furthermore, China is so strongly integrated with the regional and international system that regional instability or conflict with the USA would undermine its core national interests. Nevertheless, China is still likely to attempt to alter the regional balance in its favour and its assertiveness increases the potential for miscalculations and misperceptions.

Like any balancing act, the situation remains fragile, and Australia and the world must respond to China’s rise in a manner that is realistically prepared for mistakes to be made. Australia must also be wary that treating China as a threat to the existing security system could create a self-fulfilling prophecy. This final possibility appears to have been recognised in Australia’s 2013 Defence White Paper, which used more moderate language in reference to China’s rise than the controversial 2009 White Paper.\textsuperscript{54} This represents one preliminary step towards understanding not only Chinese intentions and abilities, but also the possibility of arbitrary factors destabilising the regional security balance. So, China will continue to rock the boat, but is unlikely to intentionally upset the regional balance. Failure to incorporate this distinction into Australian (and regional) foreign policy could push China into challenging the primacy of the USA. In a region home to at least four nuclear powers, ignoring such a vital perspective could lead to devastating consequences for the region, Australia included.

\textsuperscript{52} Ibid, p. 536.
\textsuperscript{53} Ibid, p. 536.
Are Domestic Food Security Concerns the Primary Motivation for Chinese Companies to ‘Go Out’ and Invest in Agricultural Projects Abroad?

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Introduction

Recent media attention in Australia towards Chinese investment in agricultural projects has re-ignited the broader issue of food security, and brought into question the motivations of Chinese private companies and state-owned enterprises (SOEs) operating in Australia. The trend for Chinese companies to ‘go out’ (zou chuqu 走出去) and invest abroad is not exclusively an Australian issue, with countries in Africa, Latin America and elsewhere all experiencing an increased Chinese presence in their agricultural sectors. Amidst these reports, there is undeniable sense of fear that China is ‘buying up the farm’, with politicians warning that Australia risks becoming “one big vegetable patch for Beijing”.1

This essay seeks to critically analyse the proposition that China is buying up the farm – that is, investing in foreign agricultural industries to guarantee adequate food supplies to import back to China. Several alternative explanations for Chinese investment will be provided. These hypotheses will then be tested against the data available on Chinese agriculture investments in Africa, Latin America and Australia. Data has been extensively compiled from international and Chinese news agencies, Australian media resources and academic literature. This essay hopes to shed light upon what factors motivate Chinese investments in overseas agricultural projects.

China’s Food Security Policy

Food security concerns have always weighed heavily on the minds of China’s leaders due to the social instability that food shortages or volatile prices can create. Food security can be defined as, “when all people at all times have access to sufficient, safe, nutritious food to maintain a healthy and active life”.2 Underpinning this definition is the concept that food security includes both physical and economic access to food, and meets people’s dietary needs as well as their food preferences. China faces substantial challenges to meeting this definition, containing 20 per cent of the world’s population but only nine per cent of global arable land and six per cent of the fresh water supply.3 Nonetheless, China insists upon a policy of 95 per cent food self-sufficiency, a target that is increasingly under pressure. In 2011, China fell short of its grain target by importing over ten per cent of its national grain requirements, amounting to 61 million tons.4 To ensure adequate domestic supply, the Chinese government has also stipulated that the total area of arable land in China must remain above 120 million hectares.5 This target reflects the Chinese government’s focus

5 Affirmed during the State Council’s 149th Standing Conference, 6 September 2006.
on food self-sufficiency as the measure of food security, as opposed to the WHO’s broader definition. But this target is also under threat, with just 121.7 million hectares of arable land available in August 2011, according to statistics from the Ministry of Land and Resources. As China draws closer to this ‘redline’ and grain imports rise to ominous levels, many commentators see increased overseas agricultural investment by Chinese companies and SOEs as inevitable. Indeed, there is some evidence to suggest that the Chinese government is changing its stance on food security in favour of greater efforts to ‘go out’ and invest in farming abroad.

In May 2008, it was reported that the Ministry of Agriculture was formulating a policy on outward investment in agriculture that extended beyond the ‘Go Out Policy’ that China had been pursuing for the past decade. While the Ministry moved swiftly to deny these reports, statements by other Chinese officials suggest that government is encouraging increased investment by Chinese enterprises in foreign agriculture. However, these statements should be balanced against the overriding state policy of food self-sufficiency, which was re-iterated by Vice-Premier Hui Liangyu in March 2011.

In 2011, both Premier Wen Jiabao and Minister of Commerce Chen Deming stated that China will prioritise investment in agriculture (as well as certain other sectors) in respective visits to Argentina and Africa. Chinese companies have also been publicly encouraged to explore agricultural opportunities in Africa by officials within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Commerce, and been advised to seek farmland abroad by officials in the Agriculture and Rural Affairs Committee of the National People’s Congress. These statements combined reflect an attempt by the Chinese government to raise the profile of agriculture as a target for Chinese foreign investment under the auspices of the Go Out Policy.

However, even before such public endorsements of Chinese investment in foreign agriculture, Chinese enterprises have demonstrated a strong interest in overseas agricultural projects. The 2010 Statistical Bulletin of Outward Foreign Direct Investment reveals that the Chinese outward Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) stock in the combined sectors of agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry and fishing more than quadrupled between 2005 and 2010, to a total of US$2.61 billion. This rate of increase is virtually identical to that seen in mining, an industry that has perhaps received far greater attention from business circles and media over the past few years due to its significantly larger size in absolute terms.

Finally, in July 2012, the Ministry of Commerce included agriculture in its list of industries entitled to subsidies for investment overseas. Although such subsidies had been in place since 2005, this was the first time agriculture had been included.

These public statements, subsidy incentives and FDI statistics together show a growing impetus for Chinese enterprises to make agricultural investments abroad. However, there is a disjoint between increased investment by Chinese companies in overseas agriculture projects and a Chinese policy of

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6 Pumin, op cit, 4.
guaranteeing food security through foreign acquisitions. Indeed, there are four alternative explanations that can be raised in response to this argument.

Explanations for Chinese Overseas Agricultural Investment

There are four alternative explanations for why the Chinese government is investing in foreign agriculture. The first is that Chinese investment in overseas agriculture is a commercial response to capitalise upon China’s massive foreign currency reserves. As recently stated in the *Australian Financial Review*, “China has an understandable interest in diversifying its substantial holdings of foreign exchange reserves away from low-yielding US Treasuries to real productive assets with higher returns”. Increasingly, agriculture is seen as an industry to target for these higher returns.

The second explanation argues that outward investment by Chinese enterprises in agriculture is undertaken to participate in the transfer and exchange of knowledge, technology and management skills.

The third alternative is that Chinese agricultural investments are motivated by a desire to increase the international food supply and thus reduce international food prices. The Ministry of Commerce has advanced this argument; with an official stating that “Chinese enterprises’ overseas expansion can reduce global grain prices by increasing output”.

A fourth possibility is that such Chinese acquisitions are motivated by the desirability of acquiring foreign brands, which can then be used both internationally and in the domestic market, where ‘foreignness’ attracts greater consumer attention and a price premium.

In summary, the possible motivations for Chinese agricultural investments abroad are:

1. Domestic food security;
2. Investing China’s foreign currency reserves in productive assets;
3. Transfer and exchange of knowledge, technology and management skills;
4. Increasing international food supply and decreasing prices; and,
5. Acquiring foreign brands and associated commercial reasons.

The veracity of these explanations will now be evaluated based upon the data available on Chinese investments in agriculture projects in Africa, Latin America and Australia. These locations have been chosen because they represent South-South investment and trade flows, and have all received significant media and political attention.

Motivations for Chinese Agricultural Investments in Africa

Analysing Chinese investment patterns in African agriculture is relatively straightforward, as already several academics have written numerous papers on the issue. Chinese investment in African agriculture was worth more than US$134 million in 2009, and involved the establishment of 50 agricultural enterprises and over 100 farms. In discussing China’s agricultural investments in Africa, it is important to note that aid projects constitute a significant proportion of Chinese

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13 Jin, op cit, 10.
activity in this area, and while strictly speaking aid and investment are separate concepts, this essay will discuss both.

Generally speaking, Chinese involvement in African agriculture takes one of three forms:

- Agricultural aid projects
- Investment by SOEs
- Investment by (mostly small-scale) private enterprises.

Agricultural Aid Projects
China has been providing aid to Africa since 1956, and agricultural aid programs continue to constitute a substantial element of China-Africa agricultural cooperation. In fact, since the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation in 2006, China has adjusted its aid policy in Africa such that agriculture and food issues are now the top priority.\(^{16}\)

By 2009, China had completed 142 agricultural aid projects in over 44 African countries. These projects are generally small-scale, with an average investment of just US$500,000.\(^{17}\) The projects are mostly ‘turn-key’, in that they are built by China and then handed over in working order.\(^ {18}\) The purpose of many such ventures appears to be improving grain production and storage.

From 2009, Chinese aid in African agriculture has begun to adopt a public-private model, with the establishment of at least 14 new agro-technical demonstration centres.\(^ {19}\) These centres offer training in areas such as cultivating rice and vegetables, and using agricultural machinery. Whilst some centres focus on producing agricultural products that China is increasingly seeking to import (e.g. soybeans and corn), most address a wide-range of African agricultural needs. Several of the centres are working towards introducing high-yield hybrid rice to Africa, a Chinese-designed technology.

Commercial Investment
Investment by SOEs, such as the China State Farms Agribusiness Corporation (CFSAC), has been present in Africa since 1990. But in recent years investment channels have been diversified, from simple aid projects to full-scale FDI. CFSAC’s provincial subsidiaries, such as the Jiangsu State Farm Agribusiness Corporation, began their African undertakings by forming ‘friendship farms’, such as the China-Zambia friendship farm in 1990.\(^ {20}\) Other SOEs, originally assigned to implement or construct aid projects, then took stakes in the finished products.

By 2002, the Go Out Policy regarding African agricultural investment had become official, with the Vice-Minister of Foreign Aid stating, ‘China-Africa agricultural cooperation in the new century must be conducted by enterprises and should be market-orientated.’\(^ {21}\) Sun observes that by 2005, the Go Out Policy had resulted in a new group of small-scale Chinese private enterprises arriving in Africa.

Brautigam et al. note that by 2006, there were more than 20 SOEs and private Chinese farms in Zambia, all of which were producing for the Zambian domestic market. They argue that in Africa generally the “evidence is indeed overwhelming, that at present, Chinese farms in Africa are producing almost exclusively for local sales…or for export to global markets”.\(^ {22}\) This seems to suggest that Chinese FDI in Africa is not motivated by domestic food security concerns.

\(^{16}\) Ibid, p. 7.
\(^{17}\) Ibid, p. 16.
\(^{18}\) Brautigam and Xiaoyang, op cit, 14, p. 686.
\(^{19}\) Ibid.
\(^{20}\) Ibid, p. 691.
\(^{21}\) Ibid, p. 693.
\(^{22}\) Ibid, p. 698.
Summary of Motivations

Diplomacy appears to be a major motivating factor for Chinese agricultural investment in Africa, as the African continent has been a net food importer for almost 40 years, and agricultural assistance has generally always been welcome. Brautigam and Tang also note that expanding the global food supply also benefits China, which became a net food importer in 2003. In returning to our original five hypotheses, it seems China’s presence in African agriculture can largely be explained by explanations number three and four; for the transfer and exchange of knowledge, technology and management skills, and to increase international food supply and reduce prices. The second hypothesis is also a possible explanation; with the establishment in 2007 of the China-Africa Development Fund reflecting Chinese attempts to find appropriate investment targets for its foreign currency holdings in order to reduce reliance on US treasury bonds.

There is little evidence to suggest that China is buying up agricultural land in Africa to simply import food back to China, with Ministry of Agriculture officials in 2008 lambasting such claims as “not realistic” given “the costs and risks are so high” and “there are so many hungry people in Africa”. Brautigam et al. agree, stating that Chinese dealings in Africa have been “driven by commercial interests rather than food security”. However, it seems unlikely that investment in African agriculture is for commercial reasons alone, with the manager of CSFAC stating in 2010 that the “unstable political situation” is the “greatest challenge for Chinese companies which want to invest in Africa”.

Motivations for Chinese Agricultural Investments in Latin America

Chinese investment in Latin American agriculture has taken a much narrower focus than in Africa, almost exclusively targeting one agricultural commodity: soybeans. This reflects voracious demand from Chinese consumers for soybean food products, as well as demand by China’s agricultural enterprises for soybean livestock feed. Soybean import tariffs were cut from 114 per cent to three per cent in 2002, leading to a massive increase in imports, from practically zero ten years ago to 52.6 million tons in 2011. And with North and Latin America providing 76 per cent of China’s imported soybeans, it is no wonder that Chinese investments in Latin American agriculture have focused so heavily on soybean production.

Seven of the eight reported large-scale investments by Chinese enterprises in Latin American agriculture over the past three years have been in soybean production. Three were in Argentina and four in Brazil. Almost without exception, the investments have been made by large provincial SOEs, with Heilongjiang’s Beidahuang Nongken Group and Chongqing Grain Corp (CGC) each undertaking two investment projects, and Zhejiang’s Fudi Agriculture Group investing in a joint soybean farming venture in Brazil. Sanhe Hopefull Grain & Oil Group, one of the few private Chinese agribusinesses in Latin America, has announced the biggest deal to date: a US$7.5 billion investment in soybean production, storage and transport facilities in the Brazilian state of Goiás. In return, Sanhe will be receiving an annual supply of six million tons of soybeans, 80 per cent of Goiás’ annual soybean production. Beidahuang’s soybean projects, both in Argentina, are also substantial and each valued at US$1.5 billion. One project is exclusively soybean production and the other is mixed purpose, including wheat, soybean, corn, fruit, vegetables and wine. The mixed purpose project involves developing 300,000 hectares of land and expanding a local port. To ensure

26 Pumin, op cit, 4.
27 Freeman, op cit, 25, p. 7.
that local demand is satiated and local food price inflation is avoided, Beidahuang is only able to export produce surplus to Argentinian national requirements, a good-faith demonstration of responsible investment by the Chinese side. CGC’s soybean project in Brazil also involves a significant infrastructure element, with their US$500 million investment to focus on developing processing, warehousing and logistical capacities to establish a soybean industrial base in Bahia state.

Chinese domestic demand for grains, particularly soybeans, is the main motivating factor behind agricultural investment in Latin America. However, none of the major projects surveyed involve Chinese companies simply buying up land and shipping produce back to China. All are based upon increasing production capacity and improving local infrastructure to guarantee supply and quality of the produce for both local and Chinese markets. Improving supply channels are important for Chinese enterprises, with CGC’s president stating that soybean importers save around 20 per cent of their profits if they purchase directly from producers, rather than one of the four major international grain dealers.\footnote{China Economic Net (2011), ‘CGC is setting up a soya bean base in Brazil’, 24 November, http://china-wire.org/?p=17240.}

Returning to the original five hypotheses, it seems that Chinese agricultural investment in Latin America is chiefly motivated by reasons four and five; to increase international food supply and reduce prices, and for commercial reasons such as higher profit margins on imports.

**Motivations for Chinese Agricultural Investments in Australia**


Unlike Latin America, Chinese investment in Australian agricultural projects has taken a variety of forms, such as share-market takeovers, capital investments, private land purchases and tenders for new agricultural schemes. Investment has also been targeted towards a range of agricultural products, such as cotton, sugar, wine and dairy. As such, it is unlikely that any one of the five hypotheses will alone constitute the sole reason for Chinese investments in Australia’s agricultural industry. Indeed, examining several recent Chinese deals there is evidence of multiple motivating factors.

For instance, the most recent Chinese FDI in Australian agriculture was the purchase of Cubbie Station by a consortium led by Shandong Ruyi Group, and was undertaken for commercial reasons and to increase cotton supply on the international market. In any case, it is clearly not for food security reasons: one cannot eat cotton, and there are no plans to produce other commodities on site. Another potential deal relates to the announcement in September 2012 that China’s sovereign wealth fund, the China Investment Corporation (CIC), is in negotiations to invest A$200 million in Tasmanian dairy farms to double the state’s production capacity. This seems to be the first sign that the CIC is interested in agricultural investments. The significance of this potential deal is that the CIC was established in 2007 with the explicit mandate to mitigate risks posed by China’s enormous foreign exchange reserves by investing in commercial opportunities abroad.

China’s largest agricultural SOE, the China National Cereals, Oils and Foodstuffs Corporation (COFCO), has also made a move into Australia by acquiring Tully Sugar in May 2011.\footnote{Cranston, Matthew (2011), ‘China canes rivals, takes 61pc of Tully’, Australian Financial Review, 6 July, http://www.afr.com/p/business/companies/china_canes_rivals_takes_pc_of_tully_AqprfWd61rslxw1qQDSjfK.} Based on statements made by COFCO’s Australia president, food security is a major motivator for investment decisions made by the SOE. However, as with the majority of Chinese investment in foreign agriculture, the chief objective is to expand production for commercial reasons. In this case,


that means capturing “the above-average demand forecast in south-east Asia” for sugar. The acquisition was also motivated by the opportunity to transfer knowledge and management skills, with Tully Sugar’s Australian management team keeping their positions and COFCO expressing a keenness “to learn the Australian way of doing things” so as to boost efficiency of its sugar-cane mills in China.\(^{31}\)

As a final example, the 2011 acquisition of Manassen Foods by Shanghai-based Bright Food Group at a cost of approximately A$400 million can be seen as a case of Chinese investment for the purpose of acquiring foreign brands. Manassen’s products include Sunbeam, Simon Johnson and Golden Days. Moreover, Bright Food’s vice-president made it clear that the company intends to market these products heavily in the Chinese domestic market, where foreign brands attract a price premium due to consumer perceptions of higher safety standards.

**Conclusion**

Based on Chinese investment patterns in agricultural projects in Africa, Latin America and Australia, it seems clear that the proposition that domestic food security concerns are the primary motivation for Chinese companies to ‘Go Out’ and invest abroad is too simplistic. Evidence suggests that Chinese investment in overseas agricultural projects is motivated by a range of factors, not an overriding mission to ‘buy up the farm’ and ship produce back to China en masse.

In Africa, investment is motivated by the opportunity to transfer and exchange knowledge, technology and management skills, and to increase international food supplies and thus reduce international prices. In Latin America, agricultural investment is also designed to increase international food supplies, as well as for commercial reasons such as high import profit margins. In Australia, Chinese agricultural investment reflects the whole range of motivating factors, from acquiring foreign brands, to exchanging knowledge and management skills, to finding sound investment targets for China’s foreign exchange reserves, to increasing production capacities and thus supplies of key agricultural commodities on the international market.

Chinese enterprises have demonstrated that they are willing to work within the commercial and legal parameters established by host governments in the countries they choose to invest in. It is up to every country to determine what level of access to agricultural investments they wish to allow foreign enterprises to have. For Australia, any stance that restricts access to foreign capital is unlikely to be in the best long-term national interest, given that further investment in the agricultural sector could generate an extra A$1.7 trillion for the economy by 2050.\(^{32}\)

Finally, there needs to be greater awareness that despite increased Chinese investment in overseas agriculture, there has been no shift in China’s fundamental food security policy. Beijing still has its ambitious target for 95 per cent grain self-sufficiency, and has been ploughing record amounts of investment into domestic agriculture.\(^{33}\) Food security will continue to be a significant concern for China’s leaders. However, the notion that China is simply off-shoring agricultural production is both erroneous and obstructive.

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An Analysis of New Policies by Australian Universities to Recognise China’s National College Entrance Examination Results

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Translated into English from the original Chinese by Ailing Tay 郑媛羚 and proofread by Kelly Tang 唐怡.

This essay was awarded the 2013 ACYA Prize for Youth Scholarship (Chinese).

Gong Chuying is a graduate student of Australian Studies at the Beijing Foreign Studies University School of English and International Studies, whose essay below stems from her interest in Australia’s international education industry and educational policies.

With the rapid development of China’s economy, many Chinese students are now choosing to study abroad to improve themselves and to gain exposure to the world. Due to the huge number of students in China, the overseas student market in China is the largest in the world, and Australia has always been a popular choice for Chinese students seeking to study abroad. In the past few years, although Australia’s international education sector has encountered many problems, changes were also made in order to continue attracting international students, and especially students from China. One prominent move was the successive recognition over the last two to three years by more than ten Australian universities of China’s national college entrance examination (NCEE) (gaokao 高考) results, including the NCEE as a possible admission criteria for new students.¹ This paper will explore the background of the policy, the content and significance of its implementation, the preliminary results of this new recognition by Australian universities, as well as to briefly analyse the prospects for Australia’s international education sector. This is in order to understand the opportunities and barriers that exist in the educational exchanges between China and Australia, and also to more deeply comprehend the development and changes in Australia’s international education sector.

Background: Slowdown in the Development of Australia’s International Education Sector

The context of the recognition of China’s NCEE results by Australian universities can be summarised into the following three factors:

1. Corporatisation and globalisation of tertiary education;
2. Declining performance of Australia’s international education sector; and,
3. The importance of the large Chinese overseas student market and the development of the middle and high school education system in China.

Of the abovementioned points, the third point about China’s large overseas student market has been repeatedly highlighted in domestic and international research and will thus not be elaborated on. The factor of the development in China’s education system in the approval of China’s NCEE system in Australia will be analysed in the next section of the paper. This section will give a brief overview of the first point, followed by an analysis of the context in which the policy was implemented, focusing upon the decline of the development of Australia’s international education sector in recent years. This is essential background information to understand what was behind the implementation of the new policy NCEE recognition policy.

¹ Australian universities that recognise China’s NCEE results include the University of Sydney, University of South Australia, University of Western Sydney, University of Southern Queensland, Monash University, Curtin University, La Trobe University and Macquarie University.
Since the 1980s, under the guidance of economic rationalism and new management practices, Australia’s public service sector, including the education industry, has been undergoing reform.  

The immediate consequence was the corporatisation and commercialisation of the education sector, weakening the role of government and leading to an increase in private sector education providers. In the context of a knowledge-based economy, this increased the cost of high-quality education. In order to enhance one’s value and guarantee the future of the next generation, people increased their personal investments in education, especially tertiary education. In the same period, the globalisation of education began. Exchanges between students of different countries increased and with high-quality education resources, the USA, UK, Australia, Canada, New Zealand and developed European nations became major study destination choices, a phenomenon particularly notable in the Chinese market. The international education sector has become a big driving force in the development of these host countries’ economies. As Simon Marginson wrote in his book Education and Public Policy in Australia, “With respect to education, the overseas market is a potential long-term source for national export earnings.”

The corporatisation and globalisation of the education sector is a common trend experienced by many countries over the past decades, and the development of the international education sectors of many Western countries has been particularly strong. However, in the past few years, the status of Australia’s international education sector as a primary destination for overseas study was not faring so well. And Australia is highly dependent on the overseas students market, with international students constituting a comparatively large proportion of the total student population. The Open Doors Project, a survey undertaken in 2011 by the Institute of International Education, showed that international students accounted for 21 per cent of the total Australian student population. This figure is higher than in other popular international education destinations such as Canada (13 per cent), England (18 per cent) and the USA (three per cent). The international education sector is Australia’s third largest export industry and was worth A$16.3 billion in the 2010-2011 financial year. However, for international students, the appeal of studying in Australia has gradually been decreasing over the last few years. Graham Heunis, a business executive from HSBC Australia’s Retail Banking and Wealth Management section, has found that between 2009 and 2012, the robust performance of the domestic economy and the strong Australian dollar caused the cost of studying in Australia to become much higher other countries; “While Australia has continued to enjoy higher economic growth than other western markets over the past five years, this has also led to a higher Australian dollar which has placed a strain on the price competitiveness of our export sectors, including education.” From 2009 to 2012, these economic factors caused a twelve per cent decrease in the number of international students in Australia. Table 1 shows a comparison of the cost of education expenses between Australia and various other countries, with Australia shown to be the most expensive nation for overseas study.

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A survey conducted earlier this year by the Boston Consulting Group delivered similar conclusions. Compared the price advantage Australian education enjoyed between 2002 and 2009, the consistently strong Australian dollar since then has caused education expenses to increase to 166 per cent of 2002 levels. The cost of Australian education quoted in this research was higher than the HSBC figure, with total annual expenses recorded as US$44,000, compared to US$37,000 in the USA and US$30,000 in the UK. Although the numbers in this survey were different, the rankings of the countries coincided with the HSBC survey. Higher fees in Australia have led to discontent amongst international students. In May this year, a China News article quoted in Sina Education claimed that only 51 per cent of international student are satisfied with the cost of living in Australia, according to the 2012 International Student Survey released by the Australian Government. This number is ten per cent lower than survey results from 2010 and 13 per cent below the international standard. It is no wonder so many international students complain about the high costs of studying in Australia. The effect of this on the development of Australia’s international education sector cannot be ignored. In the past three years, Australia’s international education sector has been in decline. According to data released by Australian Education International this year, the number of international students enrolled by June 2013 was 2.2 per cent lower than June 2012. Table 2 shows students’ country of origin, specific numbers, and the proportion of all nationalities. Even with recognition of NCEE result by Australian universities, there was a decrease in the number of Chinese students enrolled in Australian universities. However, it can be seen that China remains Australia’s top overseas student market by a considerable margin. Due to a combination of various factors such as the strong Australian dollar and the tightening of immigration policies, the output of Australia’s international education sector was drastically reduced. According to the Australian Bureau of Statistics, there was an A$3 billion decrease in its income over the 2011-2012 financial year.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Average tuition fee</th>
<th>Average living costs</th>
<th>Total annual expenses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>$25,375</td>
<td>$13,140</td>
<td>$38,516</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>US</td>
<td>$25,226</td>
<td>$10,479</td>
<td>$35,705</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UK</td>
<td>$19,291</td>
<td>$11,034</td>
<td>$30,325</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UAE</td>
<td>$21,371</td>
<td>$6,004</td>
<td>$27,375</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>$18,474</td>
<td>$7,537</td>
<td>$26,011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singapore</td>
<td>$14,865</td>
<td>$9,363</td>
<td>$24,228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hong Kong</td>
<td>$13,182</td>
<td>$9,261</td>
<td>$22,443</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>$6,522</td>
<td>$12,642</td>
<td>$19,164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>$3,131</td>
<td>$6,310</td>
<td>$9,441</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>$3,983</td>
<td>$4,783</td>
<td>$8,766</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taiwan</td>
<td>$3,270</td>
<td>$4,987</td>
<td>$8,257</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>$1,002</td>
<td>$6,004</td>
<td>$7,006</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>$635</td>
<td>$5,650</td>
<td>$6,285</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

10 Sina Education (2013), Ao liuxue shenghuo feiyong shinian zeng 166% wucheng liuxuesheng buman 澳留学生活费用十年增 166% 五成留学生不满 [Cost of studying and living in Australia has increased by 166% over the last decade, half of all international students unsatisfied], 10 March, http://edu.sina.com.cn/a/2013-05-10/1743228195.shtml.
Analysing New Policies of Recognition of NCEE Results in Australia

The relative decline of Australia’s international education sector over the past few years is important context for understanding moves made by Australian universities to recognise NCEE results. The implementation of this new policy is largely aimed at attracting international students from China in order to reverse the decline of Australia’s international education sector and increase revenue in the sector. However, this new policy has not been implemented purely for economic gain. It also needs to be viewed from the political context of enhanced Australia-China exchanges and the improvement of China’s strategic position over the past few decades. Due to space limitations, this essay will not discuss the geopolitical relevance of the policy. This section focuses upon the policy itself, and the importance of its implementation.

These new policies adopted by Australian universities are based upon extensive investigations undertaken by the Australian Government regarding the NCEE and China’s educational system, and thus have a considerable research and theoretical basis. In 2009, the Australian Government released a paper entitled Research on China’s National College Entrance Examination/the Gaokao, which contains comprehensive analysis of a number of issues such as how Chinese college entrance examinations work, the current state of Chinese higher education, the situation of Chinese undergraduates studying overseas and the academic performance of Chinese students studying in Australia. The report pointed out that Chinese students studying in Australia were not performing as well as local students or international students from other countries. Also, to Chinese students the idea of completing a year of foundational studies at an Australian university is unappealing and may even reduce enthusiasm for choosing a particular university. Based upon a series of research, the report listed the merits of China’s NCEE system significant to Australian universities. It found that the NCEE is effective in distinguishing top students and could be used by Australian universities as one of the criteria to admit Chinese students; “If Australian universities more broadly do seek to attract such a new cohort, directly from senior secondary school in China, it is gaokao that would need to be set as the ideal measure, the gold standard.” Such recognition would also give Chinese students an exemption from yearlong foundational studies programs. Arfa Noor, chairperson of Australia Education International (AEI), expressed during an interview that, “The education in China is so competitive. A lot of what they’re studying here in Australia [in foundation programs] they’ve already studied in high school, so it's very repetitive”.

Although the implementation of this new admissions policy means that Australian universities are now opening their doors further to Chinese students, it is worth noting that this does not mean open

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Enrolment June 2012</th>
<th>Enrolment June 2013</th>
<th>Growth 2012</th>
<th>Share of total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>115,591</td>
<td>112,665</td>
<td>-2.5%</td>
<td>29.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>41,844</td>
<td>34,867</td>
<td>-16.7%</td>
<td>9.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korea</td>
<td>20,613</td>
<td>19,911</td>
<td>-3.4%</td>
<td>5.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vietnam</td>
<td>17,000</td>
<td>18,294</td>
<td>7.6%</td>
<td>4.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malaysia</td>
<td>18,596</td>
<td>17,802</td>
<td>-4.3%</td>
<td>4.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>174,243</td>
<td>175,675</td>
<td>0.8%</td>
<td>46.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

13 Halvka, Cathryn (2009), ‘Research on China’s National College Entrance Examination (the Gaokao)’, http://sydney.edu.au/ab-committees/admissions/2011/AEI_Gaokao_Report.pdf, p. 18; Given Australia’s ranking as the most expensive nation for overseas students, it is easy to understand why students do not wish to add another year of foundation studies.
15 Rosenberg, op cit, 5.
slather. According to analysis conducted by overseas education agencies, this new policy will not lead to a decrease in student quality. Firstly, the Special Research Report on China’s NCEE has clearly shown that if Australian universities admit students directly from Chinese high schools these students still need to fulfil certain requirements, such as:16

1. Possess a certain level of academic ability;
2. Fulfil specific subject prerequisites;
3. Be capable of autonomous learning; and,
4. Demonstrate a sufficient level of English language proficiency.

So, “universities in Australia will be able to set gaokao cut-offs at levels which will produce students with outstanding ability.”17

It was also stated in the report that the aim of NCEE recognition by Australian universities is to allow Chinese students with NCEE grades in the top ten per cent to have a chance to study at top-ranking Australian universities, and students with grades within the top 20 per cent to have a chance to study at lower-ranked Australian universities, showing the high quality expectations of Chinese students by Australian universities. Using the University of Sydney, which began recognising NCEE results last year, as an example, it set a high English proficiency benchmark of IELTS (International English Language Testing System) Level 7, with some majors requiring as high as Level 7.5. The NCEE score cut-off point that was announced is also just a minimum level required, and in demanding majors such as law, medicine and education the NCEE score and English proficiency cut-offs are raised.18 Monash University carried out a pilot project of recognising NCEE results in four of its ten departments in 2012, the success of which has led to extended coverage of 160 majors this year. Apart from providing various major choices for students with varying NCEE results, to ensure the quality of students in both popular and demanding majors Monash (like the University of Sydney) has also set prerequisite courses for some majors and set a higher mathematics requirement for certain programs.19

Regardless of the specific details of its implementation, there is an extraordinary significance behind the recognition of NCEE results by Australian universities and it will be greatly beneficial for both countries. For Australia, it may now be able to attract a larger Chinese student population, strengthening the development of and increasing revenue from its international education sector, helping to stimulate the economy with the international student expenditure.20 It will also enhance exchanges with China - Australia’s most important trading partner – and help nurture leaders that will play key roles in Australia-China affairs in the future. Besides, as previously states, Australian universities are implementing rigorous requirements towards NCEE results, showing that NCEE results recognition is not purely for economic benefit but also allows Australia to enjoy a head start over other major overseas studies destinations such as the USA, UK, Canada and New Zealand in the competition for top Chinese students. An influx of high-quality students is evidently a great opportunity for Australia’s education industry. Exampling the University of Sydney again, last year’s NCEE admission score requirements were as high as those of top-tier Chinese universities.21

With regards to this, Xu Peiyi, Education Consul for the Australian Consulate General in Shanghai

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16 Halvka, op cit, 13, p. 20.
17 Ibid.
21 For details, please see: http://select.yeeyan.org/view/245405/254832.
and East Asia regional director of the Australian Trade Commission, has stated that, “the high academic and language requirements prove that the University of Sydney aims to recruit only the best students from China to study in Australia.”

During the Australian International Education Conference in 2010, Alan Olsen of SPRE (Strategy, Policy and Research in Education) has explained that the policy means a lot in terms of attracting Chinese students as well as the development of the local education sector. In 2009, based on the data of Alan Olsen of AEI, of the 1,416 students who rejected admission offers from Australian universities in 2009, 120 were from China. For the China overseas student market, there are two primary issues of concern with regards to studying in Australia. Firstly, there is not enough on offer in Australia to lure top students, and so they often choose to study elsewhere; the second reason is the limited scope of available study fields. Chinese students do not tend to choose study in Australia unless their studies are related to economics and management. Seventy per cent of Chinese students studying in Australia major in commerce. Olsen has also mentioned that if the outstanding Chinese students do not perform as well as they would have hoped on the NCEE and lose the chance to enter the Chinese university of their choice, then recognition of NCEE results by Australian universities could make Australia an attractive option to them. He also believes that the implementation of these new policies will increase the diversification of study fields amongst Chinese students away from economics and management related subjects.

This policy has catered to a large number of students and parents in China, as it removes the one-year foundation studies requirements that have previously existed at many universities, enabling them to save time and money, as well as complete undergraduate studies in a shorter time; It also makes the preparation process for students choosing to study in Australia more convenient, providing a new opportunity for vast numbers of Chinese high school students.

Preliminary Policy Implementation Results and Future Outlook

This new policy has caused quite a stir with potential international students in China. Since the policy had only been recently implemented at the moment of writing, more time will be required to observe the long-term effects of the policy. However, it is currently attracting the attention of many students and parents. After the release of this year’s NCEE results, a representative from the Australia and New Zealand department of the New Oriental Vision Overseas Consulting Company said, “The number of students with good results inquiring about overseas study in Australia has increased by thirty to forty per cent as compared to the same period last year.” It can be seen that the initial results of NCEE recognition has been successful in attracting China students. However, greater student interest does not necessarily entail an increase in the number of students that eventually end up studying in Australia. Some overseas education consulting agencies in China believe that the new policy will increase the admission requirements for Chinese students to study in Australia (e.g. University of Sydney) and thus not increase the number of students studying there because those who satisfy the prerequisites can gain entrance to even better universities in different countries. Additionally, preparing for the NCEE and IELTS concurrently can be a burden that some

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24 Xu Hong 徐虹(2013), Gaokao gaofensheng zixun liu xue renshu zeng, aozhou gaoxiao cheng shengyuan yingjia 高考高分生咨询 留学人数增,澳洲高校成生源赢家 [The number of students with a high NCEE result inquiring about overseas study increases. Australian universities are winners in competing for students], People’s Daily, 8 August, http://chinese.people.com.cn/n/2013/0808/c42309-22495749.html.
students are unwilling to shoulder.25

What is worth mentioning about this policy is the large potential for replication and comparatively low specificity. Universities in Europe and Singapore have also already begun to recognise NCEE results. Brigham Young University, rated as one of the top eighty universities in the USA, recognises NCEE results with no additional conditions. In recent years, the University of Michigan and other top American tertiary institutions have also included the NCEE as one of their admission criteria.26 Furthermore, vying to claim a slice of the huge Chinese international students market, many countries have subsequently pushed for such new policies. For instance, the Canadian government has implemented the Study Direct Stream (SDS), a project that gives students greater flexibility in applying for visas. It can be readily surmised that many other world-class universities will soon grant recognition to NCEE results or implement other measures to attract Chinese students similar to those of the University of Sydney and other Australian universities.27

On the prospects for Australia’s international education sector, other than the benefits brought to the admission process by NCEE recognition, a downwards-trending Australian dollar and relaxed immigration regulations on student visas means there could well be another international student boom. If the international education sector is able to recover, this will be a boon for Australia’s economy. However, it must be noted that the advantage provided by the convenience of new admission criteria or a weaker Australian dollar will be difficult to maintain permanently. As a result, if Australian universities wish to maintain a constant stream of high-quality Chinese student admissions in the long-term, they need to aim at improving the general quality of the education sector beyond that of the USA and UK. Also, apart than focusing on China’s overseas student market, Australia should give active consideration to attracting students from India, which has a large overseas student market second only to that of China.

The international education industry does not only affect Australia’s economic development, but also directly affects the creation of a multicultural society in Australia. The recognition of NCEE results by Australian universities brings significance to the strengthening of cooperation and exchange between Australia and China, and serves the interests of both countries. This paper has highlighted the background to the policy, and the content, significance and feedback of its implementation. Hopefully it has contributed to a better understanding of Australia’s international education sector and provides a useful reference for those in China interested in this new initiative.

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26 China Education Online (2013), *Oumei jixu chengren gaokao chengji, geguo liuxue shenqing biaozhun dayibian* 欧美陆续承认高考成绩,各国留学申请标准达一本线 [Universities in the USA and Europe gradually begin to recognise NCEE results: their NCEE admission score requirements are as high as top-tier Chinese universities], 22 July, http://liuxue.eol.cn/bkslx_11738/20130722/20130722_991211.shtml.

27 Kuang Ningdan 凝丹, Li Zhen 李珍 and Liang Jianmin 梁健敏 (2012), *Xini daxue renke gaokao chengji gaoyigaoersheng zui shouyì* 悉尼大学认可高考成绩高一高二生最受益 [The recognition of NCEE results by the University of Sydney benefits Year 10 and Year 11 students the most], *Sina*, 23 February, http://news.gd.sina.com.cn/news/20120223/1245125.html.
China’s Strategy Towards Obama’s ‘Asia Pivot’

Oliver Theobald

Translated into English from the original Chinese by Chelsea Zhou 周杨 and proofread by Peter Harris.

Oliver Theobald is an Honours student at RMIT University (B.A International Studies) and a Prime Minister’s Australia Asia Endeavour Award scholar. Oliver began learning Chinese in 2004 as a high school student and has studied and interned in China on a number of occasions. Oliver is currently studying advanced Mandarin at Tsinghua University.

China’s diplomacy is being challenged by the withdrawal of US troops from Iraq and Afghanistan and the ‘Asia Pivot’ formulated by Barack Obama in 2011. China has previously played a ‘Low Profile’ strategy and pursued ‘peaceful development’ for some time. China has settled historical boundary issues with twelve land neighbours through dialogue and negotiation. Although China has been involved in a degree of conflict in the South China Sea and East China Sea, it has settled historical boundary issues with twelve land neighbours through dialogue and negotiation, and including constructive proposals to “shelve disputes and seek joint development”. However, in 2011, at APEC in Hawaii and the East Asia Summit in Indonesia, Obama outlined a shift in American strategic focus back towards Asia, including deploying and rotating a Marine Air Ground Task Force through the Australian city of Darwin, enhancing military connections with the Philippines and encouraging Burma to loosen domestic government controls. Such a plan does not necessarily mean that the USA is preparing to clash with China or attempt to stop China from rising. But it surely indicates that the USA is preparing for possible challenges and regional conflicts in the future. To the Chinese government, the Asia Pivot is viewed in many aspects as seeking to restrain its power and is creating a zero-sum game for Sino-American relations.

However, due to the economic interdependence of the USA and China, both parties still share mutual interests. Moreover, there are no border disputes between the two countries, and they are both facing domestic troubles at home. The USA is still recovering from the Global Financial Crisis, and China still has a long way to go with it domestic development, facing a litany of problems such as inequality, desertification and urbanisation. China knows it must first focus on solving these problems and now is not the time to mount a direct challenge to American power and take on the corresponding responsibilities. China has experienced rapid economic growth and peaceful development over the past 30 years even with the USA leading the Asia-Pacific region. If China turns to competing with the USA directly, its economy could very well be adversely affected. China is still working on bridging the military and technology gaps between itself and the USA. Therefore, for the sake of their own national interests, both China and the USA should avoid direct conflicts, which are only half steps in solving their problems. In fact, it is not as difficult for China to maintain the Sino-American peace as to ease its border tensions. With historical territorial issues regarding Taiwan and neighboring countries such Vietnam, Japan, India and the Philippines, and the nuclear issue of North Korea, such disputes could harm regional relations to the point they escalate into conflict. Besides, China’s recent behaviour has resulted in declining confidence among other Asian countries that China can play a positive international role. Due to the USA’s long-term alliances and state interests in the region, it is possible that it will have to become involved in such a

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1 Information Office of the State Council, People’s Republic of China (2011), China’s Peaceful Development.
3 Ibid.
conflict. Consequently, regional relations in the Asia-Pacific must be taken into account when analysing the future of Sino-American relations.

To respond to the Asia Pivot and keep the peace in the Asia-Pacific, China must strengthen its regional collaboration, consolidate regional frameworks and enhance regional trust. As Rosemary Foot has argued, China has to persuade other countries that its development is an opportunity rather than a threat. China must also show to other countries that it is a positive member of the regional community, and indeed it has already played an important part in regional frameworks. For example, China has a significant role in the Six-Party Talks, the East Asia Summit and the ASEAN Regional Forum. In 2003, China became the first official dialogue partner of the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation (TAC) in Southeast Asia. Both China and ASEAN agreed on TAC and the China-ASEAN Free Trade Area Agreement. The former proposed cooperation to enhance Sino-ASEAN relations in many areas such as politics, economics and security. However, in order to persuade the USA and other countries that China’s rise is a win-win situation, China must firstly control and reduce domestic nationalism. This is because the USA and many other countries believe a democratic country is securer and deserves more trust than a country ruled by a single party. The latter may be tempted to use global crises to sure up domestic stability.

In recent years, nationalism has swollen in China, threatening its peaceful development. For example, due to its influence on public opinion, the Chinese media’s role in diplomacy has become more and more important. Regarding international news, Chinese media is mostly concerned with how the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) handles relations with Japan, Taiwan, the US and South Korea. These are topics also appeal to a wide audience. Similar to the Western media, the Chinese media frequently exaggerate threat levels and emphasise conflict over cooperation in order to attract audiences and increase profits. Such practices can provoke nationalism. As with the media, online forums and blogs can also greatly affect public opinion and induce nationalism. Since many Chinese Internet users closely follow Sino-Japanese relations, “once these Internet users think that their country’s interest is harmed, their ‘anti-Japan’ sentiment could be triggered at any moment”. Therefore, online nationalism could, to some extent, affect CCP decision-making, especially on issues concerning foreign relations with Japan and the USA. Because the CCP’s legitimacy relies on a general level of public support, public opinion could have significant influence on Chinese diplomacy. Excessive nationalism will not only affect the objectivity of decision-makers, it will also serve as an evidence for the ‘China threat theory’. China must control public opinion and restrain nationalism to maintain its diplomatic policy of peaceful coexistence.

Of course, China is not the only country with a serious problem with nationalism. According to various scholars, many places in Northeast Asia such as Japan, North Korea, South Korea and Taiwan face similar problems. For example, Japanese nationalism is putting pressure on the government’s constitutional amendments and the president of South Korea visited the Japan-Korea

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4 Ibid.
8 Ibid.
9 Wang Jun 王军 (2010), Wangluo minzuzhuyi, shimin shehui yu zhongguo jiaowai 网络民族主义，市民社会与中国外交 [Cybernationalism, civil society and China’s diplomacy], Shijie jingji yu zhengzhi 世界经济与政治, no. 10, pp. 140-160.
10 Ibid.
11 Ibid.
disputed Liancourt Rocks in 2011 to use nationalism to strengthen his domestic support rate.\textsuperscript{13} It is too difficult for China to control nationalism in other countries, but what China can do is balance nationalism outside the country through dialogue that boost mutual understanding and trust, such as those mentioned above. These could dispel ASEAN worries about being economically marginalised by China, thus ameliorating China’s relations with its neighbors as well as maintaining regional peace and stability. China has also reached out to the USA through the Sino-US Strategic and Economic Dialogue to focus on major global and regional problems of mutual concern, improve communication and exchange in various fields, resolve existing issues, and enhance cooperation. Wang Jisi and Li Kanru have suggested the two types of small-scale multilateral dialogue: between China, Japan and the USA, and between China, India and the USA.\textsuperscript{14} As a series of sensitive topics are involved in the two trilateral relationships, small-scale multilateral dialogue can effectively reduce differences and promote cooperation.\textsuperscript{15} China’s role in the Six-Party Talks is also critical. If North Korea’s nuclear issue were to cause a regional arms race, it could lead to security worries amongst all the countries of Northeast Asia.\textsuperscript{16} Japan is already has nuclear weapons research capabilities and a constitutional amendment to allow it to pursue such activities is under consideration now. A domino effect could lead Taiwan and South Korea to make similar decisions.\textsuperscript{16} Even though the possibility of this is relatively low, China must remain cautious in dealing with North Korea and continue to support the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.\textsuperscript{17}

Another collaboration mechanism is informal dialogue and Track Two diplomacy, such as the Council on Security Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific (CSCAP). Between 1997 and 2001, China changed its hesitant attitude towards such organizations into full support.\textsuperscript{18} Before that, China considered such organisations as American tools to contain China’s rise.\textsuperscript{19} However, after China began participating in ASEAN regional forums and CSCAP, it became clear that the USA had actually begun to neglect them.\textsuperscript{20} China’s active participation in regional affairs proved its shift away from passive diplomacy, benefiting China’s construction of a regional political network and cooperation in solving issues in the South China Sea. Track Two diplomacy generally involves scholars, journalists and think tanks. It offers more freedom to discuss sensitive issues.\textsuperscript{21} Moreover, informal dialogue augments mutual confidence and enhances mutual understanding by establishing people-to-people networks. China’s think tanks have a strong influence on domestic decision-making and thus also play an important role in informal dialogues.\textsuperscript{22} They also maintain close connections with the administrative arms of the government, meaning they can participate effectively in official conferences and seminars concerning studies of current policies.\textsuperscript{23} Therefore, many scholars think that Chinese think tanks could help the West better understand China’s diplomacy.\textsuperscript{24} China could use informal dialogues to persuade its neighbours and the USA that a rising China is more of an opportunity than a threat. China’s think tanks have participated in multilateral dialogues such as CSCAP and the Network of East Asian Think Tanks (NEAT), as well as various informal dialogues between Mainland China and Taiwan. The China Institute of International Studies (CIIS) has organised a series of informal dialogues aiming to exchange ideas with international think tanks from countries such as India, Japan, South Korea, and the USA.

\textsuperscript{13} Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{14} Wang and Li, op cit, 6.  
\textsuperscript{15} Ibid, p. 53.  
\textsuperscript{16} Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{18} Foot, op cit, 5.  
\textsuperscript{19} Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{20} Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{22} Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{24} Ibid.
China’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs has also been paying more attention to CIIS and other Track Two Diplomacy organisations.\textsuperscript{25}

In the future, China should continue to expand its economic networks and development. A growing economy can simultaneously enhance domestic living standards and China’s international reputation, whilst maintaining peaceful international relations. China already enjoys a positive trading relationship with the USA and other East Asian countries through various regional trading agreements and cooperation organisations such as APEC and PECC. The major problem at present is the American government’s plan to establish the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP). Lead by the USA, the TPP so far includes eleven countries: the USA, Australia, Japan, Brunei, Peru, Canada, Malaysia, Mexico, Vietnam, Singapore, Chile and New Zealand. From China’s perspective, the USA is planning to use the TPP to restrain China’s development, and especially Renminbi flow. Therefore, the expansion of the TPP is a serious problem to China. Nevertheless, due to the TPP’s highly demanding standards it will take a very long time for it to have a comprehensive scope. China could seize the opportunity now to expand its own free trade agreements and economic networks. Wang Jisi and Li Kanru propose the encouragement of bilateral USA-China investment.\textsuperscript{26} They argue, “Over time, successful investment will contribute to more support to strengthen Sino-American relations within the Chinese system,”\textsuperscript{27} and “In the meantime, the business and industrial community in the US will also be endowed with ‘more chances to be familiar with Chinese enterprises’ in order to reduce misunderstanding and distrust between China and the USA.”\textsuperscript{28} China must also pay close attention to constructing economic networks with allies of the USA. Modern Sino-Australian relations represent the importance of economic networks in Sino-American relations. Despite Australia’s alliance with the USA – Australia has supported and participated in every recent large-scale war initiated by the USA – Australia’s national interest demands continuing peace and prosperity in Sino-American relations because China is currently Australia’s largest trading partner. The Australia in the Asian Century White Paper released by the Australian government in 2012 stated that for Australia to maintain its trading partnership and peaceful relations with China, the Australian Government needs to promote people-to-people interactions between the two countries, encourage bilateral investment, strengthen education networks, amongst other suggestions.\textsuperscript{29}

Generally speaking, China has been successful and passed many milestones in its peaceful development of relations with the USA and East Asia. However, the USA and many East Asian countries still lack confidence in China. Due to the effects of historical issues, serious regional nationalism and border conflicts, radical decision-making in foreign policy could damage regional relations and Sino-American relations. China must be cautious on sensitive international issues including the TPP and the South China Sea, as well as domestic nationalism. China should see the Asia Pivot as an opportunity to strengthen regional bonds and cooperation in Sino-American relations.

\textsuperscript{26} Wang and Li, op cit, 6.  
\textsuperscript{27} Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{28} Ibid, p. 46.  
\textsuperscript{29} Australian Government (2012), Australia in the Asia Century White Paper, Canberra: Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet.
An Australian in the Asian Century
在亚洲世纪中的澳大利亚人

Nicola Boyle 包妮珂
SECTION II
ACADEMIC ESSAY
CHINESE

第二部分
学术文章部分
中文类作品
试析澳大利亚高等学府认可中国高考成绩新政

龚楚颖 Gong Chuying

这篇文章荣获了2012年“中澳青年联合会青年奖学金（中文）”

龚楚颖是一名2012级硕士研究生，就读于北京外国语大学英语学院，专攻澳大利亚研究方向。入选今年学报的这一文章源于其长久以来对澳大利亚教育产业和相关政策的兴趣以及过去一年内对该领域关注。

随着中国经济发展腾飞，海外留学已经成为不少学子提升自我、扩展眼界的选择。由于生源庞大，中国已经成为世界上最大的留学生市场。澳大利亚近年来一直是留学的热门选择，但过去几年里其留学产业遇到了不少问题，与此同时，也作出了相应变革，以此吸引国际尤其是来自中国的生源。其中最引人瞩目的莫过于澳洲本土十余所高等学府在过去两三年里陆续对中国高考成绩予以承认，纳入新生录取标准。为了认识中澳之间教育交流的机遇与障碍、更好地了解澳洲留学产业的发展和动态，本文试图对澳大利亚高等学府认可中国高考成绩这一政策出台的背景、实施的内容和意义、初步成效与澳洲留学产业前景展望进行浅析。

政策背景一览：澳洲留学产业发展势头减弱

澳大利亚高校认可中国高考成绩的政策背景可以归结为以下几点：1）高等教育产业化与国际化；2）澳洲留学产业近年表现下滑；3）中国留学生市场重要性与国内初高中教育发展。其中第三点里，中国留学生市场的庞大已在国内外多个调查中得到强调，而在作详述；另外国内教育的发展在澳洲对其高考制度的研究中得到了肯定，这点会在文章下一部分进行分析。本部分将先对第一点作简要概述，随后对政策背景的分析主要着重澳洲留学产业近来发展的疲态，这不仅是解读认可高考成绩举措所必不可少的背景，也跟新政出台有着直接的联系。

上世纪80年代以降，在经济理性主义与新管理主义的指导下，澳大利亚公共服务经历一轮改革，教育事业也包括其中，直接带来的后果便是教育的产业化与商品化，政府比重提高，政府作用削弱。在知识经济的背景下，优质教育资源价格上升，为了提升自我价值或保证下一代未来的发展，人们倾向在教育尤其是高等教育方面增加投资。与此同时，教育的国际化也是另一重要趋势。国家之间学生交流增加，英、美、澳、加、新等欧美发达国家凭借其优质的教学资源，成为主要留学目的地，这一现象在中国市场尤其。留学产业已成为这些国家经济发展的一大推动力，正如Simon Marginson在《澳大利亚教育与公共政策》一书中写道：“教育的海外市场运作被看做国家出口收入的一个有潜力的长期来源。”

教育产业化与国际化是过去数十年全球多个国家共同经历的趋势，欧美多国的留学产业发展尤为蓬勃。而最近几年，作为主要留学目的地国，澳大利亚留学产业的情况却不容乐观。该国对留学生市场依赖较大，澳洲学生人口构成中留学生占重要比重，根据国际教育协会

1 承认中国高考成绩的澳洲高校有悉尼大学、莫纳什大学、南澳大学、西悉尼大学、科廷科技大学、拉筹伯大学、麦考瑞大学、南昆士兰大学等。
2 贺武华，宋晓慧（2009）， “20世纪80年代依赖的澳大利亚公共教育改革：经济理性主义与新管理主义主导”，外国中小学教育，2009年1期。
3 田温，唐安等（2010）， 教育，改变与社会，牛津大学出版社澳大利亚与新西兰，第259-262页。
4 西蒙·马金森著，严慧仙、洪淼译（2007），澳大利亚教育与公共政策，浙江大学出版社，第133页。
(Institute of International Education) 2011年的“Open Doors”项目调查数据显示，澳洲在读学生中有21%为留学生，比其他热门留学国如加拿大（13%）、英国（18%）和美国（3%）都要高。教育留学是澳大利亚第三大出口产业，2010-2011年度数据显示其产值达163亿澳元（约合149.9亿美元）。然而最近几年澳洲对留学生的吸引力却逐步下滑。汇丰银行澳大利亚分部零售银行及财富管理业务主管 Graham Heunis 表示，2009到2012年期间，国内经济良好发展的势头和澳元汇率的高企导致澳大利亚留学成本高于其他国家。“尽管过去五年内，澳洲经济增长高于其他西方国家，但是这也致使澳元汇率高企，从而削弱我国出口产业的价格竞争力，其中包括教育产业。”从2009至2012年，这一经济因素致使澳洲的留学生人数减少12个百分点。表1比较了世界主要留学国费用支出，各项数据澳大利亚都居榜首。

表1 各大留学国年均支出比较（单位：美元）

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>国家</th>
<th>年均学费</th>
<th>年均生活费</th>
<th>年均总支出</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>澳大利亚</td>
<td>$25,375</td>
<td>$13,140</td>
<td>$38,516</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>美国</td>
<td>$25,226</td>
<td>$10,479</td>
<td>$35,705</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>英国</td>
<td>$19,291</td>
<td>$11,034</td>
<td>$30,325</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>阿拉伯联合酋长国</td>
<td>$21,371</td>
<td>$6,004</td>
<td>$27,375</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>加拿大</td>
<td>$18,474</td>
<td>$7,537</td>
<td>$26,011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>新加坡</td>
<td>$14,885</td>
<td>$9,363</td>
<td>$24,248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>香港</td>
<td>$13,182</td>
<td>$9,261</td>
<td>$22,443</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>日本</td>
<td>$6,522</td>
<td>$12,642</td>
<td>$19,164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>俄罗斯</td>
<td>$3,131</td>
<td>$6,310</td>
<td>$9,441</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>中国</td>
<td>$3,983</td>
<td>$4,783</td>
<td>$8,766</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>台湾</td>
<td>$3,270</td>
<td>$4,987</td>
<td>$8,057</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>西班牙</td>
<td>$1,002</td>
<td>$6,004</td>
<td>$7,006</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>德国</td>
<td>$635</td>
<td>$5,650</td>
<td>$6,285</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

今年年初波士顿咨询集团（Boston Consulting Group）的调查也得出类似结论。相对于澳洲留学在2002至2009年之间价格优势，近年澳元走势强劲使得留学费用较2002年急剧飙升166%。该调查提供的澳洲留学费用要高于汇丰银行的研究，年均开销达4.4万美元。另外，美国留学费为3.7万美元，英国则需要3万美元，虽然最终数据有所出入，排名仍与

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汇丰的调查一致。费用过高导致相当一部分澳洲留学生心生不满。今年 5 月新浪教育援引
中新网报道，根据澳洲联邦政府公布的《2012 国际学生调查》报告，只有 51%的留学生对当地的生活成本感到满意，这调查结果较 2010 年的调查数据低 10%，同时比国际标准低 13%。
不少学生抱怨澳洲留学成本过高。这对澳洲留学产业发展的影响不容忽视。过去三年内，
澳洲的留学产业逐步衰退，根据澳大利亚国际教育处（Australian Education International）今年上半年发布的数据，本年度截至 6 月的入学留学生数量要比去年下降 2.2%。表 2 对留学生的生源地、具体数字、所占比重作了比较，从中可见认可高考成绩新政所针对的中国市场在过去一年里选择留学澳洲的学生数量也有所下滑，但在所占生源比重中仍远远抛离其他国家，为澳洲第一大留学生市场。由于澳元汇率走高、当局收紧移民政策等因素综合作用，澳洲留学产业产值剧减，据澳洲统计局数据显示，2011-2012 年收益减少 30 亿澳元（约合 27.6 亿美元）。

表 2 澳大利亚留学生国籍来源统计

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>生源国籍</th>
<th>2012 年 6 月入学数字</th>
<th>2013 年 6 月入学数字</th>
<th>同比增长</th>
<th>所占生源比重</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>中国</td>
<td>115,591</td>
<td>112,665</td>
<td>-2.5%</td>
<td>29.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>印度</td>
<td>41,844</td>
<td>34,867</td>
<td>-16.7%</td>
<td>9.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>韩国</td>
<td>20,613</td>
<td>19,911</td>
<td>-3.4%</td>
<td>5.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>越南</td>
<td>17,000</td>
<td>18,294</td>
<td>7.6%</td>
<td>4.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>马来西亚</td>
<td>18,596</td>
<td>17,802</td>
<td>-4.3%</td>
<td>4.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>其他</td>
<td>174,243</td>
<td>175,675</td>
<td>0.8%</td>
<td>46.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

解读澳洲认可中国高考成绩新政

文章第一部分对澳大利亚留学产业过去数年发展势头的减弱进行了综述，这是理解其国内高校认可中国高考成绩举措的重要背景。新政落实，很大程度上是为了吸引中国留学生，扭转澳洲留学产业的颓势，增加留学经济创收。然而，推动这一政策出台的，并非只有单纯的经济利益。除了经济解读以外，更需把新政与澳洲过去数十年对华事务来往交流加强、中国战略地位愈发提高这一政治语境联系起来。由于篇幅有限，无法在地缘政治关联上过多渲染，文章这一部分主要关注政策本身的讨论，从而揭示其出台的重要意义。

澳洲高校这一新政以该国政府机构对中国高考制度与教育情况的仔细考察为基础，有着相当的研究支撑和理论基础。澳大利亚政府在 2009 年公布了一份名为《关于中国高考的专题调研报告》（Research on China’s National College Entrance Examination/ The Gaokao）的文件，该调查研究综合分析了高考的操作方式、中国高等教育现状、中国本科生出国留学的情况、留学澳洲的中国学生的学术表现等问题。报告指出，不少在澳就读本科的

9 伯纳德·雷恩（2013），“海外学生留学和生活费用增长 166%”，澳大利亚人报。
11 约翰·罗斯（2012），“海外留学生的锐减给经济带来了 30 亿澳元的损失”，澳大利亚人报。
中国留学生学业上的表现不如本地或来自其他国家的学子；而对于那些与澳洲本地学生或来自其他国家的留学生处于同一或更高学业水平的学生，要求先接受一年预科教育的澳洲高校并无太大吸引力，相反会降低学生选择该学校的积极性。通过一系列的调研考察，该文件肯定了高考制度对澳洲高等学府的借鉴意义，阐明了中国高考是一种有效的选拔学生方式，可作为澳洲高校录取中国留学生的标准之一。“若然澳大利亚的高等学府意欲直接录取中国生源，高考是最为理想的黄金标准。”伴随认可高考成绩的是一年预科学习的免除，这也基于对中国教育情况的观察考量。澳大利亚国际教育处主席 Arfa Noor 在接受采访时表示：“中国教育竞争激烈异常。预科课程很多内容都是留学生在国内高中学过的，只是无用的重复。”

尽管新政出台意味着澳洲高校对中国学生大开方便之门，值得注意的是，政策落实方面仍有相当的限制。正如多所留学机构分析显示，这一认可中国高考成绩的新政策并不意味着对生源需求的下降。首先，《关于中国高考的专题调研报告》明确指出，若然澳洲高校计划从中国高中直接吸引本科生源，那么这批学生需要达到一定标准，例如须有相当的能力、符合具体学科要求、当能自主学习、英语水平达标等；并提出“根据本报告的细节，澳洲高校可以参考中国大学的录取分数线以保证优质生源。”另外，正如该文件显示，澳大利亚高校认可中国高考成绩，目标在于让高考成绩在前 10% 的学生有机会就读澳洲一等大学，成绩在前 20% 的学生能就读次一等的大学，充分显示了对中国生源水平的期望。以去年实施认可高考成绩的悉尼大学为例，该学府作了雅思需达 7 分的规定，个别专业更要求高达 7.5 分；另外公布的高考分数线只是最低标准，如果想攻读法律、医学、教育等高要求学科，分数和英语要求都会有所提高。澳洲八大名校之一的莫纳什大学先是于 2012 年在本校 10 个系别的 4 个中开展高考录取试点项目，成效获得肯定后才在今年将政策扩展到 160 个专业。除了跟悉尼大学一样为不同高考成绩的学生提供不同的专业选择从而保证热门且较难专业的生源质量以外，该机构还为具体专业设定升读先修课程，并对个别专业数学成绩做出了更严要求。

无论具体实施细节为何，无可否认的是，澳洲高校认可中国高考成绩有着非凡意义，是一项能让中澳双方多赢的创新举措。对澳洲方面，这不仅有利于吸引中国庞大的留学生群体，加强留学产业发展，增加留学经济创收，以学生消费推动当地经济，还有利于增强与中国这一重要合作伙伴的来往，为未来培育中澳交流的推动者。除此之外，正如前文所述，澳洲高校在实施政策时往往对学生高考成绩有一定要求，这就意味着对高考成绩的认可并非单纯服务经济利益，更有利于澳洲在与英国、美国、加拿大、新西兰等主要留学国抢占中国优质生源的争夺战中先发制人、取得先机。高素质学生的流入对本国教育事业的发展自然

13 凯瑟琳·哈夫卡 (2009), “关于中国全国大学入学考试 (高考) 的调查研究”，第 18 页，
14 同上。
15 罗森伯格，前文引证 5。
16 哈夫卡，前文引证 13，第 20 页。
17 同上。
18 江烈农编译 (2012)，http://select.yeeyan.org/view/245405/254832，2012 年 2 月 27 日。
19 莫纳什大学 (2013)，给学生的高考宣传单，http://monash.edu/assets/pdf/china/gaokao-flyer-for-students.pdf。
也是一大良机。再举去年加入认可中国高考成绩潮流的悉尼大学为例，去年高考放榜后，该校公布的各省市录取分数线相当一本成绩，对此澳大利亚驻上海总领事馆商务处教育领事、澳大利亚贸易委员会东亚地区负责人徐佩仪女士表示：“高学术要求和高语言要求表明悉尼大学旨在招收中国最优秀大学生赴澳就读。”

在 2010 年澳大利亚国际教育大会（Australian International Education Conference）上，澳洲教育研究机构 SPRE（Strategy Policy and Research in Education）的 Alan Olsen 更为详细地阐明了政策对于吸引中国留学生与发展本地教育事业的意义。Olsen 指出，根据澳大利亚国际教育处公布数据，2009 年总共有 1416 名学生拒绝了澳洲大学的录取通知书，其中有 120 人来自中国，比例不可谓不低。对于中国留学生市场，澳大利亚主要有两大问题，一是对高水平留学生吸引力不足，学术能力较强的中国学生多选择澳洲以外的留学国；二是留学生专业范围较为狭窄，如果学的不是经管类的专业，中国留学生大多不选择澳洲，本科在澳洲就读的中国学生中商科生高达 70%。Olsen 还提到，如果中国优秀学生高考发挥失常与第一志愿的学校失之交臂，那么认可高考成绩的澳洲大学将是相当有吸引力的选择；他还认为，新政的出台可以令中国留学生的专业更为多样化，而不是大部分集中在经管专业。

该政策同样为中国广大留学生和家长所喜闻乐见，因为这意味着省去了留级读预科的费用，能够节约一定的时间和费用，更快攻读完学位；还使得有意留学澳洲的学生准备出国过程更为便利，为广大高考生提供了新选择。

**政策初步成效与未来展望**

本文的前两部分对澳大利亚高等学府承认中国高考成绩的新录取政策背后的背景、具体的内容和意义进行了分析。这一新政已在中国的留学生市场中掀起了一定波澜。下面将对初步成效进行简单概述，并对澳洲留学产业的未来予以展望。

毕竟文章写就时政策实施时间不长，其长远成效仍有待考察，但到目前为止，这一新政已引起了诸多学生和家长关注。今年高考放榜后，新东方前途留学澳新部工作人员表示，“咨询赴澳留学的高分考生人数同比增长了三四成”。可见该举措对初步吸引中国生源方面有相当积极意义。然而兴趣的增强并不一定能转化留学生数字的提高。再用悉尼大学的例子，一些中国留学机构就认为新政出台后门槛有所提高，符合条件的学生有能力就读排名更好的学校。而且高考的两重考验，对一些学生而言也是不小的负担。

值得指出的是，这一政策的独特性只是相对且有很大借鉴性。早前便有一些欧洲、新加坡学校承认高考成绩。例如在美国，排名 70 多位的杨百翰大学就认可中国高考成绩并不设其他附加条件，近年密歇根大学等高校也将高考成绩纳入录取标准。再者，为了抢占中国这个巨大的留学生市场，不少国家纷纷出台新政。加拿大使馆就去年颁布了一项留学生附属
加签证利好政策 SDS（Study Direct Stream）学习直入计划。可以预言，其他世界知名高校也会陆续效仿悉尼大学等澳洲高校，认可高考成绩，或以其他措施吸引中国学生。27

展望澳洲留学产业的未来，除了录取政策的利好因素，随着日前澳元汇率的不断下滑、当局进一步放宽学生签证，有分析认为澳大利亚将再次掀起海外学生热潮。若然留学产业走向复苏，对于该国经济而言固然可喜，然而也需要看到，录取政策上提供便利或澳元汇率走弱这些吸引留学生的优势都难以常年持续，澳大利亚高校要能长效录取优质生源，必须在教育质量方面有所提升，争赶英美名校；另外，除了开拓中国留学生市场，如何重新吸引比重仅次于中国生源的印度学生，也是澳洲需要积极思考的问题。

留学产业与相关议题不仅关乎澳大利亚国民经济发展，还直接影响当代澳洲多元文化社会建设。澳洲高校认可中国高考成绩，对两国加强交流合作和双方的利益都有重要意义。本文对这一政策的背景、内容、意义和反响进行简要分析，望能为增进对澳洲留学产业的认识添砖加瓦，并给国内对该举措有兴趣者提供参考。

27 邝凝丹，李珍，梁敏健（2012）， “悉尼大学认可高考成绩高一高二生最受益”，
中国应对美国重返亚太战略

Oliver Theobald 希奥利

希奥利是一名澳洲墨尔本皇家理工大学荣誉学士的学生，所攻读的专业是国际研究。他在2004年高中时就开始学习中文，曾因多种机遇在中国学习跟实习。希奥利是总理亚洲奋进奖学金获得者。现在清华大学学习高级汉语。

随着美国军队在伊拉克及阿富汗地区的逐渐撤离和去年奥巴马政府发表的“重返亚太”战略，中国的外交政策正面临着一个很大的挑战。到现在为止，在韬光养晦的政策下，中国维持着多年的和平发展。虽然，中国和地区邻国在南海、东海及周边和平稳定的问题上发生了一些冲突，同时，通过对话谈判，中国同12个陆地邻国解决了历史遗留的边界问题，以建设性姿态提出‘搁置争议、共同开发’的观点。但是，去年奥巴马在亚太经合组织夏威夷会议期间以及在印度尼西亚召开的东亚峰会上，发表了关于美国战略重新转至亚洲的言论，包括将在澳大利亚达尔文港轮流部署美国海军大陆战队，加强与菲律宾的军事联系，鼓励缅甸放松国内政治控制等。这种战略并不意味着美国准备与中国陷入冲突或企图阻止中国的崛起，但可以肯定的是，美国正在为未来可能出现的挑战与地区冲突做准备。对中国政府而言，在很多方面下，“重返亚太”战略都是在遏制中国。从现实主义的角度来看，“重返亚太”战略对中美关系来说，实际上是建立了一个零和博弈。

但是，因为目前中国和美国的经济发展互相依赖，中美双方还处于一种利益关系。并且，中国与美国之间在领土方面没有任何冲突，同时两国都还面临着严重的国内困境。美国依然处在从全球金融危机复苏的阶段。中国国内的发展还有很长的一段路要走，中国政府也面临着诸如社会平等问题、沙漠化、城市化问题等的国内问题。中国要集中精力把国内问题放在第一位，所以现在还不是时候直接挑战美国的地位，并承担相应的国际责任。伴随着美国在亚太地区的引导，中国经历了三十多年的快速经济发展与和平发展，如果中国直接与美国对抗，那么其经济发展就有可能受到影响。现阶段，中国与美国的军事、科技实力差距还很大。因此，从国家利益考虑下，双方都应避免直接冲突，冲突是解决问题没有办法的办法。其实，继续维持中美和平关系不是难事，真正困难的是地区之间的紧张局势。台湾问题，与周边国家（越南、日本、印度、菲律宾）的领土冲突与历史遗留问题，朝核问题等，所有这些地区之间的事端都有可能影响地区之间关系而引起冲突。此外，中国最近的言行让亚洲其他国家对将来中国继续在亚洲地区发挥积极作用的信心逐渐减少。基于美国的同盟国制度与国内利益，美国可能会卷入这场冲突。因此，在分析未来中美关系的走向时，我们也必须考虑到亚太关系的发展。

应对美国“重返亚太”战略与保持和平的亚太关系，中国必须加强地区合作、巩固地区架构以继续追求和平发展以及增强地区间的信任。如罗丝玛丽·福特所言，中国必须说服其他国家，中国的发展对美国与其他国家而言是机会而不是威胁。中国必须向其他国家证明，中国在它所处的地区集团中是一个友好的，起积极有效的成员。在地区架构上，中国已经扮演着重要的角色，比如，中国在六方会谈、东亚峰会、东盟论坛等发挥着重要的作用。

1 国务院新闻办公室 (2011), 《中国的和平发展》。
2 迈克尔·贝克利 (2012), “中国世纪：为何美国将会继续保持主导地位”，国际安全，第36卷，第3期，第41-78 页。
3 同上。
4 同上。
5 罗丝玛丽·福特 (2007), 中国与亚太的安全秩序：“和谐社会”与“和谐世界”，牛津：牛津大学圣安东尼学院。

60  ACYA JOURNAL OF AUSTRALIA-CHINA AFFAIRS
2003 年，中国成为第一个正式加入《东南亚友好合作条约》的对话伙伴。中国与东盟也批准《东南亚友好合作条约》与东盟—中国自由贸易区协议。前者提出可以提高东盟中国关系多领域的合作，如政治、经济、安全等方面。但是，为了能够说服美国与其他国家，中国的发展与他们之间是一个共赢的机会，首先中国必须控制与减少民族主义情绪。因为美国与其他国家认为，民主国家比专制体系国家更有可靠与值得信任的价值，而专制体系国家更愿意利用民族主义情绪，制造国际危机以确保国内稳定。

近年来，中国的民族主义越来越严重，威胁着中国的和平发展。例如，由于媒体对公众舆论有较大的影响力，目前，中国媒体在中国外交政策中扮演着越来越重要的角色。国际新闻方面，媒体的关注点是中共对日本、台湾、美国以及与韩国的关系，这些主题都对受众具有一定的吸引力。与西方媒体一样，为了迎合受众的兴趣与增加利润，中国媒体经常将威胁夸大多化，强调冲突而忽视合作。因此，这些主题与夸大叙事的报道风格会刺激民族主义。与媒体一样，网络论坛与博客能在很大程度上影响公共舆论、刺激民族主义。因为诸多中国网民十分关注中日关系，“一旦网民认为中国的国家利益受到损害，其‘反日’情绪便会一触即发”。因此，基于网络刺激的民族主义，在世界危机方面，特别是在涉及日本与美国的国际关系问题中，会在一定程度上影响政府的政治决策。因为中共政府的正当性依赖于公众的支持，所以公共舆论在中国外交政策方面会越来越大的影响。而强烈民族主义不但会影响决策者的客观判断，而且会导致国际舆论更加强调“中国威胁论”。因此，为了维持和平发展的外交政策，中国必须控制公共舆论、抑制民族主义。

当然，中国并不是世界上唯一的民族主义问题严重的国家。很多学者表明，以日本、朝鲜、韩国、台湾为代表的诸多东北亚洲国家和地区，都存在着严重的民族主义问题。比如，日本的民族主义的舆论正在压倒日本政府修改宪法；去年韩国总统访问存有争议的独岛是为了增强民族主义，同时以提高自己在国内的政治支持。中国难以控制别国的民族主义的问题，然而中国可以通过对话平衡国外的民族主义情绪，并促进相互了解与信任。在地区架构上，中国扮演着重要的角色，在六方会谈、东亚峰会、东盟论坛等地区论坛上发挥着重要的作用。中国正式加入《东南亚友好合作条约》，成为第一个加入该条约的东盟对话伙伴国。中国与东盟国家领导人在印度尼西亚巴厘岛签署并发表了《中国与东盟面向和平与繁荣的战略伙伴关系联合宣言》，标志着中国与东盟—中国自由贸易区协议。此举有利于促进东盟和中国之间政治、经济、安全等多领域的合作，减少东盟对被中国经济边缘化的担忧，巩固中国良好的周边环境，并共同维护本地区的和平与稳定。中国和美国也已经建立起“中美战略与经济关系对话”机制，讨论共同关心的重大国际与地区问题以及双方存在的问题，在多个领域加强交流与沟通，化解矛盾，增进合作。王缉思与李侃如建议开展以下两种多边对话：一种是中国日本和美国的对话；另一种是中国、印度和美国的对话。因为这两个三方关系存在着许多敏感的问题，开展这两次多边对话可以减小分歧，提高合作。中国在六方会谈的作用也尤其重要。如果朝鲜核问题促使整个东北亚地区出现核武器竞赛，东北

7 苏珊·舍克 (2010)，变化的媒体，变化的中国，牛津：牛津大学出版社。
8 同上。
9 同上。
10 同上。
11 同上。
13 同上。
14 王缉思、李侃如，前文引证6。
15 同上，第 53 页。
亚洲各国都会深感不安。16 日本政府已经拥有开发核武器的能力，并已经在考虑修改宪法。在多米诺理论影响下，台湾与韩国也有可能采取核武器行动。16 尽管发生几率较小，中国仍必须认真处理朝鲜的核武器问题并继续支持核不扩散合作。17

另一个重要合作机制是非正式对话与非正式外交，包括亚太安全合作理事会（CSCAP）。在 1997 年到 2001 年，中国对这些机构的立场从开始的怀疑转变为现在的支持。18 原本，中国以为美国把这些机构作为遏制中国在本地区扩展影响力的工具。19 但是，中国参与东盟地区论坛与 CSCAP 以后，发现美国对这些制度几乎是持忽略的态度。20 中国在这一时期的广泛参与，印证了中国的姿态从被动到主动的改变，这有助于中国加强政治网络建设与南海问题合作。非正式对话通常包括学者、记者、智库等，理论上，非正式对话在譬如南海问题等的敏感问题上有更多自由空间。21 此外，这样的对话可以加强相互信任，有助于人与人关系的建立和互相了解。中国智库在中国政策决策权上拥有强有力的影响，因此在非正式对话中扮演着很重要的角色。22 中国智库与政府之间也有紧密的行政联系，可以参与官方会议以及当前政策课题的研究会议。23 因此，诸多学者认为中国智库能帮助西方人深入了解中国的外交政策。24 中国也可以利用非正式对话来说服美国与邻邦，中国的发展对他们是机遇而不是威胁。中国智库不但参与亚太安全合作理事会与亚洲智库网络等多极化对话，而且也举办过很多两岸与三边的非正式对话。中国国际问题研究院举办了诸多非正式对话与国际智库交流，包括印度、日本、韩国、美国等。中国外交部也越来越重视中国问题研究院专家及其他研究“半官方外交”的机构。25

未来，中国应该继续扩展经济网络与经济发展。经济发展不但可以提高社会水平与国际威望，也可以维持和平关系。中国与美国和其它东亚国家已经享有良好的贸易关系，签订了许多地区贸易协议，建立了亚太经合组织（APEC）与太平洋经济合作组织（PECC）等贸易合作机制。当前的主要问题是奥巴马政府计划扩大的跨太平洋伙伴关系（TPP）。现在，在美国的领导下，TPP 已经包括澳大利亚、波兰、秘鲁、加拿大、马来西亚、美国、墨西哥、越南、新加坡、智利和新西兰这 11 个国家。在中国看来，美国企图在地区上限制中国，特别是限制人民币的流通。TPP 扩展是一个很大的问题。但是，因为这个协议对参与者在自由产品等问题上的要求很高，所以建立一个全面的协议还有很长的一条路要走。在此期间，中国可以完善自己的自由贸易协议与经济网络体系。王缉思与李侃如认为中国与美国应该鼓励双边投资。26 他们指出，‘随着时间的推移，成功的投资将使中国体制中赞成良好中美关系的声音越来越高。27 同时，给予美国工商界‘更多机会熟悉中国企业’以减少中美间的误解和不信任。’28 中国也必须关注与增强与美国同盟国的经济网络建设。现代中澳关系标志着经济网络对中美关系的重要性。虽然澳大利亚和美国是同盟（澳大利亚支持并参加每一个美

16 同上。
17 黑兹尔·史密斯(2007), 重构朝鲜安全：政策入门，纽约：联合国大学出版社。
18 罗丝玛丽·福特, op cit, 5。
19 同上。
20 同上。
21 戴卫·施东恩(2011), 东盟战略与国际问题研究所网络：解释性社区，非正式外交，宗教话语和政策研究组织，第 2 页。
22 同上。
23 朱旭峰（2009），“智库对中国政策制定过程的影响:不同的方式和机制”，亚洲调查，第 49 卷，第 2 期，第 333-357 页。
24 同上。
25 大卫·香博(2012), “中国的国际关系智库：不断发展的结构和过程”，中国季刊，第 171 期，第 575-596 页。
26 王缉思、李侃如，前文引证 6。
27 同上。
28 同上，第 46 页。

62 ACYA JOURNAL OF AUSTRALIA-CHINA AFFAIRS
国发起的大规模战争），但是在澳大利亚的国家利益下，持续中美关系的和平发展与繁荣经济关系是极其重要的。因为中国是澳大利亚的第一贸易伙伴。今年澳大利亚政府发表白皮书《呈交澳大利亚政府亚洲世纪中的澳大利亚白皮书》也提到了澳大利亚将怎样保持中澳贸易与和平关系。根据白皮书的内容，澳大利亚应该增加中澳人与人之间的关系往来、促进两岸投资、加强教育网络建设等。29

总之，中国与美国以及东亚的和平发展已经取得了很多里程碑式的成就。然而，美国与东亚国家对中国还缺乏一些信任。基于历史遗留问题、地区严重的民族主义情绪与领土冲突等，任何中国外交政策者的激进行动都不能够稳固地区关系，对中美关系的繁荣发展也是威胁。中国必须仔细处理敏感的国际问题，包括 TPP 与南海问题，也应当控制国内民族主义情绪。中国应该将美国“重返亚太”战略看作是加强地区联系与中美关系合作的一个机会。

29 澳大利亚政府（2012），在亚洲世纪中的澳大利亚白皮书，堪培拉：总理和内阁部门。
土地背后: 中国和澳大利亚的土地权利、自治和融合问题

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引言

位于乌鲁木齐市的新疆维吾尔自治区博物馆以其独特的历史文物收藏出名。然而，除了陈列古代文物以外，该博物馆还有另外一个重要功能——它谨慎地展现着新疆社会和政治的历史变迁。整个博物馆的策展前言强调了新疆历史上的多样化人口并歌颂了各族人民对祖国的贡献。博物馆中有一整个馆翼专门用于展示新疆的多民族‘文化习俗，该馆翼被命名为“群雄争霸, 民族融合’。这些对中国过去社会的诠释体现了当代中国共产党针对新疆维吾尔族自治区以及全国境内的少数民族人民的意识形态和政策：融合。

恐怖主义、穆斯林宗教极端主义和维吾尔族民族分裂主义的断言已使新疆成为当今中国政治最敏感的区域之一，而 2013 年四月到八月间发生在该地区的几起累计造成 83 人死亡的主要暴力事件，也使 2013 年成为尤为动荡的一年。

媒体对此争相报道，但在暴力事件的原因和性质上却出现了两极化看法：中国媒体谴责了恐怖势力并声称维吾尔族叛乱分子与叙利亚有关联，而西方媒体则强调该事件是由深层次的汉族与维吾尔族之间紧张的民族关系所导致无论媒体采用何种标题报道，目前鲜有证据表明新疆与国际恐怖组织有关的或其他境外团体涉嫌组织维吾尔族恐怖主义。更令人震惊的是，有文献表明恐怖主义/种族冲突与侵犯人民的政治权、社会保障权和公民权存在因果关系。根据这样的论点，种族斗争的加剧更有可能出现在经历长期而温和压迫的社会中。事实上，已有争论说中共对待维吾尔族的强硬政策有可能加剧这一问题。

然而，有一件事是肯定的：新疆的民族关系是极其不稳定的。尽管在过去的二十年里中共在新疆地区着重进行民族融合建设，不断升级的种族冲突还是继续破坏着中国的国家建设

1 民族一词在英语中因其内涵意义的不同而较难翻译。在英语中与民族一词有近似意思的有：minority (少数民族), ethnic (种族的), nationality (部落) or people (人民)。因其在中国背景下使用，笔者将直接使用其中文拼写形式。
2 安妮・海诺考威兹 (2013)， “真理部: 在开斋节期间发生在新疆的暴力事件”，中国数字时代，8 月 11 日，
3 迈克尔・克拉科（2008），“中国在新疆对抗恐怖的战争: 人类安全和造成暴力的维吾尔族分裂势力的原因”，恐怖主义和政治暴力，第 20 卷，第 2 期，第 271-301 页。
4 同上，第 273 页。
5 迈克尔・克拉科（2010），“扩大法律网: 中国在新疆维吾尔自治区的反恐怖法律和人权”，人权国际期刊，第 4 卷，第 4 期，第 542-558 页；迈克尔・克拉科（2007），“中国内部安全的困境和西部大开发: 新疆融合、民族爱国主义和恐怖主义之间的相互作用”，亚洲研究评论，第 31 卷，第 3 期，第 323-342 页。
体制。为了解决土地权、区域自治和自决权的问题，这篇文章比较了澳大利亚和中国的民族融合方法，并讨论了依赖于行政组织结构来解决种族冲突问题的局限性。

社会、政治和经济体制结构来自于创建者的思想基础。由于意识形态在政策和融合方案中都有所体现，因此，针对中共当前意识形态的分析评估将对加强新疆民族关系的进展产生重要的推进作用。

自治、土地权利和澳大利亚模式

有人认为，新疆不稳定的一个主要原因在于区域自治制度。新疆于1995年被正式划定为自治区，这一名称表明了在该地区政治建设中政府所拥有的权利和少数民族的代表性。然而，在中共汉族党员掌握着不成比例的权利的情况下，有学者认为，民族区域自治制度在新疆仅仅是一个表象，是一个有限的行政管理自由权。另有学者推测，与追求“东突”独立的愿望相比，许多维吾尔族人更希望得到“真正的自治”。按照这样一个思路，中国新疆局势的一个观察员提出，“澳大利亚模式”是一个潜在的能够缓解新疆民族紧张关系的框架：尽管政府对于该地区的历史迁移存在异议，但是，那些自认为或被国际组织看作为原住民或土著民的人们必须拥有解决土地和环境问题的权利。迄今为止，中国极为有利的对于官方少数民族的特殊权力法律只适用于那些被官方认定的少数民族，而不适用于那些在当地被普遍认为是原住民的人士（迁移到新疆的朝鲜族人士享有与本土维吾尔族人士相同的权利）。

把澳大利亚模式运用到中国-新疆情况中还存在一些问题。首先，原住民的土地权目前在中国还未被认可，因为这样的法律恰恰与中华民族的社会主义基础相悖。事实上，很多人认为民族区域自治制度使原住民的土地权被废弃。鉴于中共注重统一，并以持续的内部稳定，持续的经济增长和政治团结为国家目标，改变这些法律似乎不太可能。此外，承认新疆原住民的土地权还有可能引起包括西藏及内蒙古在内的其他地区的跟风效仿。

其次，中共不认为维吾尔族是新疆的本土少数民族，而是把维吾尔族看做一个和其他汉族在内的民族相似的普通民族。据官方记载，新疆“自古以来”就是中国不可分割的一部分。这一说法及随后的把周边各族融合成“多民族的大家庭”的方针在当今中共治国哲学的应用中有所体现。一个例子是“非汉族的其他民族”在历史教科书中的表述的变化。在20世纪50年代被描绘成“外夷”的周边各族现在已被改写为“自古以来”的中国公民。国际协会和中国以外的评论员普遍认为现在这个被称为“维吾尔”的社会文化群体是这一地区的原住居民。

另一个需要考虑的重要问题是澳大利亚对于土著人的土地权予以承认意味着什么？在法律上承认澳大利亚土著人为原住民并且承认他们拥有获取土地的权利，是否是一个减少社会
不平等和分裂的成功策略呢？我们要谨记，实施澳大利亚模式的预期目的是为了解决种族冲突问题，因此以上疑问都需要着重考虑。

在对原住民社会施行可耻的同化政策之后，澳大利亚于1993年颁布《原住民土地权法》。针对原住民的同化政策长期存在于澳大利亚的政治历史中，但澳大利亚政府直至2007年才为此道歉。在二十世纪初的同化政策下，澳大利亚领导人就土著民对国家的“价值”进行辩论，并公然开展旨在减少甚至消除土著人口的活动。至20世纪50年代末，当这样的政策未能兑现对土著社区给予的权利、尊重和机会的承诺时，同化方法走向失败，也带来了政策和政治术语上的改变。“融合”概念被引入，并取代“同化”成为处理土著问题的一种途径14。在实现和解目标的大环境下，澳大利亚承认土著人土地权的目的不仅要提供平等的社会和经济机会，同时也为土著社区找回“失落的文化、认同感和自豪感”提供了一条途径15。

土著和非土著澳大利亚人之间的关系的普遍改善，首先应理解为是政府的政策和意识形态的转变的结果，其次是法律权利的贯彻实行。尽管《原住民土地权法》是和解进程的一个重要部分，澳大利亚白人对土著社区的社会观念和态度的改变才是这一进程中最大的收获。然而，新疆的情况是，它面临着原住民土地权和区域自治制度的两难选择。就民族分裂问题，西方学者一直被批太狭隘地关注其行政组织结构因素，如区域自治制度，而对变革的推动力缺乏关注16。在这一讨论中所缺少的是一种对指导决策制定和影响社会态度的意识形态的理解。

新疆的民族建设和融合

在邓小平成功的“改革开放”的经济改革下，中国从计划经济过渡到了市场经济，中央政府也开始了其第二个任务——“开放西部”。西部大开发是江泽民在1991年提出的战略，强调发展西部省份的经济，以缩小与相对小康的东部在社会和经济上的差距。该战略的提出是基于提高生活水平能够解决社会经济问题的理念。它是中共国家建设项目的一个扩充，也标志了对中国对内陆省份融入中国主流社会17的重新关注。

1949年，中共对少数群体施行了一种以马克思主义和斯大林思想为指导的政策，将所有公民系统地分成56个民族。“民族范式”是一个将汉族定义为最先进的和最进步的群体的民族等级制度。该系统使得政府能够“提供教育和适合本民族的服务，并制定相关政策”18。苏联框架亦认识到不同群体的分类，他们认为民族的相互融合会在实现共产主义的道路上出现。然而，自1991年苏联解体以来，围绕“民族”的政治话语和国家建设的概念早已转向、远离了苏联模式。中国学者推测，苏联的解体是源于缺乏一个统一的民族身份，而这也正是中国需要避免的一个关键性错误19。因此，新的政治话语促进了中华民族多元一体。
“西部大开发” 充溢着新的意义上的霸权和均化,让人们联想起与殖民主义相关的同化和教化活动20。

西部大开发已通过多种方式改变了新疆的面貌。针对天然资源领域的投资建造了油井绵延数千公里的壮景。教育改革的引入平衡了学生的学习成果,为提供平等机会做出了贡献。新政策还推行统一的“双语”教育系统来取代现有的母语教育,以期提高汉语教育。然而,人们对于“双语”教育系统的普遍共识是,它赋予了汉语不成比例的价值和资源,而非平衡国家标准语言和少数民族语言21。新疆的新形象——“应许之地”也导致了大规模的汉族迁移至新疆,使当地的人口组成发生了由从维吾尔族到汉族的巨大改变,并加剧了劳动力市场上竞争22。除了经济发展和现代化建设,西部大开发体现出许多与世界各地的殖民活动类似23。因此有人认为,中国-新疆的关系是一种“内部殖民”24。

结论

澳大利亚和中国在为多样化人口提供公平和平等机会的道路上并不孤单。将土著族群融合进一个不同的主流社会是一个复杂的,长期的过程。评估其成败的难度,与完成这一融合过程的难度旗鼓相当。除此以外,融合背后的动力是什么?我们如何衡量其成功?融合又何时完成(假设最终融合真的会完成)?在全球化、人口跨国迁移、地理国界被打破的大背景下,融合和保护公民权利的问题比以往任何时候都更为重要。

西方殖民主义告诉我们,国家不能忽视在特定区域和地区的土地历史上存在并持续存在的原住民。澳大利亚曾在对待土著人的方式如今依然持续产生着负面影响,这对今天面临这样问题的其它国家而言是一个前车之鉴。虽然声称澳大利亚土著与非土著人口之间实现了社会、经济和政治上的平等有些牵强,但是可以说澳大利亚民族间基本实现了和平共处。

尽管维吾尔文化被认为是新疆生活的一个独特的方面,但这只是在民族范式与中国主权的语境下有效。政治机构公开声称需要教化“落后”的少数民族:教育他们、赋予他们主流文化、并将他们融入现代社会中27。常见的对维吾尔社区的描绘是具有异国情调的、热情的20。

史蒂芬·海瑞尔(1995), 中国民族间的文化碰撞, 西雅图: 华盛顿大学出版社。


古德曼, 前文引证, 17。

东道主，能歌善舞，以及无处不在的卖烤肉的穆斯林人民。这些看似积极的表述往往是由汉族人创作并流传的，乍一看似乎是一个赞颂维吾尔族文化及其差异，但仔细回味一下就会发现，这样的形象显示了只从事琐碎任务的维吾尔人，增强了一个潜在的观念，那就是少数民族是落后的、没有受过教育的和不文明的。

最终，新疆的融合之路将延续带有殖民色彩的同化政策。随着汉族地区身份的显现，情况将进一步复杂化。两个族群社区之间的关系将愈发疏远，而且交往的意识形态中含有相互蔑视的特点。在社会对维吾尔族的认知以及认为当地身份认同对国家身份认同构成潜在威胁的政治意识形态发生改变之前，讨论有关区域自治制度的结构还为时过早。种族冲突还有可能继续。

28巴拉诺维奇，前文引证，12。
29卡博洛尼，前文引证，16；尤拉丁·布拉格（2003），“蒙古族和中国的语言焦虑”，美国人类学家，新系列，第105卷，第4期，第753-763页。
中国及亚洲地区的均势安全格局：颠簸难免，颠覆未必

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引言

中国在国际体系中的迅速崛起引发了人们对未来亚太地区乃至整个世界安全局势的关注与争论。在第二次世界大战之后，美国便通过双边同盟的轴辐安全模式主导着亚太地区的安全架构。中国是维持现状还是通过修正主义的势力意图瓦解这一切，将对国际安全与经济领域产生重大的影响。然而大多数关于中国是现状国家还是修正主义国家的争辩都忽视了这样一个重要区别：中国是从根本上颠覆区域安全秩序，还是仅仅对其做出修改。所谓颠覆，即中国在中短期内叫板美国在亚太地区的优先地位，引发快速、直接、咄咄逼人的交锋；而所谓修改，即在亚太地区势力分配的改变使中国不足以撼动美国的区域优先地位。这个区分之所以重要，是因为人们对中国政府的意图与能力的推测将决定相关利益群体做出相应的反应与对策，最终影响对中国威胁论的看法。因此，关于中国修正主义的错误估计或许将导致更为强硬的制衡措施，激怒中国，从而增加冲突发生的可能——而这一直以来国际社会所极力避免的局势。

本文的观点是，考虑到诸多棘手的约束，中国将不会颠覆区域安全秩序。在中国国内，环境和人口因素给中国的经济造成了巨大的压力，增加了社会动乱的可能性。在军事上，中国的军事实力被高估，其技术水平、数量以及军事框架都远远落后于美国。即便中国在军事力量上可以抗衡美国，地区内的其它力量也不会屈从于中国的主导地位，北京也不会在维护地位上得到和美国一样的地区性支持。当然这并不是说中国将就此退缩，相反，中国政府很有可能继续彰显其雄心壮志，如强化其政权安全的根本利益，巩固其维护和收复争议领土以及扩大在亚太地区乃至全球影响力的核心利益。然而这些举措却增加了被误解的风险，在无意中导致紧张局势的升级；中国的根本国家利益将会受到区域秩序颠覆的严重影响。因此，除非局势发生翻天覆地的变化，比如挑战美国的优先地位成为扩大中国核心利益的需要，北京是不会从根本上颠覆目前的区域现状的。

而以上种种考虑对澳大利亚外交政策的制定极为重要。澳大利亚的利益建立在一个和平稳定的亚太地区、避免经济与安全分离的基础之上。因此，中国是否会颠覆区域安全秩序成为了目前澳洲政界最关注的一个话题。澳洲国立大学的休·怀特教授提出的饱受争议的观点更是助长了人们的争论：美国若不与中国在亚洲权力共享就得面对与中国政府的势力冲突或者屈服于中国政府在亚太地区的势力。而在另一方面，澳洲军事专家保罗·迪布却认为中国的实力、尤其是所谓的军事威胁是被夸大的。澳大利亚对中国崛起的实力的判断与反应将对国防建设与支出产生深远的影响。由于中国缺乏彻底颠覆区域局势的实力与动机，澳大利亚不应将中国视为威胁，但要意识到亚太地区安全格局将会改变。如果亚太各国视中

1 修·怀特（2010），“力量变化：澳大利亚的未来在华盛顿和北京之间”，论文季刊，第 39 期，第 1-47 页；修·怀特（2012），中国选择，科林伍德：Black Inc。
国为威胁并且认为应限制其势力，那么将会加大对中国安全威胁的误解与误判，进而会增加该地区发生冲突的可能性。基于此种情况，上述考虑就显得格外重要了。因此，无论是在言辞上还是行动上，澳大利亚都必须区别出一种认为中国打算颠覆区域现状的激进的观点与另一种认为中国仅仅是改变现状的更为正确、全面的观点。如果做不到这一点，发生冲突的可能性将不降反增。

**美国与亚太地区**

美国主导的亚太地区均势安全体系保证了该地区的和平与稳定，而这对于中国也大有裨益。美国在亚太地区的出现使它的盟国在面对所谓的中国威胁的时候得以安心，同时也消除了中国政府所认为的尤其是来自日本的威胁。在第二次世界大战之后，美国与日本政府正式缔结安全联盟，美国得以在日本境内建设军事基地，日本承诺不再重建军队，并借此获得了美国的防御保证。由于中日的历史关系以及日本曾经的军国主义和侵略扩张等原因，日本在军事上受到的限制在对中国的安全估计中尤为重要。此外，亚太地区其它国家也与中国一样，担心再次军事化的日本可能引发地区性的军备竞赛。因此，美日结盟消除了这种可能产生的区域安全问题。美国的这种轴辐安全模式由与韩国、菲律宾、澳大利亚和泰国的条约同盟，以及与印度、马来西亚、新加坡、文莱、越南、蒙古国、新西兰和太平洋各岛国间的紧密关系组成。有观点认为自 1945 年来美国对亚太地区策略最不确定的时期与该地区最不安全的时期相吻合，这恰恰说明了美国在亚太地区出现的现实意义。由此带来的亚太地区的和平与稳定不仅有益于中国的国防安全，同时也有助于中国的经济发展。

美国在亚太地区以“维持治安”的形象出现，为中国经济的持续增长创造了成熟的条件。亚太地区的和平稳定使中国得以将资源与重心从军事与国防转移到国内的经济发展。美国同时还对航道进行保护，为中国对外贸易和资源供给的安全提供了直接的保证。除此之外，稳定的局势也促进了区域发展，从而为中国商品创造了市场，刺激了对华投资。由此可见，正是这些在安全与经济方面的收益为中国现在的发展实力打下了基础，同时这也成为了中国颠覆区域军事安全格局的抑制因素，因为颠覆可能带来的冲突将会极大地摧毁中国的经济（与国家）实力。

**中国的国内形势**

即便如此，国内问题还是严重地阻碍了中国将其经济上的繁荣转化为军事力量与区域影响力的能力。中国正面临着将对经济造成打击的严峻的环境问题。一份来自中国环境规划院的调查发现，从 2004 年到 2010 年，环境质量下降造成的损失翻了三番，达到了中国国

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1 乔治·伊肯波瑞（2004）， “美国的霸权主义和东亚秩序”，澳大利亚国际事务期刊，第 58 卷，第 3 期，第 355 页；凯尔·莫德卡密（2012）， “日本和美国：是时候需要重新思考一下你们的关系”，大西洋。


2 詹姆士·道宾斯（2012），“和中国的战争”，幸存：全球政治和策略，第 54 卷，第 4 期，第 13 页。

3 伊肯波瑞，前文引证，3。

4 希拉里·克林顿（2011），“美国的太平洋世纪”，外交政策，十一月，http://www.foreignpolicy.com/node/1002667.

5 伊芙琳·戈赫（2008）， “美国在东亚安全秩序的等级制度和角色扮演”，亚太地区国际关系，第 8 卷，第 3 期，第 373 页。

6 克林顿，前文引证，6。

7 理查德 N·哈斯（2013），“如何建立第二个美国世纪”，华盛顿邮报，4 月 27 日。


70 | ACYA JOURNAL OF AUSTRALIA-CHINA AFFAIRS
民生产总值的 3.5%，即 2300 亿美元左右。" 因此，即便中国官方可能在很大程度上有所保留，这样的数据足以说明环境问题是中国主要的经济负担，同时环境因素也放大人了与中国经济发展速度放缓相关的其它问题，" 其中之一便是不断攀升的失业率。尽管造成失业率的部分原因是由于结构性失衡，但也带来了社会动乱的隐患。" 而中国不断下降的出生率将进一步减少年轻的、低廉的劳动力，而这些人正是过去三十多年里促进中国经济增长的主力军。" 此外，中国人口在迅速老龄化，据估计至 2023 年老龄人口抚养比率将从目前的每 100 个工作适龄人中有 16 个老年人增加一倍至 32 个，而到 2050 年将达到 61 个。" 这些人口统计学上的变化将会使资金从产品和投资流向健康和社会成本，从而加剧经济停滞的威胁。" 经济发展是中国共产党的立党之本，因此出现的经济问题会威胁到政体的稳定和中国的政治模式。尽管中国在未来还是可能会保持强势，并且在国际舞台上扮演越来越重要的角色，但是考虑到诸多国内问题，中国共产党应该会继续把注意力放在解决内部问题上，甚至还有可能增加对内部问题的关注。这么做的主要原因是，国内潜在的不稳定因素可能会威胁到中国共产党领导本身，从而进一步限制中国的势力辐射能力。

不仅如此，中国在军事上是否具备能够有效挑战美国区域优先地位的能力还尚有疑问。许多观察人士对北京高速的军事现代化建设表示担忧。" 中国人民解放军有 230 万正在服役的军人，中国的军事预算也在不断增加。" 此外，中国最近部署了世界上第一个反舰弹道导弹，同时购买了该国第一艘航空母舰和隐形战斗机。" 然而，进一步分析显示，事实上中国并没有就此对美国的区域优先地位造成严重的军事威胁。中国与十四个不同的国家接壤，仅是在这些边境上的热点地区巡逻和驻兵便已耗费大量的军事资源。" 此外，中国的军事制度尚未达到能与美国抗衡的水平。中国的军事部门间缺乏协调，军事阶层内部因为盛行的" 卖" 贵军衔而腐败不堪。" 贪污腐败成为"体制内"的一部分，从而使"研发、制造和使用能到达世界一流军事水平的武器系统变得尤为困难"。" 尽管中国在加速构筑其军事实力，
仅在2012年一年之内，军事开支就增加了7.8%。但“美国的霸主地位在一时之内是不会被改变的。”尽管北京1660亿美元的军事支出（占世界军事支出总额的9.5%）在世界排名第二高，但仍旧远远落后于美国的6820亿美元（占世界军事支出总额的39%）。除了军事实力上的缺陷以外，中国也缺乏现代战争的经验。这就降低了中国成功挑战美国区域优先地位、将区域安全格局改为对自己有利的局势的可能性。

中国的亚太地区的局势
尽管提高中国的军事实力意味着撼动美国在亚太地区的影响力，但北京需要周边国家顺从它的战略地位，以成功实现区域主导地位。然而，大多数国家都对中国的实力保持警惕，并且担心其潜在的修正主义目的。俄罗斯、印度、日本等亚洲国家或地区势力可能会极力限制或对抗中国不受欢迎的争取区域优先权的做法。这很可能导致这些国家进一步向美国靠拢，在无形中远离了它们目前作为中国经济发展所必需的贸易合作伙伴的定位。美国主导的均势安全体系的稳定性在一定程度上缓解了周边国家对中国修正主义的畏惧，但中国的复苏有可能瓦解这一局势。中国的崛起已经使越南、菲律宾这样的国家感到不安，无形中促使他们向美国靠拢。所以说，其它势力和周边国家极有可能阻碍中国推翻区域均势。

因此，判断中国是否要颠覆区域均势安全格局的一个关键因素便是，这么做是否符合中国的国家利益。中国共产党的首要目标是巩固其政权地位，保持经济的持续增长和政治的稳定。中国国家主席习近平最近强调说，中国人民解放军的首要任务是捍卫国家政权本身，其次才是中国本身。其它基本的国家利益包括扩大在亚太地区乃至全球的影响力，以及维护和收回有争议领土。但是中国在地区乃至全球的势力野心取决于对国内问题的解决和对政治稳定性的维护，而这些问题很大程度上依赖于中国持续的经济增长和区域安全。考虑到正是美国主导的均势安全体系确保了这些关键的发展要素，试图打破这一平衡将严重破坏中国共产党的根基，同时也将摧毁中国保卫其核心利益与辐射世界的影响力。

中国持续的经济增长来自于与国际经济体系的紧密联系，这也因此巩固了中国的政权地位。中国与工业化国家建立友好邦交，并从中获得广阔的市场、技术转让、以及投资。
美国在亚太地区的出现和由此带来的（区域）稳定有助于中国商品开拓亚太市场，从而使中国领导人得以将重心放在经济发展、而不是安全问题上。与美国对抗将会破坏中国与海外的经济联系，并且会打破一直以来有助于中国经济发展的地区稳定局势。尽管中国可能有着称霸亚太地区的野心，但是中国仍旧依赖于其最大的竞争对手。在2011年，美国与日本

22 安东尼・毕内尔（2013），“中国军事力量强大的神话”，ABC国家广播，5月6日。

23 同上。
24 帕尔索・福莱曼等，前文引证，17，第2页。
25 保罗・迪波（2013），中国和美国发生战争的风险是什么？堪培拉澳洲国立大学公共讲座，5月6日。
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8S-xyKCPzNQ&list=PL9C779E9790954D25。
26 安德鲁・内森和安德鲁・斯高波尔（2012）， “中国如何看待美国：北京恐惧总看”，外交事务，第91卷，第5期。
27 克里斯托博・修治（2011），“重新归类中国的爱国主义：地理政治学改变”，当代中国，第21卷，第71期，第601-620页。
28 马尔科姆・库克等（2010），力量和选择：亚洲安全的未来，悉尼：洛伊国际政策研究所，第3页。
29 飞利浦・史蒂芬（2013）， “对亚洲脆弱的力量平衡的威胁”，金融时报，5月2日。
http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/d6945102-b255-11e2-8540-00144feabdc0.html#axzz2Sqs4mWgw。
30 加诺特，前文引证，18。
31 大卫 C・康（2005），“为何中国的崛起是和平的：东亚地区的等级制度和稳定”，政治看法，第3卷，第3期，第553页。
32 Yuan，前文引证，19。
33 内森和斯高波尔，前文引证，26。
特别是在中国第二大和第五大贸易伙伴。中国也越来越依赖于亚太地区的自然资源。例如，中国从马来西亚进口棕榈油，从泰国进口橡胶，从菲律宾进口金属铜，从澳大利亚进口铁矿石，从印度尼西亚进口木材和纸张。此外，中国正经历着从石油到天然气的转换，据预测，截至2025年，这中的40%将会通过进口得到，而进口的绝大部分将来自东南亚。中国和亚太地区其它国家在经济上相互依存，可以说，保持现状维护了所有利益相关者的共同利益。这种在经济利益上的高度统一性和对亚太地区乃至全球各国的依赖性充分地说明了扰乱这种联系的纠纷与冲突将会摧毁中国的经济优势，从而摧毁中国共产党的立党之本以及在未来依旧保持当今影响力水平的能力。

尽管如此，现实主义争论道，中国的发展壮大本身就是不稳定的；权势转移论的支持者预测，快速崛起的存在将不可避免地造成冲突。尽管前文提及中国政府无法也不愿引发这样的冲突，但随着中国实力的增长，中国在亚太地区的事务处理上将继续保持这种霸气。近日，中国与日本、印度、菲律宾、越南、马来西亚的纠纷再次浮出水面。在四月的一天，八艘中国船只进入了日本控制的尖阁列岛/钓鱼岛海域，而这只是中国船只或飞机进入有争议的领海或领空的诸多事件中的一件。中国政府在中国南海的行动也在不断加强，例如中国派出一艘客船驶近多个东南亚国家分别声称属于自己国家的帕拉塞尔群岛（西沙群岛）。而在另一边境地带，中国军队被曝光驻扎在其约定的“实际控制线”境外19公里处，该行为导致中印关系的紧张局势升级。虽然有人认为这些霸气行为主要与日前中央领导人变更的国内政治有关，但也有人认为中国从2009年起就变得愈发强势，并且这正在成为一个长期的趋势。

冲突的可能性

这样的行为可能与国家利益和区域强势间的联系相关，这在航道与能源安全问题上尤其突出。尽管美国的存在避免了航道纷争，但日益激烈的中美竞争、经济竞争使中国担心美国可能会将对亚洲的控制作为一种经济制裁的手段，或者在军事或经济危机的时候阻止中国通行。这一问题在中国能源进口依赖日益增长的局势下变得越来越显著，因为大多数能源的运输必须通过马六甲海峡和霍尔木兹海峡这两个关键的区域贸易要道。因此，中国增强

44 《华尔街日报》（2013），《中国的领土野心》，华尔街日报，5月2日。
http://online.wsj.com/article/SB100014241278873235284578454341420089874.html；经济学者（2013），《中国的怒吼》，经济学人，5月4日。
45 华尔街日报，同上。
46 内森和斯高波尔，前文引证，26。
47 米卡·和博格，前文引证，35。
海军实力很可能是为了加强海上阻断或海上控制的能力，这样做也同时确保能源进口以及其它更为普遍的贸易行为。尽管如此，一个更加强硬的中国并非代表一个更具侵略性的中国。

中国政府虽倾向于争取领土、安全以及经济的利益，但这并不意味着中国意图颠覆亚太地区的均势安全体系。

然而，强化中国势力和进行海军建设活动增加了被误算和被误解的风险，从而可能使中国在无意中颠覆了区域均势格局。中国日益强大的经济和军事力量很有可能使其“不断冲击美国的势力，直到探明美国意图的边界”。中国国内的政治与压力也可能会引发对区域内其它国家的行为的误解和误判。有人认为习近平主席“利用了甚至是精心策划了”近来在尖阁列岛/钓鱼岛问题上与日本的冲突，从而试探出他可以依赖的军事将领。在政治制度里有一个至关重要的原则就是政治力量总与对军队的控制紧密相连，但这也可能会导致矛盾的产生。

另外一个误判的根据来自中国海军的发展，尽管这是为了能源安全或海上阻断，但也可能被其它亚太地区的国家解读为对美国主导权的挑衅。因此，尽管中国共产党在中短期内不会刻意颠覆区域均势安全格局，误解与误判还是会产生。

此外，在民族主义力量的影响之下，中国的外交政策可能将变得更加强硬甚至具有对抗性。曾经被帝国主义侵略的屈辱史所激发的中国民族主义经常使中国的一些政界和军事领袖在面对西方国家和区域海事纷争的时候推崇更激进的做法。

中国的民族主义将中国定义为共产主义国家，因此巩固了中国共产党的政权地位。因而，鼓励或是不打压民族主义或许可以巩固中国政府政治势力的基本利益，中国也因此会变得更加强硬。这改变了中国共产党对于对抗风险的成本效益分析，从而增大了紧张局势升级和与美国发生冲突的可能性。同样地，无法成功解决国内经济或社会问题将使中国共产党为了维护国家统一而将重心转移到外部问题上。这样的一意孤行可能导致过分的扩张，进而在无形中升级或引发冲突。

对澳洲的启示

本文的观点表明，澳大利亚必须做好中国在无意中颠覆了区域均势安全格局从而导致冲突发生的准备。然而，在可预见的未来，中国仍缺乏刻意颠覆区域均势安全格局的能力与动机。中国现在的成功主要是因为美国主导的亚太地区均势安全格局使中国能够在经济、安全和政治方面持续获益。但是，中国的选择并不足以转化为能有效地颠覆区域均势安全格局、挑战美国区域优先地位的能力。中国深受国内问题的困扰，军事实力远远落后于美国，区域及国际体系有可能不接受中国的修正主义。不仅如此，中国与亚太地区乃至全球体系紧密结合，严重的地区不稳定、与美国的冲突都可能殃及其核心的国家利益。然而，中国还是有可能试图将亚太地区的局势往利己的方向改变，而这一举措将增加被误解和被误判的可能性。

正如其它制衡举措，目前的形势依然脆弱，澳大利亚和世界在面对中国崛起时必须认识到所可能产生的误解和误判。此外，澳大利亚也必须注意到，若将中国当作现有安全体系的一个威胁来对待，则可能创造出一种自我应验的预言。最后的这个建议似乎在澳大利亚

46 理查德 A・比青格尔 和柏翠・戴思科（2008/2009），“为何东亚战争不会发生”，《幸存》，12月/1月，第50卷，第6期，第106-107页。
47 内森和斯高波尔，前文引证，第26页。
48 乔治・加诺特（2013），“对日向日本施压的恐惧会造成摊牌的风险”，悉尼先驱晨报，3月16日。
49 Zhao, Suisheng (2013), “中国爱国主义的重燃对外交政策的影响：刺耳的转变”，当代中国，第22卷，第82期，第535-553页。
50 同上，第2页。
51 同上，第3页。
《2013 年国防白皮书》中有所体现：较之于 2009 年的白皮书，2013 年的版本用更谦和的语气提到中国的崛起。这迈出了对中国政治意图和能力、对可能引起区域均势安全格局倾覆的可能性的正确理解的第一步。未来，中国将会继续在亚太地区展现强势，但却不太可能故意打破区域的平衡格局。若世界各国在制定外交政策时忽视了这一点，则可能使中国被迫挑战美国的优先地位。在一个至少拥有四个核武势力的地区里，忽视了这样一个至关重要的区别可能会给整个亚太地区，连同澳大利亚在内带来毁灭性的后果。

对国内粮食安全的担忧是中国公司走出去和在海外投资农业项目的主要动因吗？

Justin Steele 温海林

英语原文由张译方（Yifang Zhang）和黄绮梅（Patricia Huang）翻译成中文，并由唐怡（Kelly Tang）校对。

温海林最近完成了其在澳洲国立大学法律和亚太研究（中文方向）双学士学位的学习。他自2009年起就开始参与中澳青年联合会组织的多项活动，现在在悉尼的一家顶级商业律师事务所工作。

引言

近来，澳洲媒体对中国在农业项目上的投资表示关注。这一举动再次引发了对中国更为广泛的粮食安全问题的讨论，同时也对中国私营和国有企业在澳运营的动机提出疑问。中国公司“走出去”在海外投资项目的方向不仅为澳大利亚所关心，其在农业领域的愈发活跃也受到非洲和拉丁美洲等地区的国家的关注。这些媒体报道显示了澳洲人对中国“买下所有农场”有着无可否认的恐惧。与此同时，政客也警告说澳大利亚有成为“北京的一个大菜园”的风险。

本文旨在批判性地分析“中国要买下所有农场”这一观点，或中国在海外投资农业是为了保障有充足的粮食供应以进口回中国。本文将对此提供几个假设性解释，之后会将这些假说与中国在非洲、拉丁美洲和澳大利亚的农业投资数据进行比较验证。而这些数据是通过在国际和中国的新闻媒体、澳大利亚的媒体资源和现存的学术文献中大量搜索后汇编而成。本文以此希望能阐明中国在海外投资农业项目的动因。

中国的粮食安全政策

中国领导人一向重视粮食安全问题，这是因为粮食的价格波动和短缺会引发社会动荡。粮食安全可被定义为“当所有人在任何时候都可获取足够的、安全的和营养的食物以维持健康、积极的生活的时候”。这一定义的基础围绕这样一个概念，即粮食安全包括在身体上和经济上均可获得食物，同时也需要满足人们的膳食需求和对食品的偏好。然而，中国在满足此需求上面临重大挑战，因为其人口占到全世界人口的20%，而耕地却仅占全世界的9%。淡水资源也只有6%。尽管如此，中国坚持贯彻达到95%的粮食自给率的政策，而实现这一目标的压力却日渐增大。事实上，在2011年，中国未能达到此粮食产量的目标，于是进口了占需求总量10%以上的6100百万吨粮食。为了保证国内粮食供应充足，中国政府还放宽了粮食出口。

定总耕地面积必须保持在一亿两千万公顷以上。这一目标反映了中国政府在对待粮食安全问题上关注粮食的自给自足，而非世界卫生组织对粮食安全的广泛定义。但此目标也受到威胁，因为据国土资源部统计，截至2011年8月全国只有一亿两千一百七十万公顷的耕地。随着中国愈发接近这一“警戒线”，其对粮食的进口依赖程度也上升到危险的水平。许多评论员认为中国公司和国有企业增加在海外农业上的投资是不可避免的选择。的确，有证据显示中国政府正改变其在粮食安全问题上的立场，更倾向于努力“走出去”和在海外投资农业。

据报导，中国农业部曾在2008年5月制定了关于农业对外投资的政策，以进一步深化过去10年来中国一直进行的“走出去”运动。尽管农业部迅速否认了这些报导，但从其他中国官员的表述中可以看出中国企业增加海外农业投资受到政府鼓励的。然而，这些表述需与中国政府的首要农业政策——粮食的自给自足相权衡，副总理回良玉在2011年3月也重申了这一点。

2011年，中国总理温家宝和商务部部长陈德铭在分别访问阿根廷和非洲时均声明中国将会优先投资农业（及一些其他领域）。外交部和商务部已公开鼓励中国公司在非洲探索发展农业的机会。同时，全国人大农业和农村工作委员会也建议中国公司在海外寻求耕地投资。将这些表述综合起来看，它们反映了中国政府在“走出去”运动的支持下试图提高农业在中国境外投资目标中的地位。

然而，在政府对农业投资公开支持之前，中国企业已对海外农业项目显示出强烈的兴趣。2010年度中国对外直接投资统计公报显示，中国在农、林、牧、渔业对外直接投资存量在2010年增至2005年的四倍以上，达到二十六亿一千两百万美元。这一增长率几乎与矿业相同，而后者近年来一直受到商业团体和媒体更多的关注。造成这一现象的原因可能是矿业投资从绝对值来讲仍然比农业投资要多得多。

最终，在2012年7月，商务部将农业列入可受政府补贴的海外投资行业当中。虽然这一补贴计划从2005年就已开始实施，但是这是它首次将农业包含在内。

这些公开表述、政府补贴计划和对外直接投资统计数据表明了中国企业在海外农业投资愈发感兴趣。然而，中国公司提高对海外农业项目的投资和中国明确的农业政策——通过海外收购以保证粮食安全这两者之间存在不连贯性。确实，有四种不同的解释能够回应这一论点。

**对中国在海外农业投资的解释**

对于中国政府在海外投资农业的原因有四种不同的解释。第一种解释为这是中国对其庞大的外汇储备从商业上所做出的回应。正如最近《澳大利亚金融评论》报导称：“中国有

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5 2006年9月6日在国务院第149次常务会议上得到确认。
6 Pumin, 上文印证，4。
7 吉密欧・安德林（2008）， “中国视海外土地为食品供应源”，金融时报，5月8日。
8 新华社（2011），“中国维持食品自给自足政策：中国副总理”，新华网，3月25日。
9 Chi Jianxin（2011），“中国协助非洲保障粮食安全”，中国日报，12月2日。
10 Jin Zhu（2011），“供养中国”，中国日报，12月4日。
11 Zhao Binchen（2012），“今年企业境外投资贷款贴息申报开始”，财新网，7月19日。
意多样化其庞大的外汇储备，从投资低回报的美国国债转变为投资具有更高回报的实体资产，这是可以理解的。”而农业被日益视为拥有更高回报的行业。

第二种需要更深入探讨的解释是，中国企业对外投资农业是为了转让和交流知识、技术和管理技能。

第三种解释是中国欲提高世界粮食供应量，从而降低国际市场上粮食商品的价格。这一论点得到过商务部的支持，有官员称：“中国企业向海外扩张能够通过增加产量来降低全球粮食价格”。

第四种解释是中国认为收购外国品牌颇具吸引力，因为收购之后这些品牌不仅能在国际市场上通行，还能在消费者追捧“洋气”的国内市场中大有作为，同时也能为这些品牌标上更高的价格。

总体来说，中国在海外投资农业的动因可分为以下几类：1）为了国内粮食安全，2）为了将中国的外汇储备投资到高回报率的资产上，3）为了转移和交流知识、技术和管理技能，4）为了提高国际粮食供应量以降低国际粮食商品价格，5）为了收购外国品牌或其它商业原因。

有关中国在非洲、拉丁美洲和澳大利亚的农业项目投资的数据将会用以衡量上述几种解释的真实性。之所以选择这三个地区是因为它们都代表了南南投资及贸易往来活动。再者，它们还受到了媒体和政客的广泛关注。

中国在非洲进行农业投资的动因

由于一些学者已经就中国对非农业投资模式进行了详尽的探讨，对它们的分析也就相对简单明了。2009 年，中国对非洲农业的投资超过 1.34 亿美元，并建立了 50 家农业企业和 100 余个农场。在讨论中国对非洲农业投资这一问题时，需要认识到援助项目占据其中很大一个比例。尽管严格来讲援助和投资属于两个截然不同的概念，但是本文将会对两者皆有讨论。

通常来讲，中国在非洲的农业活动是通过以下三种形式：I）农业援助计划，II）国有企业投资，III）多数为）小型私营企业投资。

I. 农业援助计划

中国自 1956 年起就为非洲提供援助，而农业援助计划一直是中非农业合作的一个重要组成部分。事实上，自 2006 年中非合作论坛召开以来，中国已调整了对非的援助政策，并将农业和粮食问题作为目前首要考虑的事情。

截至 2009 年，中国已在非洲超过 44 个国家完成了 142 项农业援助项目。这些项目一般规模较小，平均投资额仅为 50 万美元，且大多数为“交钥匙”式的工程建设项目模式，即由中国建造好，再交由非洲国家运作。许多这些项目旨在提高粮食产量和储存。

自 2009 年起，随着至少 14 家新农业技术展示中心的落成，中国对非的农业援助开启了一个不同的公私关系模式。这些展示中心提供不同类型的培训，例如种植水稻、蔬菜和

12 劳拉·泰森（2012），“中国外商直接投资带来的好处”，辛迪加项目
13 Jin, 前文已证, 10.
15 Sun, 同上，第 9 页.
16 同上，第 7 页.
17 同上，第 16 页.
18 布罗蒂干和 Xiaoyang, 前文印证，14. 第 686 页.
19 同上.
使用农业设备。尽管一些中心似乎专注于生产中国对进口日趋依赖的农产品（如大豆和玉米），但大多数中心解决了非洲广泛的农业需求，如一些中心致力于将高产量杂交水稻引入非洲（此为中国研发的技术）。

II. 商业投资

自 1990 年以来，许多像中国农垦集团（中垦集团）这样的国有企业都已开始投资于非洲农业。但是，投资渠道却在近些年来发生了很大的变化——从简单的援助项目变为更多的对外直接投资。例如，中垦集团的省辖属分公司——江苏农垦公司通过成立友好农场，如于 1990 年建立中赞友好农场，来开辟非洲农业市场。而一些其他的最初被派来实施或建设援助项目的国有企业也开始投资于其成品。

2002 年，国家外国副部长宣布：“新世纪中的中非农业合作必须以企业为支撑，以市场为导向。”这一宣言标志着非洲农业投资战略“走出去”已正式成为国家的政策方针。Helen Lei Sun 发现，截至 2005 年，一些小型私营中国企业凭借“走出去”这一战略得以进驻非洲。

布劳提根等指出，截至 2006 年，在赞中国国有企业及私人农场已达二十多家，但所有这些农场仅为满足赞比亚的国内市场。在非洲范围内，他们声称：“有充分证据表明，目前在非的中国农场几乎全部供给非洲本土或者出口国际市场。”这似乎表明中国在非洲的对外直接投资并非出于中国国内粮食安全的考量。

III. 动因总结

由于非洲大陆近四十年来依靠粮食进口，在非农业援助一直大受欢迎。因此，外交成为促使中国在非投资农业的一个主要因素。布劳提根和唐还指出，中国在 2003 年成为粮食净进口国，扩大粮食全球供给对中国大有裨益。回到最开始提出的五个假说，假说三、四——转移和交流知识、技术和管理技能；加大国际粮食供给量以降低国际粮食价格——很大程度上解释了中国在非洲投资农业的动因。此外，假说二——为了将外汇储备投资于高回报率的资产上也是一个可能的原因。因为 2007 年中非发展基金设立，它折射出中国试图寻找合适的外汇储备投资方式，以减少对美国国债的依赖。

目前少有证据显示中国在非洲购买农业土地仅是为了将农产品出口回中国。且此说法在 2008 年遭到中国农业部官员的猛烈抨击，称“这一做法成本、风险太大”，况且“在非洲仍还有大量的饥饿人口”，因此是“不切合实际”的。布劳提根等对这一说法表示认同，认为是商业利益驱使中国在非投资的动因，而非粮食安全。然而，中国农垦公司负责人曾在 2010 年称，“非洲动荡不安的政治环境对有意向非投资的中方公司来说是最大的挑战”。由此看来，中方来非投资其实并非仅仅出于获取商业利益的目的。

中国在拉美地区进行农业投资的动因

相比在非的农业投资，中国在拉美地区的投资范围就狭窄了很多，几乎只集中在一种农产品上——大豆。这反映出中国对大豆用于粮食产品制造以及农业企业牲畜饲料方面有着无法满足的需求。2002 年，大豆进口关税从 114%下降至 3%。这一大幅度削减导致了大豆

20 同上，第 691 页。
21 同上，第 693 页。
22 同上，第 698 页。
23 史蒂芬·马克思（2008），‘中国和全球土地占有’，Pambazuka News，第 11 期，12 月 11 日，
http://www.pambazuka.org/en/category/africa_china/52635。
24 Zhu Jin（2010），‘中国和非洲建立农业纽带’，中国日报，8 月 12 日，
25 邓肯·弗里曼等（2008），‘中国农业外交政策：土地可以提供保障吗？’，布鲁塞尔当代中国研究所政策论文，第 3 卷，第 9 期，第 6 页。
被大量进口，进口量从十年前的微乎其微飙涨到 2011 年的 5260 万吨26。此外，中国进口的大豆中有 76%来自北美和拉美地区。因此，中国在拉美的农业投资几乎仅局限于大豆生产也就不足为奇了27。

据报道，中国企业在过去三年里在拉美地区的八项大型投资中有七项都集中于大豆生产。其中，阿根廷占有三项，其邻国巴西占有四项。几乎无一例外的是，这些都是由省级大型国有企业来投资的。其中，黑龙江北荒农垦集团和重庆粮食集团分别占有两个项目，浙江福地农业有限公司也在巴西合资兴建大豆种植基地。作为少数在拉美投资的私营公司农业企业之一，三河汇福粮油集团宣布了迄今为止最大的一笔交易——在巴西 Goais 州投资 75 亿美元用于大豆的生产、储存和运输，作为投资回报，三河汇福集团每年将生产出 600 万吨大豆，这一数量相当于 Goais 州 80%的大豆年产量。而北大荒集团的两个大豆项目均在阿根廷，各个价值可观，高达 15 亿美元。两个项目中的其中一项不仅仅局限于生产大豆，还生产小麦、玉米、水果，蔬菜以及葡萄酒，而另一个项目则仅专注于生产大豆。前者需要开垦一块 30 万公顷未耕土地和扩建一个港口。为了满足本地粮食需求，防止本地粮食价格上涨，北大荒集团仅出口满足本国需求量之外的过剩农产品，以此显示中国是本着负责任的态度来进行海外投资活动的。而重庆粮食集团在巴西投资的两个项目同样也涉及到大量的基础设施建设。其投资 5 亿美元来提升加工、储存和物流的能力，以在巴伊亚（Bahia）建立起一个大豆工业基地。

中国国内对粮食的需求，尤其是对大豆的需求，是促使中国在拉美地区投资农业生产的主要因素。然而，在被调查的项目当中，没有一家企业是单纯以收购土地为目的，然后将产出的农产品运回至国内。所有的项目都旨在提高生产力，改善基础设施以保证农产品的供给和品质。对于中国企业来说，改善粮食供给渠道十分重要。重庆粮食集团董事长就曾指出，如果进口商直接从生产商，而非从四大国际粮食贸易商那里进口农产品，就可以节省出五分之一的利润28。回到最开始提出的五个假说，中国在拉美投资农业的因素主要为假说四和五，即增加国际粮食供给以降低国际市场粮食价格，以及其他的商业目的，如获取更高的进口利润率。

中国在澳洲进行农业投资的动因

根据毕马威和悉尼大学中国研究中心收集的数据推测，在 2006 年 9 月至 2012 年 6 月期间，中国在澳农业投资约达五亿六千七百万澳元左右，其中 90%的投资都集中在新南威尔士州。29与在拉美地区的投资不同，中国在澳的投资形式成多样化，例如，股票收购、资本投资、私人土地购买，农业项目投标等等。而投资着眼于一系列农产品，如棉花，糖，葡萄酒以及乳制品。因此，先前提到的五个假说中的任何一个似乎都不能概括中国来澳投资农业的主要原因。事实上，仔细分析一些近期有关中国交易就会发现，其中许多因素都对中国在澳投资有着或多的影响。

例如，最近的一次有关中国在澳的交易：由山东如意集团操控的财团对库比棉花生产基地的收购。这次收购纯粹是出于商业目的以及提高国际市场的棉花供给量。这无论如何都不是出于粮食安全的考量：毕竟棉花是无法食用的，而且也不存在任何将农田改种其他产品的计划。另一桩潜在的交易与 2012 年 9 月的一份声明有关，在这份声明当中，中国最

26 Pumin，前文引证，4。
27 弗里曼，前文引证，25，第 7 页。
28 中国经济网（2011），‘重庆粮食集团有限责任公司（CGG）在巴西建立了黄豆基地’，11 月 24 日，http://china-wire.org/?p=17240。
具权力的财富基金--中国投资有限公司(中投公司)正就出资2亿澳元帮助塔斯马尼亚奶牛养殖场产量翻番进行磋商。这是中投公司第一次将目光投向农业投资上。而这项潜在投资的意义在于，中投在2007年成立时曾明确表示其公司的宗旨是通过投资优良的海外商业项目以降低中国外汇储备的风险。

中国农业中最大的国有企业--中粮集团于2011年5月收购了塔利糖业，以此进军澳洲市场。中粮集团驻澳总裁表示粮食安全是使国有企业进行海外投资的一个重要因素。然而，正如几乎所有投资农业领域的企业一样，其首要目标是出由于商业原因的扩大生产。这次收购的目的就是为了满足东南亚在预期中对糖的高需求。同时它也是出于转移知识和管理技能的考虑：澳洲的管理团队表明了他们的立场，而中粮集团也热衷于学习澳洲的工作方式以提升其在中国的蔗糖工厂的工作效率。

最后一个例子是上海光明食品集团将将近四亿澳元的价格收购玛纳森食品集团，这一案例被视为中国公司为获取外国品牌所做出的投资。玛纳森食品集团所拥有的品牌包括Sunbeam，Simon Johnson以及Golden Days。此外，光明副总裁表明要将这些产品大量投入国内市场，因为国外产品在中国消费者眼中意味着更高的安全标准，因此有助于定高价格。

结论

从中国在非洲，拉丁美洲以及澳大利亚的农业项目投资模式来看，将中国出于国内粮食安全的考虑归结为其企业选择“走出去”并进行海外投资的主要动机，显然是太过于简单化了。有证据显示，中国进行海外农业投资是出于一系列的动因，绝非仅为收购农场并将其产出的农产品运回至中国。

在中国，农业投资的一大动机是转移和交流知识、技术和管理技能，加大国际粮食供给从而降低其国际价格。在拉丁美洲，农业投资在很大程度上也是为了增加国际粮食的供给量，同时也是出于种种商业目的（例如更高的进口利润率），而中国企业在澳洲的农业投资所反映了一系列的动机，从获取外国品牌，到交流知识和管理技能，为中国的外汇储备寻求优良的投资目标，再到提高生产力以及由此而带来的国际市场上主要农产品供给的增加。

中国企业已表示愿意在其投资国家的政府部门所规定的框架内进行工作。然而，外国企业在农业投资上的参与程度取决于各个国家。对于澳洲而言，到2050年，在农业领域内的进一步投资能够使其经济额外增收1.7万亿澳元。因此，任何限制外国资本进入的立场都不利于两国长期的利益最大化。

最后，需要更为注意的是，尽管中国在海外农业投资的力度加大，其对于粮食安全的政策从未改变。北京仍将95%的粮食自给率定为其高远目标，对国内农业的资金投入也屡创新高。未来粮食安全仍将是领导人们所关心的重大问题，然而，简单地认为中国在海外进行农业生产是为了将其产出物运回至中国国内这种想法是错误且无益的。

30 马修·克兰斯顿(2011)，“中国蔗糖对手，得到Tully糖业的61%股份”，澳大利亚金融评论报，7月6日，http://www.afr.com/p/business/companies/china_canes_rivals_takes_pc_of_tully_AqprfWd61rxlwx1qQDSJfK。
31 茱莉-安史普拉格(2011)， “中粮集团有限公司（COFCO）努力完成交易”，澳大利亚金融评论报，7月7日，http://www.afr.com/p/business/companies/cofco_works_to_seal_the_deal_P5JUwkJBFZe2mEGVn07zJ。
Making the Perfect Baozi

制作完美的包子

Bowany Pugh 杨娇龙
SECTION III
OPINION ARTICLE
ENGLISH

第三部分
个人评论部分
英语类作品
Classical Chinese: The Usefulness of Uselessness

Thomas McConochie 马常思

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

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Classical Chinese (i.e. literary Chinese) is a good subject to take for students majoring in Mandarin Chinese or any other Chinese language at university. Being able to understand literary Chinese gives one access to more than 2000 years of Chinese literature. Through reading classical Chinese literature, students can come to appreciate Chinese philosophy, poetry and storytelling as it was originally expressed, without translation into modern languages such as Mandarin. Thus people learning Mandarin would do well to study classical Chinese.

For non-native speakers of modern Mandarin, learning classical Chinese is especially helpful with regards to more formal vocabulary and sentence patterns that have basically been ‘transferred’ from classical Chinese into vernacular Mandarin. For example, the construction ‘以…为…’, meaning ‘to treat (something) as (something in particular)’, which often appears in formal and especially written modern Chinese. Or the passive construction ‘为…所…’, meaning ‘to be (past-participle verb [at least in English]) by (the active party)’, which is occasionally used in modern Mandarin but appears frequently in classical Chinese. Having an understanding of classical Chinese also helps students understand the meaning of many Chinese ‘idioms’ (chengyu 成语) by making them familiar with the more complex vocabulary used in chengyu and capable of reading diangu 典故, the ancient tales from which chengyu are derived.

Some of the most commonly used chengyu, such as shou zhu dai tu 守株待兔 (standing by a stump waiting for more hares to come and dash themselves against it) – to wait idly for opportunities at the expense of one’s work), and even phrases that are not strictly chengyu, such as wan de buyilehu (having an awfully good time), san si er hou xing 三思而后行 (think again and again before acting) and ji lai zhi ze an zhi 既来之则安之 (you have come this far so may as well stick with it), have a diangu or have been modified from their original usages in philosophical works written using classical Chinese.1 Therefore there are many reasons why people learning Mandarin as a second language should want to learn and reap the benefits of knowing classical Chinese.

Unfortunately, many students of Mandarin are not interested in learning classical Chinese. I have made this observation from teaching undergraduate students at the Australian National University (ANU) who are undertaking Mandarin as part of a double major.2 When I tutored first-year ANU

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1 守株待兔 is from 《韩非子》〈五蠹〉. The modern usages of 玩得不亦乐乎, 三思而后行 and 既来之则安之 have all been modified from their original usages in Confucius’ The Analects (Lunyu 《论语》): I.1, 〈学而〉, V.20 〈公冶长〉, and XVI.1 〈季氏〉.

2 Most undergraduate students taking Mandarin at ANU are doing so as part of a double major. Combined majors in Law & Asian Studies (Chinese) and Economics & Asian Studies (Chinese) are quite popular. However, I have observed that most such students tend to have a ‘primary major’, such as law, and a ‘secondary major’ that is less important to them, usually Chinese studies and Mandarin.
students in elementary Mandarin in 2012, I encouraged my over sixty students to take classical Chinese classes from their second year. Most were not very attracted to the idea. They felt discouraged by how ‘hard’ classical Chinese seemed to them. They reasoned that they were only seeking to gain an ‘adequate’, ‘acceptable’, ‘passable’ or ‘functional’ command of modern Mandarin, which is ‘already hard enough’, and so there would be no point in attempting to learn the ‘even harder’ and much ‘less useful’ classical Chinese. Students further complained that not only is the vocabulary, grammar and content of texts written in classical Chinese harder than what they are willing to learn (though this point was not one they made explicitly), but having to learn full-form traditional Chinese characters makes the task that much harder still.

I have observed a degree of flippancy amongst university students whom I have tutored in Mandarin. These students reason that only modern Chinese written in simplified characters is worth knowing. I make a point of asking every one of my students why they are learning Mandarin, and the answer I often hear is ‘because it would be good to be able to speak some Chinese when I go to China on business’ or something similar to this effect. These students do not seem to understand that they can only gain a high level of proficiency in a foreign language if they actively use that language to learn the culture, customs, history, literature and expressive means of its people. One can never become truly proficient in a non-native language by merely using it as some kind of novel device for ‘getting by’ or for the superficial facilitation of business relations between companies A and B. I believe that such utilitarian goals should not be part of the motivation for undertaking a language major as a component of a bachelor’s degree. My experiences tutoring Mandarin left me wondering what it would take to get students with a Mandarin component of an Asian Studies major to want to attain a deeper level of proficiency in Mandarin and an understanding of Chinese culture. I have observed and tried to understand some of the issues causing the current situation in Chinese studies amongst beginner students.

There is a fallacy of relevance that exists amongst Chinese and non-Chinese people alike that ought to be dispelled: that Mandarin, or any other Chinese language, is ‘hard’ for a non-Asian person to learn. This fallacy has some evidently racist elements: a person’s skin colour has no bearing on his/her ability to learn any language. Rather it is the level of remoteness of relation between a person’s native language and the language he/she seeks to learn that most strongly influences whether the target language is initially ‘easy’ or ‘hard’. For example, Mandarin and English are very remote. The phonology and grammar are quite different and the writing systems are totally different. I am a native speaker of English, yet I have acquired some proficiency in Mandarin, which is far remoter from my mother tongue than, say, French. Yet the French language is much less intelligible to me than Mandarin, and when I hear people speaking French I often cannot even tell where words begin and end, whereas I do not have this difficulty with Mandarin and other Chinese languages such as Cantonese and Taiwanese. Hence, Chinese languages, even those which I cannot speak and do not understand, are clearer to me than a language more closely related to my native English. This goes against what I have observed to be people’s ‘common sense’, which holds that Asian languages like Mandarin are ‘hard’ and that European languages like French are ‘easy’. Ultimately, if a person wants to learn a foreign language well, he/she will put in the effort of studying, practicing and applying it in real life.

Speaking of ‘real life’, I can raise a pertinent example of when being able to understand classical Chinese was relevant to my own life in Taiwan. The brief exchange below occurred between my

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1 Though I have also taught a number of students whose motivations for learning Mandarin were much less utilitarian.

2 It is entirely possible for people to understand a language well but have limited proficiency in speaking it. Such is the case of Taiwanese (Southern Min) and Mandarin in Taiwan. On numerous occasions I have witnessed conversations between Taiwanese people where one party (usually an elderly person) speaks in Taiwanese and the other party (usually a younger person) speaks in Mandarin. Even though they speak in different languages, each party has a sufficient understanding of the language the other speaks such that effective communication can occur.
orchestra-mate and I whilst we were eating ‘lunchboxes’ (biandang 便当) before a performance at the National Concert Hall of Taiwan in 2011:

Friend: 你看得懂这种中文吗？
Do you understand this kind of Chinese?

Me: 我大概看得懂。
I basically do.

Friend: 看不懂没关系；我也看不懂。大部分台湾人都看不懂这种中文。
It’s okay if you don’t: I don’t understand it. Most Taiwanese people don’t understand this kind of Chinese.

The kind of Chinese that, according to my friend, most Taiwanese do not understand, was a maxim printed on the biandang chopstick packets pertaining to ‘having (literally: eating) the right kind of medicine’ (shi dui yao 食对药).

I surmise several things about the classical Chinese on the chopstick packet. Firstly, the biandang shop owners decided to make chopstick packets with a quote written in classical Chinese – which most Taiwanese people apparently cannot understand – to manufacture an aura of learnedness in order to help their business stand out from its competitors, impressing current customers and attracting new ones. Secondly, the maxim pertained to health and wellbeing, implying that the biandang shop owners care about their customers’ health and that their product is healthy. This is a fallacy of equivocation. The biandang shop owners imply that their product is ‘the right kind of medicine’ even though biandang is not medicine. Without being able to understand classical Chinese I would not have been able to comprehend or even read what was written on the chopstick packet, let alone make any conclusions about the meaning it represented. Hence, the ‘usefulness of uselessness’ served me well on this occasion.

In conclusion, I have been frustrated by university students’ dismissal of classical Chinese as ‘irrelevant’ to their degrees, or just ‘too hard’ or ‘uninteresting’. But perhaps we are just coming from different perspectives, and maybe I am just eccentric in my appreciation of the ‘usefulness of uselessness’ (wu yong zhi yong 无用之用) – in learning classical Chinese. Students just think there is no money in it. However, in the translation work that I have been undertaking, I regularly need to be able to translate from both Mandarin and classical Chinese into English. Therefore, financial benefits can accrue from being one of the few people to learn classical Chinese.

In recent years, the Australian government has been toting policies and predictions about the ‘Asian century’ and its intentions to increase ‘Asia literacy’ – whatever that means. However, as long as misguided attitudes persist about how ‘hard’ it is for non-Asian people to learn ‘difficult’ languages such as Mandarin, there can be no real ‘Asia literacy’ amongst Australians, or at least not as I understand the term; with a strong emphasis on language, writing and culture. I think that those of us involved in teaching tertiary Chinese need to do more to dispel the misguided notions that turn students off from studying different languages and cultures. Furthermore, we need to encourage students to embrace classical Chinese as a direct way of learning about Chinese philosophy, history, language and culture. My ruminations on a chopstick packet are a novel example of this ‘usefulness of uselessness’. As Zhuangzi 庄子 suggests to his friend Huizi 惠子, who did not understand the value of useless things, it is perhaps not unlike the enjoyment taken in floating merrily downstream on a big useless gourd.

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5 For a scholarly inquiry into this vagueness, see Kirrilee Hughes’ forthcoming PhD thesis: Australia’s Asia Literacy: Knowledge to Serve What Ends?, Australian National University, 2013.
6 This story occurs towards the end of the first chapter of Zhuangzi: 《庄子〈逍遥游〉》.
Asia in Australia’s Century

Matt Brent 博涛

Matt has had a long association with China, first moving to Beijing in 1994. Since then he has worked with an Australian mining industry supplier at their Chinese manufacturing base and as an Export Advisor with the Australian Industry Group. He is the founder of Eighth Bridge, a China consultancy. Matt has degrees in international business and international relations and has completed business and history subjects in Chinese at Nanjing University.

Perhaps the most widely recognisable symbol of this the ‘Asian Century’ is the skyline of Shanghai’s financial district. Asia is booming, a fact not merely borne out by the skyscrapers and newly minted airports, but by increasingly global Asian companies delivering an ever-widening range of goods and services to an expanding international market. In Australia we have made no secret of our intention to be part of this historically unprecedented shift in the balance of world economic and political power. Government and industry have taken significant steps to position Australia, our companies and our people for the unalterable reality of a rising Asia. Now is an opportune time to consider our progress – and what still lies ahead.

That there is significant room for improvement in foreign language proficiency and Asian cultural literacy in Australia is beyond debate. If much of the rhetoric is to be believed, these related skills hold the key to future Australian success. This was certainly an influential factor in my decision to leave a position I enjoyed at the Australian Industry Group in mid-2012 to move to China and develop my existing Mandarin skills to a professional level.

Recently I stood in a Shanghai meeting room of one of China’s largest legal firms, looking out over the construction site of China’s newest tallest building; Shanghai Tower. I was awaiting the arrival of one of the firm’s partners, who had been introduced to me by a mutual contact. As is common in China, the conversation started out with friendly small talk and self-introductions, then moved onto the capabilities of our firms, and finally – to my surprise and delight – a brainstorming session on potential opportunities for business in China, avenues for collaboration and offers of introductions to other people of interest. Such immediate progress is uncommon here, and to me the message was clear: building closer relationships more rapidly, establishing trust and making intentions clear are all areas in which a second language, such as Mandarin, excels.

As the meeting continued, we began to discuss potential Chinese clients. It was then that my friend inadvertently outlined a broader vision for a prosperous 21st century Australia:

Don’t make the mistake of thinking that just because you can speak Mandarin and understand how to be polite to people, that you will be able to win clients over people who don’t have your language skills. For corporate clients you need to provide them with goods or services that will improve their bottom line. For consumers you need to provide them with the things they want to buy or services they want to use. Finally you have to be better than competitors who are offering something similar. Your Mandarin helps you get in the door, but once in you need something to say.

And there it was.

I can think of no better guiding statement for Australia in the Asian Century. For all the unique and unprecedented challenges the Asian Century will present to Australia, the overwhelming majority are still ours to shape in a manner made familiar since Federation. Any responsible discussion
around the benefits of a multilingual, Asia-literate workforce is incomplete without also understanding the limitations of what such skills can achieve.

Bill Clinton’s “It’s the economy, stupid” is now Politics 101. We should look at the coming decades through this prism to determine our readiness. We must be competitive with the rising economies to our north in areas that we excel at, and deliver services and products that people overseas want to buy in order to balance the increasing volume of products we wish to buy from them. It is only on this solid economic foundation that we can afford Asian language scholarships, increased presence in the region and high-level exchanges of talented professionals. These things are the cultural and linguistic icing to our sound economic cake.

To realise our dream of an Australia tied to an economically powerful Asia we need an innovative, competitive and high value-added private sector, whose performance will determine the areas in which we excel, operating within a sensibly managed and reformed regulatory and economic environment.

By no means an exhaustive list, the items below are of special importance to Australia in meeting the Asian Century challenge:

**Political System Reform**

Our political system is the keystone of our broader economy – its stability and effectiveness whilst undertaking difficult but necessary reforms will do more to determine our fate than any other factor.

Perhaps the key example is tax. Efficient taxation that makes rent-seeking more difficult and expensive, while encouraging innovation, creativity and entrepreneurship, would lead to the development of products people in Asia want and can increasingly pay for. Hiring a multilingual sales person, developing a market entry plan and getting a webpage translated is the easy part to be done only once an innovative value proposition has been established and proven. Nothing is certain but death and taxes, and our political system is the only institution capable of tackling these and other difficult and controversial, but in the end unavoidable, issues.

The hallmarks of our system – transparency, accountability, separation of powers, debate and freedom of speech – should be maintained and strengthened where required so as to best respond to the challenges of the Asian Century. There is broad consensus surrounding the need to reform how we fund political parties and that would be a great place to start.

**Fiscal Management**

We must balance the budget over the economic cycle. Any unavoidable debt burden should focus solely on productive investment that will pay long-term dividends. Australia, like many countries in our region, will only be getting older as the century progresses. Some countries have borrowed heavily to sustain spending they could not afford in the long term, particularly in the face of aging demographics. We would be unwise to follow suit and will want to save money from our next boom, when it comes. The history of economics has taught us nothing if not that the next rainy day is always coming.

**Foreign Investment**

Australia’s comparatively high levels of foreign investment can be largely attributed to an independent legal system that respects private property, a relatively stable investment environment and higher levels of return on investment compared to other countries. A competitive, stable and
non-discriminatory investment environment complemented by a robust economy will do more to attract investment than any other measure. We should not naïvely accept that any foreign investment is good investment, but must continually investigate and debate ways to become a more attractive investment destination.

**Infrastructure**

In Asia, China has done an exceptional job of building and continuously expanding its network of world-class infrastructure. In a country where many leading politicians have engineering backgrounds, this is hardly surprising. Given Australia’s population and size, imitating Chinese, European or Japanese-style infrastructure is unrealistic. But the expectation that government will maximise productivity gains through infrastructure spending is not. The independence of the Reserve Bank in setting interest rates offers a possible model of how to determine infrastructure spending free from political considerations.

**Language**

As with other areas of excellence, languages require time and determination to master. Former Prime Minister and renowned Mandarin speaker Kevin Rudd has said of our Asian language dilemma – “[Students] need to know there is a career path for them”.

In Australia, when entering the job market for the first time a language has traditionally been an inferior investment of time and money compared to a professional degree. Some of the most successful Australians in China only speak basic Mandarin, as cultural understanding and curiosity can go a long way, and many people in China are better off focusing on their unique talent rather than spending the requisite time mastering the language.

Though languages will increasingly become a logical choice for more students. Market mechanisms will hold true in the Asian Century but they have not kicked in yet. Our continuing inability to increase the number of Australians fluent in Asian languages is a mere function of this reality. Government policy to proactively improve our skills in this area, until the market impetus to do so becomes more apparent, is wise. Asia is changing fast, but languages take time to learn.

**Multiculturalism**

Recently in Nanjing, the capital of Victoria’s sister province in China, Jiangsu, I watched a Tourism Australia advertisement on a building-sized television screen in the bustling CBD. I recall thinking what an effective piece of advertising it was for Australia.

Not all advertising is so positive or expensive though. Western colonisation, described in China as a ‘century of humiliation’, remains a potent source of resentment in many of Asia’s proud societies. Despite ongoing efforts by the government to paint Australia as an Asian nation, that is not how we are perceived by a majority of people across the many countries of this diverse continent. Against this historical backdrop, racially motivated assaults and the use of derogatory language to insult or humiliate people of Asian heritage in Australia often attract widespread attention and media coverage in Asia. At home, we risk alienating the very people in our society best equipped to help us navigate the Asian Century – our valuable and well-educated immigrants.

Racism is a global phenomenon that no country can lay claim to having fully overcome. We should be aware that this sensitive and often sensationalised issue presents a unique challenge to Australia as we strive to become an accepted member of Asia, in spite of our tumultuous history together.
The Asian Century

Australia’s success in the Asian Century is not assured. When countries make mistakes the resulting damage may take decades to repair as competitive strengths are surrendered to other more capable challengers. But for most countries and most mistakes, these situations can be avoided with better governance and smarter policy. What Asia will look like in the coming decades is difficult to reliably predict and for a country of Australia’s size even harder to influence. We are fortunate that the choices that will most influence our performance in the coming years are ours to make.

Is Australia ready for the Asian century? It is difficult to know. What is clear, however, is that the answer lies not in Beijing, Jakarta or Delhi, but in the heated debates of the Australian Parliament House, the brilliance and creativity of our people, and the success of our companies competing in areas in which we excel.
Can Chinese Consumer Brands Have Global Influence?

Timothy Coghlan 高靖峰

Timothy Coghlan is an expert in and leading influencer on the fashion and luxury retail business in China and makes a living advising the world’s most iconic designer brands on their China entry, expansion and retail strategies. He is also Founder of the Australia-China Fashion Alliance project, which utilises ‘catwalk diplomacy’ to promote Australian designers and facilitate cultural exchanges with China. In whatever spare time he has left he blogs about his observations of the fashion business on his website maosuit.com.

These days it is impossible to ignore China’s growing sphere of influence. Everyday, the media is full of reports of China’s ascendancy to global market dominance as the world’s number one market for minerals, mobile phones or Mercedes-Benz. Similar stories tell of China’s construction of the world’s largest dam, airport and high-speed railway network – testament to China’s extensive technological and economic capabilities.

With China’s newfound status, prominent business and political figures are increasingly frequenting Chinese cities such as Beijing, Shanghai and Guangzhou, all eager to pay tribute, reinforce their interests and stay relevant. One need only look at the constant series of national flags displayed in Tiananmen Square to know which country’s leaders are in town, or lurk in the lobby of Beijing’s Park Hyatt Hotel to witness Fortune 500 CEOs rushing through.

Each nation has its own unique collection of animals, architecture, brands, cuisine, natural wonders and ways of life it is identified with by the rest of the world. Whether it is the Great Wall of China or the Grand Canyon, pandas or eagles, rice or burgers, certain things can come to represent a country and its culture.

Besides military power and economic size, a country’s influence in the world can also be considered from the perspective of its national products and brands that are internationally respected as ‘best in class’. For instance, France is known for fashion and wine, Japan for cars and electronics, and the USA for a spectrum of consumer products ranging from iPhones to Coca-Cola to Nike sneakers.

Despite being a great power capable of influencing the global economic and political climate, China is probably still better known abroad for communism, Kung-Fu and dim sum, rather than for any leading brands or consumer products.

According to American author, entrepreneur, marketer and internationally recognised branding expert Seth Godin;

\[ A \text{ brand is the set of expectations, memories, stories and relationships that, taken together, account for a consumer’s decision to choose one product or service over another. If the consumer doesn’t pay a premium, make a selection or spread the word, then no brand value exists for that consumer.} \]

Without a doubt, ‘made in China’ products are found in most households worldwide, but yet products (or services) purchased specifically because they are of Chinese origin, a Chinese brand,
or espouse Chinese values, are few and far between. Would you recommend a Chinese airline, car, hotel chain, liquor, mobile phone or shoe brand to your friends?

**Brand Building in Historical Context**

To put things in perspective, it is important to first consider the context in which the world’s leading brands emerged. While many modern day brands were founded well over a hundred years ago, ‘brands’ and the marketing and ‘branding’ of them in the developed world only emerged in the second half of the twentieth century, and is continuing to evolve to this day.

During this time, the People’s Republic of China was a young nation experiencing the tumultuous era of Maoism, the Great Leap Forward, and the Cultural Revolution. People had higher priorities in life than choosing their favourite labels. While the West was developing logos and jingles for the hippest sneakers and slacks, the Chinese were limited to a blue, black or khaki ‘Mao suit’. Commercial brands did not exist.

After opening up its economy in 1978 and joining the World Trade Organisation in 2001, China began to develop its own companies whilst relaxing the rules for foreign businesses entering China. Fast-forward to 2013, and Chinese consumers have well and truly embraced both domestic and international consumer products, with branded goods being one of the highest growing sectors of the retail economy.

Today, the domestic growth opportunities for Chinese brands are a major factor delaying their expansion overseas. With 1.3 billion consumers to target and GDP growth still at over seven percent in 2013, many Chinese brands simply do not need to chase profits overseas because they have yet to exhaust domestic growth opportunities.

**International Performance of Chinese Brands**

It is not that Chinese companies are not active overseas – they most certainly are – it is just that, to date, Chinese brands have not had a positive impact on international consumers.

In 2012, international marketing agency JWT conducted a global survey of attitudes towards a variety of Chinese things, including Chinese brands. Measured by their impact value and effect, Chinese brands performed poorly and were generally perceived negatively.²

The study highlighted that Chinese products are regarded as low quality, mass-produced, and lacking in innovation and design. Moreover, many considered Chinese brands to be either counterfeited or unsafe. Worse still, a not insignificant proportion of respondents could not identify any Chinese companies or brands at all.³

Due to rising living standards, even domestic Chinese consumers are opting for international over local brands in numerous product categories due to quality perceptions and safety concerns.⁴ A case in point is the tainted milk powder scandal in China in 2008, which involved the death of several infants and led to a skyrocketing of Chinese demand for foreign milk powder.

³ Ibid.
Each year, international branding agency Milward Brown compiles a report on the world’s most valuable brands, taking into account over 10,000 makes and amassing quantitative data from over two million consumers worldwide.\(^5\)

Somewhat surprisingly, in 2013 there were twelve Chinese brands that performed well enough to feature in the top 100 most valuable global brands. China Mobile was the highest-ranked Chinese brand, coming in 10\(^{th}\). Technology companies Tencent and Baidu ranked 21\(^{st}\) and 33\(^{rd}\) respectively. Four banks, two insurance companies, two oil companies, and Maotai – China’s most famous liquor – were the other Chinese brands to make the cut.\(^6\)

What stands out about the Chinese brands on the list is that none of them are household names outside of China. Other names featured on the list include brands like Apple, Colgate, FedEx, Google and Nissan – all of which are widely recognised across the world.

But many Chinese companies specifically seek to influence Chinese rather than international consumers.

**Chinese Brands’ Overseas Activities Aimed at Chinese**

The business models of airlines, banks and oil companies all demand operations spanning across several international borders, and Chinese companies in these areas are globally active. Yet for other sectors the motivations for international activity are varied and not necessarily targeted at citizens of host countries abroad.

The massive Chinese diaspora, combined with ever increasing numbers of Mainland Chinese tourists travelling overseas, have given Chinese brands cause to conduct advertising and marketing campaigns outside of China, but with the almost sole aim of generating sales back home in China.

Sometimes this is plain to see. In late 2012, every passenger disembarking at Sydney’s Kingsford Smith Airport was greeted by a prominent series of enormous billboards advertising Maotai, Air China and Bank of China. This rapid-fire succession of Sino-centric advertisements had a significantly greater impact than subsequent billboards showing Rolex watches and Dior perfume.

While it is perhaps possible to surmise that Air China and Bank of China were trying to target Australians who travel often or require international financial services with a China focus, the Maotai advertisement is definitely more perplexing. Australia may be ‘pivoting’ towards Asia, but it is absurd to think that Australians will soon put down their beloved beers and bourbons in favour of a Chinese liquor that most Westerners deem utterly undrinkable. So why the billboard?

A seemingly logical explanation is that the Maotai billboard is there to target inbound Chinese tourists, who will see an advertisement for their country’s favourite liquor in Australia and think something along the lines of, ‘Wow, Maotai is here too, it really is an impressive product’. Upon returning to China, they are then more likely to purchase Maotai.

Similar scenes are appearing at airports and major destinations for Chinese tourists around the world. International travellers exiting Buenos Aires’ Ministro Pistarini Airport in February 2013 were warmly welcomed to Argentina by an oversized advertisement for the Industrial and Commercial Bank of China!

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\(^6\) Ibid.
With Chinese international tourist numbers increasing rapidly, Lewis Leo of *The Times* has described China’s new middle class as “on their way to becoming the most powerful social bloc on the planet”. As such, Chinese brands should continue to increase their international advertising into the foreseeable future.

**Chinese Brands’ Overseas Activities Aimed at Capturing New Markets**

However, some Chinese brands are expanding their overseas activities in an attempt to develop market share and generate profits abroad. The Chinese brand leading this charge is electronics maker Lenovo.

According to the June Asia-Pacific edition of *Fortune Magazine*, Lenovo is set to become the world’s number one PC maker this year, and has its sights set on the global smartphone and tablet markets currently dominated by Apple and Samsung. By adopting an international mindset, implementing Western management practices and even doing product placements in Hollywood movies such as *Transformers*, Lenovo may well become China’s first truly international consumer brand.

However, in the technology sector Lenovo also face competition from fellow Chinese brands such as Hisense. In Australia, Hisense television sets are becoming popular and the brand is a naming sponsor of the Melbourne Tennis Centre, home of the Australian Open. But is yet to be determined exactly how many Australians recognise the Hisense brand or know it is Chinese.

In 2009, China’s biggest sports brand, Li-Ning, tried to take on the US sneaker market by setting up an office in Nike’s hometown of Portland and sponsoring big name NBA players such as Dwayne Wade. But despite big marketing spend, Li-Ning made the fundamental mistake of not having a locally customised product design, and American consumers did not start abandoning Nike or Adidas in favour of Li-Ning.

Interestingly enough, Li-Ning was at it again during the 2012 London Olympics with the company logo appearing not only on the jerseys of Chinese sports teams but also those of many other countries, including the Spanish men’s basketball team that reached the gold medal playoff. The question remains though as to whether this sponsorship exercise was aimed at a global audience (who probably would not even recognise the logo) or was undertaken to gain face in China and instil into Chinese audiences the message that Li-Ning is a respectable brand with global reach.

The boldest international move made by a Chinese fashion company so far was in 2011 when down jacket brand Bosideng bought prime real estate in London’s Oxford Street and opened a massive flagship store nestled amongst the world’s most iconic fashion houses. It is still too early to tell whether or not this venture will be a commercial success – with the Chinese government rumoured to be providing financial support to the store – but it will serve as a benchmark and case study for research and feedback on how to build a branded China around the world.

**Chinese Companies’ Acquisitions of International Brands and Overseas Investments**

One vehicle through which Chinese companies have expanded overseas has been through investments in and acquisitions of existing foreign brands and companies. Although costly, by

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choosing this method a Chinese company gains immediate access to foreign markets and absorbs existing expertise, personnel, intellectual property (IP) and trademarks.

Headline-making deals of this nature include Geely’s 2009 purchase of Volvo, Li & Fung’s acquisition of British tailoring brand Gieves & Hawkes in 2012 and Wanda’s purchase of Sunseeker Yachts this June. Part of Lenovo’s success also came from the acquisition of IBM’s Think Pad laptop brand back in 2005.

In the same realm are Chinese entrepreneurs and companies taking significant investment stakes in other industry sectors such as wineries in the Bordeaux region of France and cotton and wool farms such as Cubby Station in Queensland. These are seen as ways for Chinese companies to secure their supply chains and vertically integrate their business operations.

However, accompanying the rise of Chinese foreign investment, the people of many countries are becoming increasingly concerned about a supposed growing Chinese influence on domestic affairs brought about by Chinese ownership of land and food supplies and Chinese control over infrastructure and telecommunications. In the USA and Australia, Chinese telecom giant Huawei has been denied market access due to fears that it is connected to the Chinese military and thus a national security threat.

Perhaps Huawei felt that soft power diplomacy was required to foster better relations with Australian politicians, as it now sponsors the Canberra Raiders rugby league team.

**Roadblocks and the Future of Chinese Brands’ International Expansion**

If China is to be successful in the long-term conquest of overseas markets with its consumer brands, there are fundamental structural issues that must be addressed.

The JWT report into Chinese brands identified Chinese management styles as a major hindrance to overseas operations. Cultural norms of business in China, such as strictly hierarchical decision-making procedures and establishing friendships with local governments to facilitate business development, simply do not apply so well in other countries. This can leave Chinese companies floundering in unknown waters when trying to get their brand image right in foreign markets.

Another crucial element that international companies and retailers build their brands around is a product’s ‘cool factor’, trendiness and sex appeal. This is particularly true in sectors such as fashion, automobiles, electronics and alcoholic beverages, where the final determinant of a purchase may well be how one’s peers perceive the brand.

Considering that setting design trends requires high levels of creativity and innovative thinking, it is perhaps no wonder that China is yet to become a global leader in any of these ‘cool-heavy’ product categories. One need only look at China’s education system and career values to understand why.

China’s rote-learning and exam-based education system does not encourage creativity and indeed almost consciously sets out to destroy and punish it. It also does not help that Chinese parents prefer their children to pursue ‘serious’ professions such as finance, law and medicine, rather than creative disciplines such as fashion design.

Now that China’s economy is maturing from being investment-and-export to consumer based, its next phase and challenge is to move up the value chain away from cheap manufacturing to

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9 Baladi et al, op cit, 2.
producing value-added products and services. This will require a shift in thinking away from ‘made in China’ to ‘designed in China’, and will not come easily.

Another major issue is products being ‘copied in China’, with a proliferation of counterfeit goods and poor IP protection in China discouraging domestic innovation and severely tarnishing China’s design and product development reputation.

But it is not all bad news. The Chinese are certainly able to innovate and throughout history things such as paper, printing, gunpowder and even the compass have all been invented in China. In recent years, China’s tech sector has been praised for its inventive web platforms such as Weibo and applications such as WeChat. Who knows, maybe the next Steve Jobs will be Chinese!\(^\text{10}\)

So there is hope yet that China will create remarkable brands that excite consumers enough to recommend to their friends. China, the world is waiting!

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White Responses to Asian ‘Invasions’: An Analysis of Asian Immigrants’ Influence in Furthering Australian Peoplehood

李旻 Erica Lee

Erica Lee is a postgraduate student of the Australian Studies Centre at Beijing Foreign Studies University (BFSU). Her research areas are the history of Australian nationalism, the history of Chinese immigrants in Australia and cross-cultural communication. The Australian Studies Centre at BFSU, established in 1983, was one of the first of such centres in China and initiated the establishment of the national Chinese Australian Studies Association.

The influence of Asia and the fear of Asia both have deep roots in Australian history. As social critic Donald Horne noted in his seminal work The Lucky Country, “the lumping of all Asians together” to manufacture an eternal threat can be dated “well before the arrival of communism” back all the way to the gold rushes. Whilst definitely far more muted today, that such fears are still present in Australian contemporary society is evident in the rhetoric and moderate electoral presence of nationalist groups such as Pauline Hanson’s One Nation Party, as well as racial undercurrents running through some streams of the national asylum seeker debate. Before the gold rushes, relationships between European immigrants had naturally been clarified according to birthplace and social status back in Europe. But an inner cohesiveness between disparate groups of Europeans in Australia gradually came into being in response to the arrival of 40,000 Chinese gold diggers during the 1850s and 1860s, and the gradual arrival of Japanese pearl divers up to the 1890s. During this period of Occident-Orient contact, the white ruling and working classes of Australia gradually developed a conception of the need to control the influx of Asian immigrants. Intolerance and xenophobia towards Asian immigrants prevailed. Time and time again, violent anti-Chinese riots brought European workers together as a ‘we’ who tried ‘our’ best to teach ‘them’ a lesson. Some of the worst anti-Chinese rioting took place at the Lambing Flat goldfields in 1860-61. Enraged mobs hoisted patriotic flags and ejected over 500 Chinese from their camp, who “had their properties plundered or destroyed”.

Such occurrences beg the question of whether Asian immigrants influenced the sense of an ‘Australian’ peoplehood amongst early European settlers in Australia. This article focuses upon the history of Australia related to Asian immigration between the 1850s and World War I, arguing that Asian immigrants (and especially the Chinese) served as a powerful agent in increasing the sense of Australian peoplehood because they served as an ‘other’ against which settlers of diverse European ancestries were able to define themselves together in opposition to. Studying how European colonialists responded to Asian immigration can refresh our knowledge of the evolution of the Australian citizenry and from historical analysis we can understand how the Chinese and ‘Asians’

2 Gothard, Jan et al (eds.) (2003), Legacies of White Australia: Race, Culture and Nation, Crawley: University of Western Australia Press, pp. 21-22.
were perceived, and why some such attitudes still linger today. The following discussion will be divided into four parts to further analyse the various ‘threats’ that European settlers determined or imagined were posed by Asian immigration.

**Economic ‘Threat’**

The mass arrival of Chinese workers to Australia in the 1850s aroused the fear in white settlers that the industrious Chinese would take their jobs and threaten their small businesses, and so collective measures were taken to ‘threaten’ Chinese back. The first such anxieties and prejudices originated in the mining fields of the 1850s and 1860s, when the majority of the Chinese in Australia lived and worked in the goldfields. However, the vast majority of Chinese who came to Australia did so as sojourners with the intention of later returning home to their families laden with riches.⁴ Although many European ‘diggers’ had the same intention, the Chinese were criticised for hoarding their gold to take back to China rather than investing it in Australia. Chinese immigrants also began to see many other opportunities to become prosperous, and worked odd jobs around the diggings such as washing clothes, selling homegrown vegetables, opening eating houses and selling herbal medicines.⁵ Still, European miners treated the Chinese as a group of ‘outsiders’ who did not join them in their struggles but separately and ‘secretly’ dug the gold and wealth out of Australia. This was especially caused by the fact that Chinese were so easily identifiable by their appearance. After most of the easily extracted alluvial deposits in the goldfields had been exploited and the gold rush began to decline, white diggers were aggravated further by Chinese who came to work over areas that European miners had left behind. Meticulous work often unearthed rich sums of gold left undiscovered on these leftover claims. Complaints and petty violence around such complaints eventually evolved into organised anti-Chinese riots. The press in the goldfields began to echo the white diggers’ fears and *The Age* even labeled the Chinese an “invading army”.⁶

From the late 1860s until the 1890s, Europeans began to feel threatened by Chinese competition for employment, as whilst the winding down of the gold rush saw many Chinese returning home, many also stayed in Australia and began to move out of mining into other occupations, such as operating market gardens, restaurants and laundries, and gradually forming perceptible urban communities. Subsequently, fears regarding ‘Oriental’ immigration began to come less from mining areas and more from the cities, the common complaint being that Asian workers (mainly Chinese) worked too hard for too little pay, ‘unfairly’ depressing wage rates and undermining the living standards of true ‘Australians’. Moreover, small employers, business people and manufacturers also felt threatened by the Chinese as successful entrepreneurs. For instance, Chinese craftsmen in the furniture trade adopted mass production techniques to provide cheap furniture affordable to the working masses, proving fierce competition against the more expensive products of trained British craftspeople. This resentment coalesced into organised anti-Chinese movements led by groups such as the Progressive Society of Carpenters and Joiners and the Trades and Labour Council. White settlers were further angered when Japanese immigrated to northern Australia in the 1890s to work in the pearl diving industry. They arrived in the midst of the Australian depression of the 1890s, a time when white

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⁶ Ibid.
migrants were especially concerned about job security. A plethora of Anti-Asian strikes and petitions for promulgating strict laws forbidding the mass arrival of Asian immigrants stirred the Victorian Parliament into passing the ‘Act to make Provision for Certain Immigrants’, limiting Chinese entry to Victorian goldfields by imposing an £10 per person entry tax on the number of Chinese a ship’s captain could bring into the colony, as well as limiting Chinese arrivals to one for every ten tons of vessel.\(^7\) Labour laws were introduced that required all furniture made by Chinese hands to be stamped ‘Asian Labour Only’ in order to protect the ‘prestige’ of European tradespeople.\(^8\) Big companies were afraid and troubled by masses of angry white workers, whose protests prevented mining firms such as the Clunes Company from employing Chinese labourers. Capitalists began to “accept the idea of a White Australia”\(^9\).

**Cultural Incompatibility**

Distinct cultural differences with Chinese immigrants challenged Europeans’ conceptions of Australian life and may have been a cause for further emphasis on a ‘White Australia’ national identity. That is to say, there was profound ignorance about Chinese culture and customs. The appearance of the Chinese, with their ‘pigtails’ and unfamiliar clothes, and their habits of going barefoot and carrying loads balanced with bamboo poles, made them a natural target for animosity amongst the European colonialists of both the working and ruling classes. This was magnified through popular news articles, stories and illustrations. On the Chinese side, most did not understand the English language or European culture, customs and habits either. They usually worked together instead of mixing with the general population of the goldfields. The Chinese person’s individual identity was secondary to the identity and needs of their family and ancestral lineage.\(^10\) On arrival in Australia, members of the same clan would band together for the purpose of mutual assistance, but just as much for mutual protection. This segregation meant that European miners were seldom exposed to Chinese people or culture, leading many to see the Chinese as “amorphous hordes” easily capable of overrunning the white settlers.\(^11\) Compounding this, the majority of working class white labourers were poorly educated, semi-literate or illiterate. So it was difficult to create communication and friendship between the two different ethnic-cultural groups. Taoist or Buddhist devotional acts also served to confirm for many Europeans their conception of the Chinese as “heathens”, “idol worshippers” and “godless monsters”, who could never be absorbed into a Christian community.\(^12\) Thus many Chinese folk temples were attacked and desecrated.

The then Victorian Premier Duncan Gillies made a comparison between Chinese and European immigrants – Europeans of different nations were “more easily amalgamated with the general population, with their habits of life, religions and morals blending more quickly with the

\(^7\) Ibid.
\(^9\) Sydenham & Thomas, op cit, 7.
\(^10\) Ibid.
\(^11\) Ibid.
\(^12\) Ibid.
mainstream population”. Thus it can be seen that cultural differences between the Oriental and Occidental furthered the consciousness of an Australia peoplehood, and specifically a ‘White Australia’ identity distinguished from ‘Asian’ culture.

**Moral ‘Degradation’**

White settlers often expressed concern about the moral ‘degradation’ ‘caused’ by the all-male Chinese immigrant communities. Publications like the *Bathurst Free Press* and *Boomerang* ran commentaries and illustrations on the ‘moral decay’ of the Chinese: “they are as a semi-savage race, contemptible and barbarous, they would degrade the morals of the European population.” Stereotypes depicted Chinese as a “curse to the country, a beastly immoral lot of liars, thieves, and in several instances murders and rapists.” A trade union leader stated: “It is well known that the presence of Chinese in large numbers in any community has a very bad moral tendency.” The Chinese were particularly despised for introducing the habit of opium smoking and novel forms of gambling such as *fantan* (番摊) to Victoria. The ‘social evils’ of opium became increasingly documented during this period, but at a time when alcohol was widely consumed by white settlers. European diggers also suspected Chinese workers of all manner of underhand practices. On the goldfields, Chinese were accused of dishonest commercial tactics. A serial illustration claimed that Chinese immigrants faked dingo tails and dingo furs to sell at exploitative prices.

Fear was often expressed that the ‘vice’ of Chinese men would easily corrupt white women. Illustrations depicted Chinese males as rapists and whoremasters, or showed the ruination of white women at the hands of unscrupulous Chinese landlords. A story called *The Big Five*, serialised in the famously anti-Asian magazine *Lone Hand*, portrayed the female protagonist Lady Trevor as rebellious but once captured by the Chinese ‘destined for subjection and the harem’.

**Defence**

Asian immigration to some extent led to a consciousness amongst white Australians of vulnerability to ‘attack’ from Asia, especially in northern and coastal Australia. Australia did not commence systematic academic research on Asia until around the 1940s, when the threat of invasion came closest to realisation with Japanese bombings of northern Australia and submarine attacks in Sydney Harbour, but the notion of an ‘Asian invasion’ existed well beforehand and derived mainly from the deep fears and excessive imagination of European colonialists, who began to feel that their proximity to the populous nations of Asia constituted a security threat. This deep-rooted

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14 Horne, op cit, 1, pp. 21-22.


16 Ibid, p. 57.


fear of being ‘invaded’ by Orientals from the ‘empty north’ of Australia and its unguarded coastline formed the base of many anti-Chinese and broader anti-Oriental sentiments over the 19th to early 20th centuries. By 1879, there were 3,400 Chinese in the Northern Territory (then governed from South Australia), outnumbering Europeans by seven to one. They “dominated” almost every aspect of the Territory’s economic life and politicians from the four eastern colonies “became alarmed at the prospect of a Chinese-dominated north.”19 Such attitudes were lent credence by claims that resistance was impossible and the fate of the European settlers was “as a weak and defeated people dominated by one or other Asian nation.”20 In 1887, a Chinese commission was sent to investigate the condition of Chinese people living in Australia, which led to “hysterical discussion of the dangers to be apprehended from a resurgent China”.21 The issue of Chinese immigration became its own dynamic, as the direct involvement of China itself was seen as a sign of the increasing confidence of the Chinese empire. The fear of Asian invasion progressed up to the inter-colonial or ‘national’ level. In June 1888, representatives of the six Australian colonial governments met at a conference in Sydney and all (except Tasmania) agreed for the first time on a national policy of racial exclusion, in response to what they perceived to be a major crisis of Chinese immigration.

Driven by the fear of Asian invasion, the myths of white Australians – bush-centric white masculinity standing against the Asian threat – were gradually configured and idealised during the pre- and immediate post-Federation periods by the general population, the media and politicians. Fiction like How We Lost Australia (1888) and The Yellow Wave: A Romance of the Asiatic Invasion of Australia (1895) lavished praise on bush dwellers. The serial The Commonwealth Crisis (1908) described the ideal type of Australian: “Far removed from the law-bewitched nerve-centres of population, there lived a more aggressive type of Australian...They felt that nothing less was expected of them than the extermination of the invaders.”22 Frank Fox, editor of Lone Hand, stated that the bushman “is the backbone of resistance which the White Man will make to any flow of Asia along the Pacific littoral.”23

White responses to the process of white-Asian contact during the gold rushes up until post-Federation served as a powerful agent in furthering the sense of an ‘Australian’ peoplehood and thus an Australian nation, with its own cultural myths such as the masculine bushman aggressively defending his land against alien invasion. European colonialists felt the need for ethnic cohesion in distinction from the Oriental other as Asian immigrants were perceived as a common and more obviously distinct ‘external threat’ to the continent’s economic, cultural, moral and defensive strength.

19 Walker, op cit, 17, p. 404.
20 Horne, op cit, 1, p. 37.
21 Ng, op cit, 7, p. 15.
22 Kirmess, Charles H. (1908), The Commonwealth Crisis, Melbourne: Thomas Lothian, pp. 144-147.
23 Fox, Frank (1912), Problems of the Pacific, London: Williams & Norgate, p. 60.
Australia and China: A Geographical Comparison of Chinese Cuisine

Bowany Pugh 杨娇龙

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Speak to the typical Australian and they will undoubtedly tell you that Chinese food is, well, Chinese food. In Australia, Chinese food tends to be perceived as a singular cuisine, just like Thai, Indian or Italian. But we are missing the regional subtleties and nuances of a cuisine that can hardly be viewed as possessing any kind of uniformity. China is the largest country in the world, with 9.7 million square kilometres, 56 ethnic groups, and countless regional dialects. Once a typical Australian becomes a typical Australian-traveller-in-China, treasured childhood memories of sweet and sour pork served with a bowl of peas-and-corn dotted fried rice are fundamentally challenged, and Chinese cuisine is discovered to be one of the richest and most diverse experiences life will throw at you. This is the story of my culinary journey across China; one that began in Kunming in Yunnan province and took me up to Harbin in northeast China before coming back down the coast to Shanghai.

It is often said that Yunnan is the most ethnically diverse region in China. Kunming, its capital, is the economic, communications and cultural centre. To dine in Kunming is to indulge in the refined traditions of a medley of ethnic minority groups. You can order just about anything, from chilli chicken or fragrant tofu dishes to fried pigeon and bullfrog dumplings. I came across a quaint local hotspot while wandering along Xiba Road and yielded to the insistence of a waiter to try the Hui ethnic specialty ‘sweet and sour grape fish’ (tangcu putaoyu 糖醋葡萄鱼). The fish was filleted, scored in a criss-cross pattern, and seasoned in tapioca starch before being fried. When the fillets rest they curl back on themselves and reveal a careful assemblage of beaded flesh that resembles – you might have guessed it already – a bunch of grapes. Topped with a generous douse of sweet and sour sauce and a sprinkle of fresh coriander, the dish is spicy, fresh, moist and sweet; a welcome change from the stodgy ‘sweet and sour’ Chinese food back home.

Take a step outside Kunming and Yunnan is an ever more expansive example of true Chinese diversity. The ‘hot and sour fish’ (suanlayu 酸辣鱼) of the Bai people in Dali is served in a ceramic vessel filled with a soupy broth and chunks of silken tofu, shallots and garlic chives. Bamboo bugs (zhuchong 竹虫) seem to be popular throughout the province. These witchetty-grub-looking creatures are served with a special flair in each different location. In Dali they resemble a nice warm packet of salt and vinegar chips, while a seven-hour bus ride away in the city of Tengchong the vinegar is replaced with a scattering of dried chillies. One of the biggest culinary surprises in Yunnan, however, is the local love for cheese. Most Australians and indeed most Chinese would not associate ‘Chinese food’ with cheese, but the Bai and Sani people of Yunnan pride themselves on their pan-fried goat cheese.

Take a coach north and you will enter the province of Sichuan, known for its especial appreciation of spicy food. Sydney actually boasts a decent selection of restaurants dedicated to the Sichuan palate, all of which prominently promote their distinguishing feature: chilli! But a trip to the Red Chilli Sichuan Restaurant in Darling Harbour or the Spicy Sichuan Restaurant on Glebe Point Road will not prepare you for the complexity of flavours available in Sichuan. One notable difference in China is the predominance of the Sichuan peppercorn. Not widely available in Australia, and if so rarely used in excess, the sheer volume of peppercorns in an authentic Sichuan dish jolts you to attention – your mouth numbs to the point that your lips limp and start drooling as if under dental
anaesthetic. Sichuan dishes at the other end of the scale, those that involve little or no spice, are more of a surprise. A popular dish in Chengdu is a somewhat bland and gluggy pig trotter broth rumoured to improve skin quality. Young club-goers crowd into late-night restaurants to indulge in ‘skin care treatment’ before going home to sleep off their hangovers.

Sichuan cuisine is further divided into four regional sub-styles, the most pronounced of which is the Chongqing style, known for a searing spiciness that is matched only by the city’s scorching summer temperatures. ‘Chongqing hot pot’ (Chongqing huoguo 重庆火锅) is its most well known representative dish, and walking into a little downtown hole-in-the-wall eatery I was somewhat on edge thinking about the heat I was about to subject myself to. The menu presented a new problem as I found myself perplexedly searching for the familiar characters of ‘beef’, ‘chicken’ and ‘tofu’, and beginning to notice that the dish names read more like ‘fresh torn pig oesophagus’ and ‘duck intestines’. Chongqing hotpot is definitely only for the most adventurous of Australian gourmets!

Meander further along the Yangtze River and you come to the city of Wuhan in Hubei province. Although every Chinese city seems to have whole avenues dedicated to street food, Wuhan Snack Street (Hubu Xiang 户部巷), gives a miss to the obvious tourist-luring approaches of serving live scorpions and seahorse skewers, which are found all over the up-market westernised Wangfujing area of Beijing. Wuhan Snack Street is instead an exemplar of traditional local treats such as soup buns, spicy duck neck and dry fried noodles. The soup buns (tangbao 汤包) in Wuhan are larger than any I have ever seen in Australia, and have a skewer-sized hole in the top that acts as a straw through which to drink the delicious liquid inside before munching down the rest.

Skip across to the north-eastern coastal city of Qingdao, famous of course for its ubiquitous brewery, and you find a local diet consisting primarily of seafood, including such things as sea cucumbers, cuttlefish eggs and starfish. Qingdao’s equivalent of the Wuhan Snack Street boasts a smorgasbord of fresh seafood, with vendors lining the walkways barbecuing everything from octopus skewers to fish balls. Kegs of draught beer are perched along the street side, creating a scene truly unique to Qingdao!

Along the east coast of China I was exposed to more familiar dishes as I found my way into large cities with strong historical connections abroad. ‘Peking duck’ (Beijing kaoya 北京烤鸭) is perhaps the most famous of all Chinese dishes. The main Quanjude 全聚德 Peking duck restaurant in Beijing takes up five city blocks and can seat 5,000 guests. The restaurant is known worldwide and local, national and international patrons crowd its doors for a taste of the immaculately prepared fare. The restaurant only uses plump 2.5-kilogram ducks that are bellowed before roasting, allowing the skin to separate from the flesh and keeping the meat juicy while still making the skin rich and crispy. The roasting is done with plum, peach and date tree stems so as to infuse a fruity flavour into the flesh. A team of specially trained chefs, whose sole duty is to control the roasting of the ducks, carefully monitor the whole process. The duck is then brought to the table and carved by a chef who, it is claimed, produces 120 exactly even slices of meat and skin from each duck. The overall experience of eating at Quanjude, whilst exciting and extravagant, is actually reminiscent of the East Ocean Restaurant or Golden Century in Sydney’s Haymarket district. Each dish seems familiar and each element, down to the condiments, is a perfect clone.

Shanghai is a truly international city. A soup and sandwich lunch accompanied by a bottle of red wine – I could be virtually anywhere. But Shanghai also has its own unique Chinese food culture, and possibly the most comprehensive selection of dumplings available in China. Just outside the French Concession, I happened across a restaurant offering the stunning dish of ‘fried whelks in XO Sauce’ (XO jiang chaohailuo XO 酱炒海螺). The whelk meat had been removed from the shells, finely sliced, and wok fried with a light drizzle of XO sauce. The presentation was immaculate,
with the whelk flesh resting on a bed of roughly chopped celery and carrot, and the shells perched atop a piped quenelle of pomme puree. The presentation, flavours and cooking technique were on par with some of Australia’s finest dining, and a far cry from the dishes I had enjoyed in more rural areas of China.

Chinese cuisine is anything but uniform and each region boasts local variations, often far removed from the preconceptions that Australians might have. But there are also notable similarities between particular regions and even across the country. The city of Zigong is known for its barbeque skewers, but these grilled rods of chicken, chilli enoki or quail eggs appear in various guises in Chengdu, Xi’an and even as far north as Harbin. The renowned Chinese ‘stuffed bun’ (baozi 包子) can be found at street-side vendor stalls throughout China, although the typically larger buns of Beijing or Hangzhou tend to be bought per piece whilst cities in the southwest are inclined towards making smaller bite-sized buns bought by the steamer tray. When travelling through China I tend to judge places by the quality of their baozi, and will find myself tenaciously hunting for some similar to the luscious petite buns I once found being sold in a Tengchong industrial alleyway. Other Chinese purveyors have come close to the quality I found there, but in Sydney I have never been able to locate baozi that even come remotely resembling my Tengchong ideal.

Recent computer science research conducted by Yuxiao Zhu of the Beijing Computational Science Research Centre may shed some academic light on my observations of the regional divergences and similarities in Chinese cuisine (see: http://arxiv.org/abs/1307.3185). The study analyses recipes and ingredients from the website http://www.meishij.net and plots geographical links according to resemblances between dishes. This produced a ‘map’ of Chinese cuisine that revealed an interlocking web of similarities, which have been produced not only by local climates and produce, but also the movement and interaction of the people between regions.

Australian Chinese food is made from Australian or perhaps other imported ingredients and will probably never be able to perfectly mimic its Chinese origins. The differences, however, are about more than simply ingredients. The truth is that the people from certain areas of China (e.g. Guangdong) with whom Australians have had the most interaction exert an influence on the type of Chinese cuisine we experience in Australia. People-to-people culinary interactions are translated into Australian society and mean Chinese food is gradually adapted to better suit the Australian palate.

The latest edition of *Larousse Gastronomique*, commonly known as the ‘chef’s bible’, describes cooking as a reflection of the “customs of its age and present-day habits and preferences as well as those of the immediate past”. We often think of cuisine as a representation of a nation’s traditions, but it actually represents the traditional, the recent and the present. Perhaps Yuxiao Zhu should add Australia to the map of Chinese cuisine and draw out the likenesses and differences in ingredients and cooking techniques. What we would find, I believe, is that Chinese food in Australia represents a patchwork of similarities with especially the southeast coastal regions of China. It represents elements of an ancient culture but draws influence from recent histories and current trends of geographical mobility.

When Australians talk about ‘Chinese food’, they are generally not describing the food of China. They are referring to a cuisine that is distinctly Australian-Chinese and which only represents one linkage in a wide web collectively referred to as ‘Chinese cuisine’. You have not truly experienced Chinese food until you have eaten your way around its intricacies in China. This is what made me finally realise that it will never be possible to find perfect Tengchong baozi in Sydney.
Looking Ahead at China and the World: From the Similar Ideas of Su Shi and Soros to the Question of Coase

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Translated into English from the original Chinese by Susan Xu 徐耕天 and proofread by Kelly Tang 唐怡.

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

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The famous ancient Chinese writer Su Shi 苏轼 penned the renowned poetic lyric “I cannot see the completeness of Mount Lu, only because I stand within Mount Lu” in 1084. Neither he nor the people familiar with the poem over the last thousand years could ever have thought that the thinking embedded in these words could be restated in the 21st century by a successful financier who calls himself a ‘failed philosopher’ in an book attempting to understand the impacts of the Global Financial Crisis. This person is George Soros, and the book is The Crash Of 2008 And What It Means: The New Paradigm For Financial Markets.

In the opening of the book, Soros goes straight to his first thesis, which is that the human understanding of this world is inherently imperfect because as human beings we are also a part of the world that we are trying to understand. This reality then becomes the biggest barrier in our venture to understand the world. Similarly, the views and opinions to be expressed in this article cannot overcome such fundamental obstacles. However, I firmly believe that they represent the thoughts of the younger generations in China. Because of this, youth in the West can develop a relatively profound understanding of these views and opinions, which is crucial for enhancing East-West exchanges and promoting constructive East-West dialogue, as well as creating a peaceful, open and multicultural world with a future full of hope.

I was born into an ordinary working class family in the southwest of Shandong Province in 1986. My parents were not very well educated and worked many part-time jobs in order to support our family. In the summer of 1998, after years of constant moving my family were finally able to have a house of our own, helped by a large number of friends and neighbours and only after many days and nights of construction work by my parents and other villagers. But the emotions I felt then towards the upsurge of my generation could not compare to the moment in 1997 I saw my mother cry over the death of a stranger just before the return of Hong Kong to China. That stranger was named Deng Xiaoping 邓小平. On that night, the television was broadcasting the news of Deng Xiaoping’s death to sad music as our family sat down to dinner. It was an exceptionally long and quiet dinner and my mother suddenly became teary. At such a young age, I could not comprehend why my mother was crying over a man with no relation to us, but my mother replied that without Deng Xiaoping’s ‘reform and opening up’ policy she would probably not have been able to start her clothing business and endure the hardships of raising my elder brother and myself, and support our educations. I am still deeply moved every time I recall that night, not only for the years of adversity that my parents endured, but also the turning point in the destiny of so many Chinese people brought about by the economic reforms, including the post-80s generation.
When the fate of China and its people was in the balance following the Cultural Revolution, Deng Xiaoping manoeuvred himself into a strategically advantageous position and made the major decisions to implement the reform and opening up policy. To put it briefly, the achievements of the past 30 years of reform are the establishment of the education, science and technology, industry, culture and health care systems essential to the modernisation of China, and following this steps taken to innovate from these fundamental systems. Just as Nobel Prize winning economist Ronald Coase stated in his concluding speech for the Symposium on the 30 Years of Reform and Opening Up in China held at Chicago University in 2008; if we are surprised by what has happened, it is because we do not understand it, and such symposia are held precisely to allow Chinese entrepreneurs, politicians and scholars who have experienced the reform process to share their opinions. Later during the symposium, economist Steven N. S. Cheung used reasoning from his renowned book *China’s Economic System*: ‘I tell many people who complain to me about China’s various problems that such complaining is meaningless. Think of a person who has been ill for a long time and stumbles as he walks, but whenever he jumps, he can always jump higher than anyone else. If China is such a person, the question we should ask is what strategies China used to achieve this result?’

Those familiar with Chinese history will agree that there is no better analogy than the one suggested by Steven N. S. Cheung. Over thousands of years, China may have nourished a rich civilisation but it also acquired some corrupt customs. Over 200 years ago, the natural and social environment that the Chinese people depended upon for their livelihoods was shattered when the gunboats of the West opened the ancient gate to the Orient. Devoted Chinese who made great sacrifices for the nation reinspired the tenacious willpower and vitality of the Chinese people at a time when the country itself was at stake. From this perspective, an optimist would interpret Western invasions of China as a process of ‘creative destruction’; the old Chinese society that was standing still and refusing to progress was eradicated and a dynamic world of dialogue between China and the West was created.

Nevertheless, there are undeniably many dilemmas still existing in modern Chinese society and whether they can be properly solved could affect the future prospects and fate of China. Moreover, it can be been concluded from bitter historical experience and the intelligence of western politicians that it will be both highly important and very difficult to combine the three aspects of development, reform and stability in China. A fitting example would be Alan Greenspan. Whilst talking about how emerging economies could develop in future decades in his memoir *The Age of Turbulence: Adventures in a New World*, he stated that it is critical to innovate within existing education and science and technology systems and cultivate a nation’s innovative thinking and ability. But this is premised upon political stability. British politician Winston Churchill also emphasised progressive reform practice over revolutionary change.

Western countries are also concerned that China’s rapid development and rise will pose an immense threat to them. ‘China threat theory’ has become a popular term for this concern in the Western media and political elections. Indeed, the wisdom of Churchill as a remarkable Western leader has aided us greatly in understanding such issues. One of his most famous sayings is, “The farther backward you can look, the farther forward you are likely to see.” From this perspective, the ancient Great Wall of China that still runs through China’s vast territory provides a worthy response to China threat theory that is based upon the deep roots of Chinese culture – the Great Wall was built for defensive rather than invading purposes. Furthermore, the philosophy behind the ancient term for the Chinese empire, tian xia 天下 (‘all under heaven’) – ‘a public spirit will rule all under heaven when the great Way prevails’ (大道之行，天下为公) and ‘ordain conscience for heaven and earth; secure life and fortune for the people; continue the lost teachings of past sages; establish peace for future generations’ (为天地立心，为生民立命，为往圣继绝学，为万世开太平) – is
ingrained in Chinese culture, driving all generations to get along and make space for themselves. The ultimate philosophical proposition of *tian xia* is reflected quite precisely in director Zhang Yimou’s 张艺谋 blockbuster movie ‘Hero’.

As a matter of fact, many modern Chinese people have powerful spirits to undertake all matters under heaven as their own duty. One of the many examples would be Li Shufu 李书福, chairman of the Geely Company. When the media questioned Li about Geely’s acquisition of the internationally famous car brand Volvo, he replied that Volvo does not belong to any particular individual or organisation; Volvo belongs to the entire human race. At the conclusion of the 2008 symposium, Ronald Coase expressed similar sagacity and open-mindedness. He believed that China’s fight is also the world’s fight. However, Coase asked a question; the success of the symposium had enhanced the possibility of the world achieving positive cooperative results in the future, but will the future progress in the way that we hope? Coase said that he would never know the answer because the future awaiting him is ‘eternal rest’. But we, the younger generations of the East and the West, will know. However, whether we are able to achieve such results will depend upon the equality and respect to look far-sightedly and positively at China and the world’s development, and looking back at history in order to understand current global and regional issues. Otherwise, we will only see the unresolved problems and difficulties that exist today and neglect hope for tomorrow. It is not only the West that is dependent upon this hope; the East and the entire world also need it. Finally, China does not only belong to the Chinese people, but also belongs to *tian xia*. 
Mining: A Bridge of Cooperation between Australia and Asia

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Translated into English from the original Chinese by Victoria Huang 黄婷婷 and proofread by Ailing Tay 郑媛铃。

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Australia and Asia are connected in many aspects, including economically and culturally. These close ties between us are very important, and China plays a significant role in all respects.

With the release of the Australia in the Asian Century White Paper by the Australian Government on 28 October 2012, the growing significance of Asia has started to attract greater public attention. Even though Asia has historically been a centre of economic progress, it has now become the driving force of the world’s economic growth. Focusing upon how Australia can share in Asia’s prosperity, the White Paper states that Australia should not only take advantage of its geographical advantage in the Asian region, but also focus more on strengthening its interaction with Asian nations through learning more about neighbouring countries’ economies, cultures and histories through closer exchanges.

According to the White Paper, foreign investment will be crucial for promoting cooperation and connection between Australia and Asian markets. One of the advantages of foreign investment is that locals gain knowledge of innovative technologies and ideas that improve a country's technical skills base. Additionally, foreign investment can make up for low domestic savings and greatly enhance a nation’s capital stock. It not only promotes economic growth, but also creates new opportunities for economic development. Although the introduction of foreign investment has had a significant impact on Australia's economic development, the majority of Australians are still relatively ignorant of its benefits. Conversely, despite differing specific investment purposes, foreign companies in Australia all possess a common desire: to ensure that Australia’s economy continues to grow.

Take the Australian mining industry as an example; one of the driving economic forces in Australia today. The mining industry accounts for six per cent of and contributes each year over A$120 billion to the Australian economy. It supports 187,400 jobs directly and 599,680 jobs in related industries.1 It is plain to see how important the mining industry is to the Australian economy.

It was only because of China’s rapid economic growth in the past few years that I learnt more about Australia’s mining industry and realised the interdependency between Australia and Asia. For example, in 2003 China surpassed Japan as the world's largest importer of iron ore; in 2011, China imported 687 megatons of iron ore, accounting for 61 per cent of the global iron ore imports.2 Statistics indicate that China will overtake Japan as the world's largest coal importer this year.

As large and consequential as these numbers are, the majority of Australians still find them too abstract. This year I was fortunate enough to visit a Chinese steel factory, but before that I had no

idea about how enormous the mining industry is and its profound contribution to Australia. Although I often talked about the importance of the mining industry, in fact I had no concrete concept or understanding of its true importance. It was only after having the chance to see the port and factory, and the iron and coal dug up from Australia, that I finally understood. Our raw material are praised and admired by mineralogists, preferred to the minerals of any other country. We are also praised for the infrastructure and working conditions of Australia. When I heard this, I could not help but feel proud.

So is it time for Australians to relax and rely on the mining industry to continue acting as Australia’s growth engine? No, definitely not. The reason is simple: when I began to learn more about mining, I discovered that Australia must continue to more actively develop the mining industry. If we rest on our laurels then we run the risk of being overtaken by other countries. Consequently, in order to maintain and further enhance interactions between Australia and Asia, the Australian government must find other ways to strengthen Australians’ understanding of the cultures and economic situations of its neighbouring countries. It is only through deep understanding that we can ensure richer and more frequent interactions between Australian companies and Asia.

In addition, the Australian government should continue to promote civilian diplomacy. I firmly believe that people-to-people interactions are crucial, because its people are the most important asset for any company or country. If we lay a solid foundation, then the individuals higher up in the hierarchy will eventually be influenced. As time passes, the relations between countries will become closer and more stable. In order to bring Australia and China closer, the Australian government should formulate policies to promote exchanges between people of the two countries. The most fundamental method would be to encourage students to learn Chinese. As the Chinese culture and language are closely linked, the government can promote more Chinese and Australian exchanges and introduce more diverse Chinese courses to encourage Australian students to learn. Besides students, we also need to promote interaction between other people in the community and those in China. For example, all Australian diplomats could be made to acquire basic Chinese language skills, and more cultural exchanges organised with local Chinese communities in Australia.

In the face of the increasingly powerful influence of Asia on the international economy, we have to step up to the challenge of fostering greater Australia-Asia ties. The relationship between Australia and Asia can be seen as like the two wings of a bird: although they complement each other, they each have their own merits. A new era of stability and cooperation can be created if Australia and Asia are willing to cooperate with one another.
Savage Garden
野人花园

Miguel A. Espinosa Bastida 百明安
SECTION IV
OPINION ARTICLE
CHINESE

第四部分
个人评论部分
中文类作品
用发展和长远的眼光看中国和世界
从源自苏轼和乔治·索罗斯的异曲同工到罗纳德·科斯之问

孔贺  He Kong

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）”。

孔贺是澳大利亚纽卡斯尔大学复杂动态系统与控制研究中心的一名博士生，他即将结束他的博士学业。他出生和长大在中国山东菏泽市，是孔子世家第76代子孙之一。

公元1084年，当中国古代著名文学家苏轼在游庐山后写下“不识庐山真面目，只缘身在此山中”的千古传颂的诗句时，他自己和后面世代熟读这首诗的人们，或许没想到一件事。那就是，此诗中所蕴含的隽永哲理会在二十一世纪，被一个自称为“失败的哲学家”的金融大鳄，用英语在他试图去解读人类社会有史以来最严重的一次经济危机会产生的影响的书的开头，有了一番异曲同工之妙般的解读。这个人，就是乔治·索罗斯；他的那本书的名字是《索罗斯模式：世纪危机启示录》。

在此书开篇，索罗斯直截了当地说出了他的初论点：人类对这个世界理解从本质上讲是不完美的，因为我们本身其实是我们试图去理解世界的一部分；而我们是这个世界的一部分的事实，构成了我们去试图理解这个世界的一个最大的障碍。同样，本文中将要表述的见解与看法也难以从本质上打破上述障碍，但是，作者坚信，类似观点在中国的年轻一代中具有代表性；正因如此，西方青年就如此看法有一个相对深刻的理解，对加强东西方交流，促进双方建设性的对话，打造一个和平、开放、多元和充满希望的未来世界，至关重要。

我于1986年出生在中国鲁西南地区的一个普通的工薪家庭，父母亲因为没受过太多教育而一直从事一些非正式工作供全家生活；而直到1998年夏天，在众多亲友和邻里的帮助下，也在父母和很多做建筑工的乡亲的日夜劳作之后，我们才有了属于自己家的住房，结束了多年的颠沛流离。所有这些，或许都不及1997年香港回归中国前，一个跟我们素不相识的人辞世时母亲的泪水，更能让我感受到我出生和长大的那个时代的波澜壮阔。这个人就是邓小平。那晚在全家晚餐时，随着哀伤的音乐，电视上正播报邓小平逝世的消息；那次晚餐于是变得异常漫长、安静；后来，母亲不禁潸然泪下，年幼的我不解地问母亲为什么会哭；她说，若不是因为邓小平启动了改革开放，或许她都不能去做服装生意，虽然很辛苦，或许她就不能将我的胞兄和我养大，供我们读书上学。时至今日，每当我回想当晚的情景，心中依然有巨大的触动，为的不仅仅是父母多年的含辛茹苦，同时也是为改革开放对包括80后一代的无数中国人的命运带来的转折性的改变。

邓小平在文化大革命后国家和民族命运攸关之时，高屋建瓴地做出了实施改革开放政策的重大抉择。简言之，过去30多年来中国改革开放所取得的成就，就是搭建了中国实现现代化所需的教育、科技、工业、文化和医疗等体系；后续的道路就是在其基本的体系之上开拓创新。就像诺贝尔经济学奖获得者罗纳德·科斯在2008年在芝加哥大学举办的中国改革开放30周年研讨会的结语演讲中说的，若我们对发生的事情感到惊奇，说明我们不明白；于是，才有这场有关中国改革开放的研讨会，让亲身参与改革开放的中国企业家、政治家和学者，来分享他们的见解。后来，受邀参加研讨会的经济学家张五常在他的著作《中国的经济制度》中有过这样的论述：我对很多见了我之后经常向我抱怨中国的种种不好的朋友们说，这样做没有太大意义，我们要问的一个正确的问题是，有一个病了很久的人，他走路来步履蹒跚，但后来，每当大家比跳高时，他一直跳的最高；若中国就是这个病了很久的人，我们应该问的是，中国是采取了什么措施才有这样的结果。
对熟悉中国历史的人来说，张五常举的这个比喻再恰当不过，因为，几千年的中华文
化孕育了灿烂的文明的同时，也累积了千年的陋习。200 多年前，当西方世界用坚船利炮打
开这个东方古国的大门以后，中华民族赖以生存的自然和社会环境几乎被破坏得体无完肤，
后期的中国的仁人志士为民族存亡所做的巨大牺牲，却重新激发了整个中华民族在民族存亡
的时刻坚韧不拔的意志力和生命力。乐观主义者们，从这个角度来看，会说西方对中国的入
侵其实是一个“创造性破坏”的过程，它破坏了原来的那个固步自封和不思进取的中国社会，
创造了一个由中国与西方参与对话的在发展变化的世界格局。

当然，不可否认的是，今天中国社会是存在很多问题的，而且许多问题能否妥善解决
关系到中华民族的前途与命运。而且，在中国，把发展、改革和稳定三者结合起来，具有极
端的重要性和艰巨性，这是从中国惨痛的历史经验和东西方政治家的智慧中共同得来的。一
个很好的佐证是，格林斯潘在他的回忆录《动荡年代：勇闯新世界》中谈到新兴经济体如何
能在未来的几十年保证经济发展的时候说，在原有的教育和科技体系上做创新并且培养有创
新思维和创新能力的国民至关重要，但是一个前提条件，是这些国家的政治稳定；另外一个，
是温斯顿・丘吉尔在他的政治生涯中也曾经着重强调实践渐进式改革而非革命性的变革。

另外一个让西方世界担忧的问题是中国的快速发展和崛起对西方世界是一个很大的威
胁，以至于近些年来流行于西方媒体和政治选举上的“中国威胁论”。其实，丘吉尔作为一
个卓越的西方政治家的智慧对我们加深在这问题上的理解也有很大的帮助。他的名言之一
是，你往历史中向后看的越远，就越可能往未来看的越远。从这个角度上看，在中国广袤
的疆域中屹立了千百年的长城，能从华夏文化深处给予中国威胁论一个很好的回应，因为中
国古人修建长城是为了抵御外敌入侵，而远非是一个进攻性的象征；另外，“天下”的哲学
概念是植根于中华文化的深处的，“大道之行，天下为公”和“为天地立心，为生民立命，
为万世开太平”成为世世代代的中国人安身立命的精神支柱；另外，“天下”这个终极的哲学命题曾被张艺谋在他的卖座电影《英雄》中有一番很贴切的解读。

其实，这样以天下为己任的精神在许多现代中国人的身上也得以彰显。比如，吉利集
团董事长李书福先生在接受媒体问到吉利集团收购的世界著名汽车品牌沃尔沃的未来时候，
他说，沃尔沃并不属于任何个人和组织，它属于全人类。罗纳德・科斯在前述的那个研讨会
的结束语中也表达了同样的远见卓识和博大胸襟。他说，中国的奋斗其实是世界的奋斗。但
是，他留下了一个疑问。他说，此次研讨会的成功举办加大了我们在未来为这个世界争取到
良好合意的效果的可能性，但是未来会真的像我们期望的那样发展吗？他说永远都不知道这
个问题的答案，因为在未来等待他的将是一个“长眠”。但我们，东西方年轻的一代，会知
道。而我们能达到的那样一个结果的前提是，在平等和互相尊重的基础上，用发展和长远的
眼光看中国和世界的发展，放眼悠远的人类历史与文明去体察当前的世界性和地域性问题；
不然，我们看到的只是今天未能解决的问题和困难，而忽略了明天的希望；这种希望，不仅
仅西方需要，东方需要，全世界都需要；这种希望，不仅仅只在西方，也在世界的东方，其
中包括中国；而中国，又不仅仅是只属于炎黄子孙，它也属于天下。
矿业：澳洲与亚洲之间合作的一座桥梁

Marie-Alice McLean-Dreyfus 姜茉安

姜茉安是澳洲国立大学的5年级本科生。她刚在台湾结束了为期一年的中文语言学习，目前在台湾进行实习。

相信大家都知澳交跟亚洲在经济，文化等众多方面都有链接，我们彼此间的联系是相当紧密而且重要的；而中国在所有方面都扮演着相当重要的角色。

随着2012年10月28号澳洲政府发表“亚洲世纪中的澳大利亚”的白皮书，亚洲的盛世更吸引人们的注意。从历史的观点来看，虽然亚洲经济曾一度不景气，但演变至今已成为世界经济成长的引擎。这个白皮书是以澳交如何来分享亚洲的盛世作为出发点的。根据白皮书的论述，澳洲在单应借其位于亚洲区域的地理优势，更应着重加强与亚洲国家间的互动，并透过双方密切的往来，更加了解邻近国家的经济、文化和历史，方可利用及分享亚洲盛世的机会。

根据白皮书的看法，外资对于促成澳洲与亚洲市场合作与连接所做的贡献是无庸置疑的。外资的好处之一，是当地人因此能够获得更丰富的知识以及创新的技术和理念，进而提高某一国家的技能基础。此外，藉由外资为国内储蓄注入活水，让国家的资本大为提高，不仅促使经济增长，同时也创造出新的经济发展机会。外资的引进虽然对澳洲的经济发展有显著的影响，但大部分的澳洲人都为于它的贡献，有很多澳洲人对外资还是抱持着怀疑的态度。与之相对比的是，外国公司在澳洲进行投资的目的虽各不相同，但他们对澳洲可以继续成长的希望却是相同的。

以澳洲的矿业为例，相信大家都知道它是澳洲目前主要的经济动力之一。矿业占澳洲经济的百分六，每年对澳洲经济贡献的资金已超过一千二百亿澳币。矿业直接提供了约187,400个就业岗位，与矿业有关的间接产业也提供了约599,680的就业岗位。1由此可见，矿业对于澳洲经济的贡献是不容置疑的。

近年来中国蓬勃发展，我才深入了解矿业的特性，注意到澳洲跟亚洲之间共生的关系。以中国来说，2003年超越了日本成为世界最大进口铁矿的国家，2011年中国进口687Mt的铁矿，占全世界铁矿进口量的61％。2另外，根据统计，今年中国预期超越日本成为世界最大的煤矿进口者。

这些数字是那么的令人惊叹，不过，对大部分的澳洲人来说，它们仍然是很抽象的。今年我有机会去参加一个中国钢厂。不过在我去钢厂之前，我未曾注意到矿业的规模之大，以及其对澳洲的深远贡献。虽然我嘴里高喊矿业的重要性，但实际上却没有具体的概念与了解。直到我来到钢厂以后，看了港口和工厂，亲眼看到从澳洲土地挖出来的铁和煤，才彻

底地了解澳洲矿业的重要性。当我听到原料方面的专家称赞澳洲的煤和铁质量，其他国家的
矿产难以和澳洲的相拟，而且澳洲的基础设施、工作条件等都优于其他国家，这让我忍不
住以澳洲为荣。

那么澳洲人是不是可以松一口气，坐下来休息休息呢？不，绝对不可以。理由很简单：
当我开始探讨矿业以后，发现澳洲应该要更主动积极地发展矿业，千万不可以单靠我们矿业
的优良质量就自满，因为这样会终将面临被他国超越的危机。因此，为了让澳洲与亚洲的互
动能持续且日益频繁，澳洲政府必须对症下药，加强国民对于周边国家人文环境和经济状况
的了解，唯有如此，才能保证澳洲公司与亚洲往来对象间更加丰富和频繁的互动。

另外，澳洲政府需继续推广国民外交。我个人深知人与人的互动是重要，因为人是
任何公司或国家的最重要资产。如果我们可以先奠定一个很牢固的基础，那么，在更高位者
自然而然的也会受影响，久而久之会让彼此的关系变得更稳定、更密切。为了让澳洲和中国
的关系更亲密，澳洲政府可以规划一些政策以两国的人民有更多的交流。最基本的方法是鼓
励澳洲学生学汉语。因为中国文化和汉语的关系是密不可分，故政府可以推动更多的中国跟
澳洲的交换以及推行更多元的汉语课程鼓励澳洲学生学中文。除了学生之外，我们也需着手
著手于社会人士与中国的互动。例如：要求所有的澳洲外交官需有基本的汉语程度，以及安
排和中国社群更多的文化交流。

面对亚洲对国际经济间日趋强大的影响力，我们非得加紧脚步培养澳洲与亚洲的关系
不可，因为澳洲与亚洲之间的关系就像鸟的两双翅膀一样，可以相辅相承，却又各有千秋
，如两者合作将可创造出一个新稳定与合作的时代。
古代汉语：无用之用

Thomas McConochie 马常思

英语原文由张译方 (Yifang Zhang) 翻译成中文，并由周杨 (Chelsea Zhou) 校对。

这篇文章荣获了“中澳青年联合学会报个人评论部分一等奖（英文）”。

马常思在澳大利亚和台湾均学习过汉语。他在 2006 年获得澳洲国立大学 (ANU) 亚洲研究本科学位（中文方向），并在 2012 年获得 ANU 的文学硕士学位（东亚研究方向）。他于 2013 年开始在澳洲新南威尔士大学攻读博士学位，研究方向为庄子、道教、中国古典思想、神秘主义和宗教哲学。马常思还拥有 NAATI 澳洲（中到英）笔译认证，并自 2012 年开始从事笔译的工作。

古代汉语（即文言文）对于大学标准汉语专业（或其他汉语专业）的学生来说是一门值得选择的课程。对文言文的理解是通往有着两千年悠久历史文化中国文学的大门。通过阅读原汁原味的中国古典文学，学生可以更好地领会中国的哲学思想、诗词歌赋以及叙事手法。因此，学习古代汉语可使汉语学习者获益匪浅。

学习古代汉语对于母语非汉语的学生是极有助益的。这是因为现代汉语中很多书面措辞和句式都源自于古代汉语。比如“以⋯为⋯”句式意为“把⋯当作⋯”。这类句式常见现在正式的现代汉语（尤其是书面语）中。而被动结构“为⋯所⋯”则是指“被⋯做⋯”（其中动词在英语中用过去分词形式）。这一结构偶尔用于现代汉语，在古代汉语中更为常见。培养学生对古代汉语的理解能力，还能够让学生熟悉复杂词汇并能够阅读俗语出处的典故，因而可以进一步帮助学生理解成语和俗语的意义。

一些常用的成语，如“守株待兔”（比喻企图不经过主观努力而获得意外收获）、以及一些惯用语，如“玩得不亦乐乎”（玩得很开心）、“三思而后行”（先想后做）和“既来之则安之”（既然已经坚持到这里了，那就不妨继续坚持下去），都是由典故而来或者是采用其来源的文言文著作的引申义。因此，诸多原因表明汉语作为第二语言的学习者应当学习古代汉语并从中获益。

然而，许多学习汉语的学生对古代汉语缺乏兴趣。这是基于我在澳洲国立大学（以下简称澳国立）为修双学位2（标准汉语为其中之一）的本科生授课时所做的观察而得出的结论。2012 年，我辅导澳国立大一学生基础汉语时曾经鼓励我的 60 多名学生在大二时选修古代汉语。然而，许多学习汉语的学生对古代汉语缺乏兴趣。这是基于我在澳洲国立大学（以下简称澳国立）为修双学位2（标准汉语为其中之一）的本科生授课时所做的观察而得出的结论。

1 守株待兔出自《韩非子》〈五蠹〉。玩得不亦乐乎, 三思而后行, 以及将来之则安之的现代用法来源于《论语》L1, (学而), V.20 (公冶长), and XVII.1 (季氏) 中的引申义。

2 大多数修双学位的学生都是修的双学位。双学位的热门组合包括法律&亚洲研究（中文）以及经济学 &亚洲研究（中文）。然而, 我发现 大多数修双学位的学生倾向于他们的主修专业例如法律, 而第二专业（中文研究和汉语）对他们而言就不那么重要了。
代汉语。不过大多数学生都对此不感兴趣。他们认为古代汉语对于他们来说太“难”了，并
且认为他们学习现代汉语只要能够达到“表达恰当”、“能被接受”、“可以使用”或“职
务需求”的标准就足够了，没有必要再去学习“更难”和“更没用”的古代汉语。学生们还
抱怨古代汉语的词汇、语法和文本内容太难了，让他们失去了学习的动力（尽管他们没有明
说明），加上繁体字的复杂书写，这一切都让他们对古代汉语的学习望而却步。

我在教授汉语时还观察到一些浮躁的学生，他们认为只有使用简体字的现代汉语才值
得学习。我询问了我的每一个学生他们学习汉语的理由，而我得到的答案往往是“因为这样
我到中国做生意就很方便”这一类的答案。这些学生似乎不明白，要精通一门外语，他们
需要积极地使用这门外语去学习语言背后的文化、风俗、历史、文献以及表达方式。如果
仅仅将外语作为一种工具或是促进A与B公司之间关系的表面功夫，学生是永远不可能精
通这门外语的。因此，我反对将这种功利主义加入大学语言课程的教学目标。我的教学经验
让我不禁自问：究竟要用什么方法才能激发起汉语专业学生精通汉语学习、深入了解中国文
化的动力呢？我通过观察汉语初学者，尝试着找出导致汉语学习中一些问题的原因。

我听说过一切谬论，认为汉语学习的难度与学习者是否为中国人有关。具体来说，这
种说法主张非亚洲人种很“难”学会汉语。对于这种谬论，我们要坚决摒弃。这种说法存在
明显的种族偏见，而事实上一个人学习语言的能力与他的肤色是没有关系的。目标语习得的
难与易，与其说是与种族有关，不如说是受目的语与母语之间巨大差异的影响。比如，普通
话和英语之间就存在着巨大的差异：无论是语音系统还是语法体系都有很大区别，而书写体
系更是天渊之别。我本人的母语是英语，但我对汉语还是颇为精通的，而且汉语与我的母语
的差别比起法语更为显著。然而，对我而言，法语就没有汉语那么容易理解。当我听人们讲
法语时，我听不出话语的开头和结尾；但当我听汉语或其他汉语方言（如粤语和闽南语）时
，我能听得出一句话的开头和结尾。因此，尽管法语更接近我的母语，汉语以及其他我不会
说的汉语方言对我而言却更为清晰易懂。这与人们通常所持有的汉语之类的亚洲语言难学
，而法语这样的欧洲语言易学的观点相悖。总之，如果一个人想学好一门外语，就需要努力
研习、练习并将所学运用于真实生活。

说到真实生活，我可以举一个我自己在台湾时的例子。这件事可以说明古代汉语是如
何与我的个人生活相联系的。以下是我与我的管弦乐团的演奏伙伴的对话。对话发生于2011
年我们在台湾国家音乐厅演出前吃便当（午餐盒饭）的时候。

朋友：你看得懂这种中文吗？
我：我大概看得懂。

朋友：看不懂没关系；我也看不懂。大部分台湾人都看不懂这种中文。

根据我朋友的说法，大多数台湾人都看不懂这种中文。这是一种印在便当筷子包上的格言警
句，叫“食对药”，意思是要吃正确类型的药。

对于筷子包上印着的文言文，我有以下几点猜测：第一，便当店老板之所以在筷子包
上印一句多数台湾人都不理解的文言文，是为了要营造一种博学的氛围。这也有助于他们从

3 我所教的学生中也有许多人的动机并不是那么得功利。
4 一个人完全有可能听得懂一门语言却不怎么会说那门语言。比如台湾的闽南语和普通话。在某些场合，我听
过一些台湾人的对话，其中一方（通常是年长的人）讲闽南语而另一方（通常是年轻人）说标准汉语。尽管他们讲
的是不同的语言，但他们都能充分地理解对方的话进而进行有效的交流。
众多便当店中脱颖而出，既给当下的顾客留下了深刻的印象，也能吸引新的顾客。第二，这句格言与健康有关，说明老板关心顾客的健康，因而他们的产品是健康无害的。这其实是一个模棱两可的逻辑句：便当店的老板是在暗示他们店的产品是一种对的药，然而便当并不是药。如果不懂古代汉语，我是不会理解筷子包上的格言的，更不要说针对它所代表的意义下任何结论了。所以说我的这次经历可以说是文言文无用之用的真实写照。

总而言之，我对于现在大学生摒弃古代汉语的态度颇感沮丧。他们认为古代汉语“艰涩难懂”、“枯燥乏味”、且与他们的学位无关。或许是我们看事物的角度不同，我本人就很欣赏所谓古代汉语的“无用之用”。此外，学生们还认为学习古代汉语没有“钱途”。然而，我现在从事的翻译工作，既要我翻译现代汉语，也要我翻译古代汉语。因此，学习古代汉语倒也可以带来收入。

近年来，澳洲政府为澳洲即将进入“亚洲世纪”以及推进“理解亚洲（这个概念有些模糊）”战略的实施制定了一系列政策和构想。然而，只要那些强调“非亚洲人学汉语是难上加难”的错误观点还存在，澳洲人就不可能真正做到“理解亚洲”。至少以我对“理解亚洲”这个词的理解（我认为理解亚洲强调的是对语言、写作和文化的理解），目前的状况很难达到“理解亚洲”的要求。因此，我认为我们这些从事大学汉语教育的教师应该想办法去除那些错误观念，让学生对外语及其文化的学习不再望而却步。此外，我们还应该鼓励学生学习古代汉语，以此来了解中国的哲学、历史、语言和文化。我对于筷子包事件的反思就是“无用之用”的一个生动的实例。但这个例子或许不如《庄子》中的故事有趣。据《庄子》记载，庄子的朋友惠子不明白无用之物的价值，庄子就建议惠子用其认为无用的大葫芦做舟，逍遥于江湖之上，实在是好不快活！

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5关于这个概念模糊性的学术质疑，详见柯瑞丽·休斯即将出版的博士论文：澳大利亚队对亚洲的认知：知识能带来什么益处？澳洲国立大学，2013。

6详见《庄子〈逍遥游〉》第一章末尾。
博涛与中国渊源已久。他于 1994 年第一次移居北京。自那时起，他便于一家澳洲矿业供应商驻中国的制造基地工作，并担任澳洲工业集团的出口顾问。他是第八桥咨询有限公司——一家关于中国的咨询公司的创始人。博涛拥有国际商业和国际关系的学位，并在南京大学用中文完成了商业和历史科目的学习。

“亚洲世纪”最广为人知的标志可能就是上海陆家嘴金融区的天际线了。亚洲正在蓬勃发展——印证这一事实的不仅有摩天高楼和新建的机场，还体现在遍布全球的亚洲公司为扩张中的国际市场提供着更加多样化的商品和服务。世界经济和政治力量的平衡正在史无前例地发生着变化，而澳大利亚也毫不掩饰想要参与到这一历史变革中来。为应对亚洲崛起这一不争的事实，澳洲政府和各行各业都已采取重大举措来重新定位澳洲、澳洲企业和澳洲人民。现在正是立足过去既得成就，同时也是展望未来发展的有利时机。

毫无疑问，澳大利亚在公民外语水平和亚洲文化认知上仍有巨大的提升空间。按此思路，具备这些相关技能理所当然是澳大利亚未来成功的关键。当然，这也是促使我 2012 年中离开有着愉快工作经历的澳大利亚工业集团（Australian Industry Group）、赴中国将我的中文提升到专业水平的重要动机。

最近，我曾站在上海一家中国最大的律师事务所之一的会议室里，看着将会成为中国最高楼的上海塔的建筑工地。我当时在等这家公司的一位合伙人，是一个中间人介绍我们认识的。按照中国的惯例，会面一开始是友好的闲谈和自我介绍，接着是谈本方公司的实力。最后，出乎我的意料、令我感到惊喜的是，我们激动地讨论了中国潜在的商机和合作途径，并为彼此提供了相关的人脉资源。短时间内就取得如此迅速的进展在这里并不常见，但在我看来道理却非常简单：更迅速地搭建紧密关系、建立互信、做出明确意图——这些便是学习第二语言（如中文）带来的优势。

随着会议的进行，我们开始讨论起潜在的中国客户。而就在这期间，我的这位朋友无意间为 21 世纪澳大利亚的繁荣勾勒出了一个更加广阔的前景：

“不要因为你会说中文、懂得如何礼貌待人，就错误地认为你能从那些没有语言优势的对手中赢得客户。你提供的商品和服务，对于企业客户而言，需要能使其获利；对于消费者而言，则需能满足其需求。最后，你的产品必须要比你的竞争对手更为出色。会说中文是你的一块敲门砖，但是之后你需要靠实力说话”。

我恍然大悟：关于新世纪“亚洲世纪”澳大利亚的新定位，没有比这个更精辟的指导建议了。“亚洲世纪”将给澳大利亚带来独特的、前所未有的挑战，其中绝大多数的挑战仍旧
需要我们采取联邦制以来就一直采取的态度和方法来应对。若是不了解多语言与跨文化交流的局限性，而是夸大了它们的作用，那么任何围绕其益处而展开的讨论都是不完整的。

比尔·克林顿曾说过的“笨！抓经济才是最关键的”现在已成为一句政治格言。我们在接下来的几十年中应以此为准绳时刻提醒自己。在我们的领先领域中，我们必须在与崛起中的亚洲经济体的竞争力中保持优势，并且能为海外客户提供称心如意的商品和服务，以平衡我们对其产品日益增长的需求。只有拥有这样一个稳固的经济基础，我们才能有能力提供亚洲语言奖学金，增强地区事务参与度，并增加高层次的专业人士交流活动。如果将稳健的经济比喻成一个蛋糕，那么这些文化和语言上的交流就是包裹这个蛋糕的糖衣。

我们的澳大利亚未来蓝图与经济强大的亚洲紧密联系在一起。为了实现这一蓝图，在管理及改革良好的监管和经济大环境下，我们需要一个具有创新性、竞争力和高附加值的私营行业。其市场表现将决定我们的优势领域。

其中，以下几个方面对澳大利亚应对“亚洲世纪”的挑战尤为重要（非详尽讨论）。

**政治体制改革**

政治体制是我国经济发展的基石——在面对艰难但必要的改革时，稳定和有效的政治体制将成为决定我国命运最重要的因素。

作为世界上最有效的经济杠杆，税收制度可能就是一个有代表性的例子。一个合理有效的税收制度应该减少寻租空间，同时还能鼓励创新和企业家精神。这样一来将促使澳大利亚研发出亚洲人民喜爱且日益消费得起的产品。一旦一个有创新性的生意模式，服务或产品得以建立和被认可，那么之后雇佣多语言销售人员，做出一份国际市场计划书和翻译产品页面就都是信手拈来的事了。人生唯有纳税和死亡不可避免。澳大利亚的政治制度是唯一一个可以合法地应对诸如此类有难度、惹争议但却又无法避免的挑战的制度。

澳大利亚的制度具有透明度高、问责明确、权力分立、辩论决定和言论自由等特征，这些特征在必要时应得到巩固和加强，从而以最佳的状态来应对“亚洲世纪”的挑战。另外，澳洲社会已对改革政党经费赞助方面达成广泛共识——这是一个很好的起点。

**财政管理**

我们必须要在经济周期内保持收支平衡——任何不可避免的负债应仅集中在能产生长期红利的生产性投资上。随着世纪的推进，澳大利亚逐渐步入老龄化社会。一些国家，尤其在面对人口老龄化问题时，通过大量的发行国债来维持从长远来看无法负担的开支。盲目地效仿它们的举措是不明智的，我们要为后世繁荣积存资本，因为经济学的历史已教会我们要未雨绸缪。

**外国投资**

与其它一些潜在的投资目的国相比，澳大利亚之所以拥有相对较高的外商投资水平，主要归功于其尊重私有财产的独立的法律制度、相对稳定的投资环境和较高的投资回报。一个有竞争力、稳定的和无歧视的投资环境如与稳健的经济相辅相成，将比其它任何政策更能吸引投资。尽管我们不应单纯地认为所有的外国投资都是好投资，但是我们应继续探究和讨论能促进澳大利亚成为一个更具吸引力的投资目的国的方式。
基础设施

中国在建设和稳步扩展世界一流基础设施方面已取得惊人的成就。中国多位主要领导人都有着工科背景，取得这一成就也就不足为奇了。

由于澳洲人口和国土面积的限制，效仿中国、欧洲或日本的基建模式是不现实的。但是政府可以通过建设基础设施来追求效益最大化。澳储行在制定基准利率上保持独立，这就为基建投资不受政治左右提供了一个可行的模式。

语言

同其它领域一样，熟练掌握一门语言需要时间和决心。著名的能说中文的澳大利亚前总理陆克文（Kevin Rudd）在谈及我们在外语学习上的困境时曾说“（学生）需要知道：学习外语可以为事业开辟道路”。

在澳洲，对于初涉职场的人来说，相比攻读专业学位，学习语言一直以来都被视为时间和金钱上的劣势投资。在中国某些最成功的澳大利亚人只会说些基本的中文，他们只关注和中国人相处的具体方式和策略而非花大量时间学习语言。这使他们专业特色更突出。

随着时代的发展，语言学习将愈发成为学生合理的选择——市场机制在“亚洲世纪”中依然适用，尽管现在还未开始显现。目前，我们无法使更多的澳洲人流利地使用亚洲语言便是这一现状的一个体现。然而，政府在市场推动力凸显前就制定政策积极提升澳洲人亚洲语言水平的决定是明智的。亚洲正经历着日新月异的变化，学习其语言更需要制定一项长期计划。

多元文化

最近，我在南京繁忙的中心商业区的一块巨型电视屏幕上看到了澳大利亚的旅游宣传片。这让我想起了这支广告曾对宣传澳大利亚起到多么大的作用。

众所周知，不是所有的国家所谓的‘宣传广告’都能如此正面或是成本高昂。中国曾将西方的殖民时代描述成他们的“耻辱世纪”。时至今日，这对于许多骄傲的亚洲国家来说仍是愤恨之源。尽管澳洲政府一直努力将澳大利亚描述成一个亚洲国家，但很多亚洲国家的人对此并不买账。在这样的历史背景下，在澳大利亚的亚裔受到种族主义攻击或言语诋毁跟羞辱，在亚洲就会引起广泛的报道和关注。而对于澳洲来讲，这样的事件会使我们与移民的关系疏远，帮助澳洲在亚洲世纪提供的机遇中获取有利价值。

种族主义是一个全球现象，没有哪个国家能声称可以完全消除它。我们应该意识到，不管过往如何，这种敏感而又常常引起争议的话题事件对积极成为亚洲一员的澳大利亚来说是一个特殊的挑战。

亚洲的世纪

澳大利亚无法确保能在“亚洲世纪”取得成功。如果国家犯策略错误，其可能需要几十年才能弥补损失，因为在更有能力的竞争对手面前它已丧失了竞争优势。然而，对于大多数的国家和错误来说，这些情况可以通过执政得力和明智的政策制定来避免。亚洲未来几十年的面貌很难准确地预测，对于澳大利亚这样的国度来说想要影响亚洲就更难了。但是我们是幸运的，因为未来最能影响我们发展的决定依然掌握在我们的手中。
那么，澳大利亚是否已做好准备来应对“亚洲世纪”所带来的挑战了呢？答案尚未明晰。但是可以肯定的是，这一答案与北京、雅加达和新德里无关。它蕴含于澳大利亚议会对议题激烈的讨论中、澳大利亚人民的智慧与创造力中、还有我们的企业在优势领域里取得的成功中。
中国品牌能否拥有全球影响力？

Timothy Coghlan 高靖峰

英语原文由高宇（Jocelyn Gao）和唐怡（Kelly Tang）翻译成中文，并由卢湘怡（Sherry Lu）校对。

高靖峰是中国时尚和奢饰品零售商业方面的专家和主要影响者，并为世界上最具标志性的设计师品牌提供如何打入中国市场，如何在中国市场进行扩张及零售策略方面的建议。他还是中澳时尚联盟项目的创建者。这一项目旨在通过“猫步外交”来宣传澳洲设计师并促进中澳之间的文化交流。在闲暇时间里，高靖峰会在他的网站 maosuit.com 上分享他对时尚商业的观察。

如今，中国日益增长的国际影响力已不容小觑。媒体每天都在大肆渲染中国在全球市场的领军地位—世界最大的矿产市场、手机市场和奔驰轿车市场……有关类似建设世界上最大的机场、水坝和高速铁路网的故事，无一不展现着中国先进的技术和强大的经济实力。

中国日新月异的地位，引无数政商名流纷至沓来，他们在北京、上海、广州等中国城市建立人脉，显示出与中国巩固双方利益、加强互利合作的强烈意向。您可以光凭飘扬在北京天安门广场上的国旗便推测出哪国的领导人莅临北京，也可以在北京柏悦酒店大堂邂逅行色匆匆的“世界500强”企业的首席执行官。

每个国家都有为世界所知的独特标识物，例如具有象征性的动物、建筑、品牌、烹饪、自然奇观，甚至是生活方式。无论是美国的科罗拉多大峡谷还是中国的万里长城，熊猫还是老鹰，米饭还是汉堡，都能代表一个国家和它的文化。

除了军事力量和经济规模，一个国家对世界的影响力还可以通过受到国际推崇的被称作“一流”的产品和品牌来体现，如闻名于世的法国的时尚与红酒；日本的汽车与电子产品；美国从苹果手机、可口可乐到耐克运动鞋等一系列的商品。虽然拥有能够影响全球经济和政治气候的强大实力，但是中国为世人所知的可能仍是共产主义、功夫和中式点心，而非任何领先的品牌或商品类别。

美国作家、企业家、营销专家和国际知名的品牌专家赛斯·高汀（Seth Godin）认为：“一个品牌蕴含着人们的期望、回忆、故事和情感，这些因素共同决定了消费者的选择。如果消费者不愿为其支付更高的价格，择优做出选择，或是进行口碑相传，那么对于这个消费者来说，这个品牌是没有价值的。”

毋庸置疑，“中国制造” 的产品在全球大多数家庭里随处可见，但是因其源自中国、是中国品牌或是看中其中国价值而购买的消费者则少之又少。你会推荐某个中国航空公司、汽车、连锁酒店、酒、手机或鞋子品牌给你的朋友吗？

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品牌发展的历史背景

首先，了解世界领先品牌形成的背景对正确分析品牌发展至关重要。虽然许多现代品牌已有上百年的历史，但是，“品牌创立”和“品牌推广”是从上世纪五十年代后才在发达国家中开始兴起的。

在此期间，中华人民共和国还是一个年轻的国家，经历着毛泽东主义、“大跃进”和“文化大革命”的动荡。当时的中国人民有比选择喜欢的品牌更为重要的问题需要解决。当西方国家正热衷于创造时尚运动鞋和休闲裤的标识和广告歌曲时，中国人则桎梏于蓝色、黑色或卡其色的“中山装”里，商业品牌当时在中国并不存在。

自1978年改革开放和2001年加入世界贸易组织(WTO)之后，中国开始发展起了自己的公司，同时也放宽了对外国企业进入中国市场的限制。如今，品牌商品已成为零售业经济中增长最快的分支之一，中国消费者可以随心所欲地选择来自海内外琳琅满目的商品。

而当下影响中国品牌海外拓展的主要原因是国内迅速增长的消费需求。13亿消费者的庞大市场和维持于7%增长率的国民生产总值，令很多中国品牌仅安于满足国内的消费需求，并无强烈的寻求海外扩张得利之野心。

中国品牌的国际表现

造成这种现象的原因并非因为中国企业在海外的活动不活跃——其实它们是很活跃的，只是，到目前为止，中国品牌还未在国际消费者心目中树立起正面形象。

2012年，国际市场营销公司——智威汤逊（JWT）在全球消费者中对包括中国品牌在内的“中国制造”品进行了调查，调查显示，中国品牌在品牌价值和影响力方面表现欠佳。

在这项调查报告中，被调查者认为中国产品质量低、生产量大且缺乏创新和设计。此外，许多人认为中国品牌不是假冒伪劣就是存在安全问题。更糟的是，有相当一部分的调查者表示对中国公司或中国品牌一无所知。

正因为考虑到上述问题，即使在中国，随着生活水平的不断提高，大多数的中国消费者也会选择国际而非本土的品牌。很典型的一个例子是 2008年导致数名婴儿死亡的中国毒奶粉事件令中国对外国奶粉的需求飙升。

国际品牌市场调研公司——明略行（Millward Brown）每年都会发布一份关于世界最具价值品牌的调查报告，该报告基于来自世界各地的两百多万名消费者的调查数据，整合出全球一万多中品牌的分析。

出人意料的是，在2013年，12个中国品牌以突出的市场表现跻身全球最具价值品牌前100强。中国移动作为排名最高的中国品牌，位居第10位。科技公司腾讯和百度分别位列

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1 约瑟夫·巴拉迪等（2012），重塑“中国制造”，智威汤逊报道中国。
2 同上。
第 21 和第 33 位。其余上榜的还有中国四大银行、两家保险公司、两大石油公司和茅台酒（中国最著名的白酒）。

但是，所有在榜单上出现的中国品牌在海外都不是家喻户晓的名字。其他榜上有名的品牌如苹果、高露洁、联邦快递、谷歌和日产均为国际社会所广泛认可。

然而，许多中国公司仍以中国消费者而非国际市场为主要目标。

中国品牌的海外活动仍以中国消费者为主要目标

航空公司、银行和石油公司的商业模式决定了其要在全球范围内进行活动，在这些领域的中国公司也因此在国际舞台上颇为活跃。然而，对于其他领域的公司来说，其进行海外活动的动机却不尽相同，且并非针对东道主国家的消费者。

大规模的海外华侨群体以及越来越多的中国游客为中国品牌在海外进行宣传推广活动提供了契机，但是其主要目的仍是把销售量带回中国。

这一动机有时显而易见。2012 年下半年，所有到达悉尼金斯福德史密斯机场的人迎面所见的都是一系列关于茅台酒、中国国航和中国银行的巨型广告牌。这些令人应接不暇、快速指出中国风格的广告宣传比劳力士手表和迪奥香水广告牌所产生的影响力要大得很多。

如果是将经常乘坐飞机或对中国金融服务有需求的澳洲人作为目标，中国国航和中国银行的做法尚可理解。然而，茅台酒广告牌的出现却令人费解。虽然澳洲的重心越来越向亚洲偏移，但是认为澳洲人会放下他们心爱的啤酒和波旁威士忌而转向大多数西方人都不能接受的中国白酒的想法是不切实际的。那么设立茅台酒广告牌的意义又何在呢？

一个较为合理的解释是：茅台酒的广告牌是为来澳洲旅游的中国游客而设的。当他们看到自己国家钟爱的白酒出现在澳大利亚时，心里不禁会想：“哇，茅台酒在澳洲也有，真了不起”！当他们返回中国后，选择茅台酒的几率就会增大。

类似的场景在机场和中国游客主要旅游地均有出现。2013 年 2 月，到达布宜诺斯艾利斯埃塞萨机场的中国游客就感受到了中国工商银行巨幅广告所传达出的欢迎来到阿根廷的热情。

随着中国赴海外旅游人数的迅猛增长，《泰晤士报》记者刘易斯·利奥（Lewis Leo）将中国新兴中产阶级描述为“正在成为地球上最强大的社会集团”。因此，中国品牌应继续在未来增加其国际推广的力度。

旨在开拓新市场的中国品牌海外活动

然而，一些中国品牌开展海外活动却是为了拓展海外市场和获得海外创收，其中的领军者便是电子产品制造商——联想。

根据今年 6 月份发行的亚太版《财富杂志》，联想今年将会成为世界第一大个人电脑生产商，并已将目光投向目前由苹果和三星垄断的全球智能手机和平板电脑市场。凭借全球化的视野、西方的管理模式，甚至在好莱坞电影如《变形金刚》中做植入式广告，联想极有可能成为中国第一个真正意义上的国际品牌。

同上。

同上。

同上。
然而，联想在技术领域上也面临着来自其他中国品牌的竞争，例如：海信。在澳洲，海信电视机正变得越来越受欢迎，并已成为澳网公开赛的举办场馆——墨尔本网球中心的冠名赞助商。但是，究竟有多少澳洲人认识海信这个品牌或是知道它是来自中国的就不得而知了。

2009 年，中国最大的运动品牌——李宁试图通过在耐克总部——美国波特兰市建立办事处，以及赞助 NBA 巨星德怀恩·韦德来打入美国运动鞋市场。尽管在市场营销上砸下重金，李宁却犯了一个根本性的错误，那就是缺少本土化的产品设计，这也就解释了美国消费者并未抛弃耐克和阿迪达斯的原因。

有意思的是，李宁在伦敦奥运会期间重整旗鼓，其标识不仅出现在中国运动队的运动衫上，也出现在其他国家许多运动队身上，这就包括获得金牌的西班牙国家男子篮球队。然而，人们心里依然存在这样一个疑问，那就是李宁公司的这一赞助行为是将目标瞄准全球观众（他们甚至还无法认出李宁品牌的标识），还是想要提高李宁公司在中国的知名度，并向中国观众传达这样一个信息：李宁品牌是一个拥有全球影响力的受人尊重的品牌？

目前最大胆的海外扩张举动是由一家中国时装公司在 2011 年做出的：羽绒服品牌波司登在伦敦牛津街一处云集了世界顶级品牌的黄金地段开设了声势浩大的旗舰店。尽管现在说其是否会取得商业成功还为时过早，且有传言说中国政府依然在背后给予其支持，但是它可以在如何在全球建立起中国品牌的研发和反馈中作为一个很好的参照和案例研究。

中国公司收购国际品牌和在海外投资

一些中国公司是通过对已有的外国品牌和公司进行投资和收购来占领海外市场的。尽管这种方式成本高昂，但是中国公司可因此迅速抢占海外市场，并吸纳其专业技术、人才、知识产权以及商标。

曾采取这种做法并轰动一时的有 2009 年吉利收购沃尔沃、2012 年利丰集团收购英国男装品牌吉凡克斯、今年 6 月份万达集团收购英游艇制造商圣汐，以及联想在 2005 年收购 IBM Think Pad 笔记本电脑品牌并获得成功。

中国企业家和公司在其他行业中也进行着此类重大投资，例如收购法国波尔多地区的酿酒厂，收购棉花和羊毛农场（如在昆士兰州的库比棉场）。这些可视作中国公司为保证供应链和纵向整合业务所做出的努力。

然而，随着中国在海外投资的增加，许多国家愈发担忧中国对于土地、食物供给、基础设施和电信业的控制会令本国事务受到越来越强的中国影响。例如，中国电信公司华为曾被美国和澳洲以怀疑有军方背景从而对该国安全造成威胁为由被拒绝准入市场。

或许华为认为靠“软实力外交”才能巩固与澳洲政客的关系，现在它已成为澳大利亚橄榄球联盟堪培拉奇袭队的赞助商。

中国品牌国际化所面临的障碍及其未来展望

中国品牌如果想要长期在海外市场取得成功，必须要解决以下几个根本结构问题。

智威汤逊在对中国品牌研究的报告中指出中国企业的管理风格是其海外运作的一个主要障碍。中国的企业文化，例如严格的等级制度和通过与当地政府搞好关系来促进企业发展在其他国家无法行得通。这就使中国企业在海外市场建立起良好的品牌形象变得极为困难。
国际公司和零售商建立品牌的另一个关键是为产品创造出“酷”的元素、潮流感以及性感魅力。这一点在时尚、汽车、电子产品和酒类领域中尤为重要，因为对于这些产品来说，顾客购买的决定因素很可能是其同龄人对产品的看法。

考虑到潮流设计需要很高的创造力和创新思维，这也就难解释为何中国尚无法在这些需要“酷”元素的产品类别中成为全球佼佼者。对此，你只需参考中国的教育体系和就业价值观便会理解其中原因了。

中国死记硬背的学习方式和应试教育体系是无法鼓励创新的，相反，它们甚至会摧毁并惩罚创造力的出现。同时，中国家长鼓励子女从事“体面”的工作，例如进入金融、法律和医药行业，而非具有创造力的职业（如时尚设计）也是中国缺乏创造型人才的一个原因。

现在中国经济正从“投资和出口”转向以消费者为核心的模式，变得愈加成熟。中国的下一个阶段和挑战在于在价值链中从廉价制造向产品和服务增值延伸。这将需要一个从“中国制造” 到 “中国设计” 观念的改变，并非一件易事。

此外，中国的“产品复制”问题也是很突出。假冒商品的泛滥和知识产权保护的欠缺严重地损害了中国设计和产品发展的名誉，阻碍了本土创新。

但是不必只看到中国创新能力的瓶颈，中国人当然有能力去创新。纵观历史，造纸、印刷术、火药甚至指南针都是中国人发明的。近些年来，中国的技术领域也因其推出的具有革新精神的网络平台（如微博）和应用软件（如微信）备受瞩目跟赞扬，下一个史蒂夫·乔布斯甚至可能来自中国！

因此，中国依然有希望创造出让人惊叹、令消费者乐意推荐给朋友的品牌。

中国，世界在等着你！

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澳洲白人对于亚洲“入侵”的回应

关于亚裔移民增强澳大利亚民族意识的分析

李旻 Erica Lee

英语原文由邓美琴（Helen Deng）和孙末（Sophie Sun）翻译成中文，并由唐怡（Kelly Tang）校对。

李旻，北京外国语大学澳大利亚研究中心研究生。她的研究领域是澳大利亚民族主义的形成、澳洲华人史及跨文化交际。北京外国语大学澳大利亚研究中心始建于 1983 年，是国内最早的澳研中心之一。该中心发起创建了中国澳大利亚研究协会。

亚洲的影响力以及对亚洲的恐惧都深深扎根于澳大利亚的历史长河中。正如社会批判者唐纳德·霍恩（Donald Horne）在其著作《幸运的国度》（The Lucky Country）中描述道，“亚洲人成堆聚集”所造成的永久性威胁可追溯至“社会主义到来”之前直至淘金热时期\(^1\)。尽管当今对其讨论甚少，但从一些民族主义团体（如波琳·汉森 Pauline Hanson 领导的单一民族党）的公开表述和选举进程中，以及在全国难民政策辩论中所涌动的种族主义暗流中可以看出澳大利亚当代社会对于亚洲依然存在恐惧感。淘金热以前，欧裔移民自然地以其出生地及在欧洲时的社会地位判断与彼此间的关系。但随着四万名华人在十九世纪五十年代至六十年代期间到澳淘金，以及至十九世纪九十年代前陆续有日本人来澳采珠，欧裔移民间慢慢形成了一股内部凝聚力。在这个东西方碰撞的时期里，澳大利亚的白人统治阶级和工人阶级逐渐形成了一种需要控制亚裔移民涌入澳大利亚的观念。当时，澳洲社会普遍蔓延着对亚裔移民的偏狭和仇视。一再发生的排华暴行使欧裔工人互相团结起来，并将彼此称为“自己人”，试图尽“我们”所能给“他们”一个教训\(^2\)。1860－1861 年间，在兰明低地（Lambing flat）金矿区爆发了一些极其恶劣的排华暴力事件。暴徒们手举爱国旗帜，将 500 多名华人赶出宿营地，并将他们的财产要么洗劫一空，要么彻底毁坏。\(^3\)

这些事件引起了一个问题，即亚裔移民是否在早期欧洲人定居澳大利亚时期影响了澳大利亚人的民族意识。本文主要围绕十九世纪五十年代至一战期间与亚裔移民相关的澳大利亚历史，提出亚裔移民（特别是华裔移民）是增强澳大利亚民族意识的重要因素。原因是他们作为“非自己人”，使有着不同先祖的欧洲定居者们能够共同对比定义自己。学习欧洲殖民者如何看待亚裔移民可以帮助我们重新审视澳大利亚公民意识的发展过程。此外，我们还可以从历史角度了解华人以及更广泛的“亚洲人”在澳洲是如何被看待的，以及为何这些态度

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1 唐纳德·霍恩（1986），《幸运的国度》，维多利亚：澳大利亚企鹅出版社，第 119-121 页。
2 简·戈瑟德等（编辑）（2003），《白澳遗存：种族、文化和国家》，克劳利：西澳大学出版社，第 21-22 页。
3 大卫·戴（2005），《收复一个大陆》，悉尼：Harper Collins，第 129 页。
还能遗存至今。本文接下来将通过四个部分进一步分析欧洲定居者所认为的或所想象出的亚裔移民带来的种种“威胁”。

经济“威胁”

自十九世纪五十年代以来，大量华工的涌入引发了白人的恐惧心理。他们担心华人会抢走自己的工作，威胁自己的小生意，因而采取了种种集体措施来反击“威胁”这种焦虑感及偏见最初发生在十九世纪五十年代至六十年代期间。当时，绝大多数的来澳华人都在金矿区居住和工作。但是，几乎所有的这些华人都只是旅居于此，希望最终能够带着大笔财富衣锦还乡。尽管许多欧洲“淘金者”也怀有相同意图，但这些华人却因准备带着挖到的金子回国、而非投资本国而饱受指责。此外，华裔移民也开始寻求其他发财致富的机会，例如在矿区周边从事洗衣、出售自家蔬菜、开餐馆和卖草药等生意。白人之所以将华裔移民归为“外人”，是因为华裔移民没有和他们一起行动，而是单独、“秘密”地挖金并将财富运出澳大利亚。另外，容貌形象上的不同也是一个主要原因。而在表层烁金被开采完，淘金热逐渐降温后，一些华人开始在欧裔矿工遗留下来的矿区工作，这一举动更加激怒了白人矿工。因为如果通过细致的检查工作，华人经常可以在这些尾矿中发现大量未被发掘的金子。抱怨和小规模的冲突最终演变成了有组织的暴乱活动。此外，欧裔淘金者的恐惧感在金矿区的媒体上也开始有所体现。《时代报》甚至将华裔淘金者称为“侵略军”。

自十九世纪六十年代至九十年代，很多华人在淘金热逐渐降温后选择回国，但仍有很大一部分华裔选择留在澳洲。他们搬出矿区寻找其它工作，如经营果蔬园、餐馆、洗衣店等，并逐步形成具有一定规模的以城市为基础的华人社区。这使得欧裔移民开始感受到华人在就业上对其造成的威胁。彼时，对“东方”移民的恐惧感开始在矿区内减退，却在城市中愈演愈烈。亚裔工人（主要是华人）经常被指责为低薪卖命工作，拉低了工资水平，并影响了“澳大利亚人”的生活水准。此外，一些成功的、勤勉的华人企业家的出现也令小商小贩、商界人士和制造商们感受到威胁。例如，华裔家具手工匠采取规模制造的方法，生产出穷人可负担得起的廉价家具，这使得受过培训的英裔手工匠生产出的更昂贵的产品面临巨大的竞争压力。这一系列对华人的憎恨引发了由工匠进步社会团体和贸易劳工委员会所领导的联合排华运动。另外，日本人在十九世纪九十年代来到澳大利亚北部地区并进入采珠行业则进一步激化了白人定居者对亚裔移民的愤怒。这些日本人于十九世纪九十年代萧条时期抵达澳洲，而这一时期正是澳大利亚白人对工作安全尤其感到担心的时候。反亚裔罢工运动及要求实行严格法律禁止大规模移民涌入维多利亚的请愿促使维多利亚国会通过《针对特定移民规定法》。此法通过向每个华裔移民征收 10 英镑的人头税并限制船长每十吨重船只能带入一个华人入境的规定，限制华人进入维多利亚。而推出的劳工法则要求所有华裔移民制造的家具必须印有“亚裔劳工专用”的标识以保护欧裔商人和手工艺人。大型公司也因大批

4 艾瑞克·罗尔斯(1982)，旅居者：鲜花和广阔的海洋，圣卢西亚：昆士兰大学出版社，第 106 页。
6 同上。
7 同上。
8 吉米·吴（1998），墨尔本中国城
愤怒的白人劳工而受难。他们的抗议阻止了矿业公司如克伦恩司（Clunes）公司雇佣华人劳工。至此，资本主义家们开始接受“澳大利亚是白人国度”的观念。

文化不相容

华裔移民与欧裔移民间的显著文化差异破坏了欧裔移民对澳大利亚生活的构想。这可能是促使欧裔移民更加强调“澳大利亚是白人国度”的一个原因，它反映了欧裔移民对华人的文化习俗缺乏了解。华裔移民在相貌上已大有不同，还留着长辫子、穿着怪异的服装、习惯赤脚走路、用扁担挑东西，所有这些差异使他们自然而然地成为欧裔移民工人阶级和统治阶级中的众矢之的。而且，这一情况随着一些新闻文章、故事例证的相继报道变得更加严重。从华人的角度来看，华裔移民大多数不会说英文，也不懂英语国家的文化、习俗以及习惯。在金矿区，华人总是自己聚成一堆，不与其他国家的人来往。这是因为在澳大利亚，华人更注重家庭、家族的认同与需求，而非个人。华裔移民一到达澳大利亚，同一宗族的人便会聚在一起，名义上是互相帮助，实则也为互相保护。基于上述原因，欧洲淘金者很少有机会能了解华人以及他们的文化，这使得他们中的很多人觉得华裔移民群体“深不可测”，并且认为华裔移民可以轻易地撼动他们的主导地位。加之当时大部分白人工人文化程度不高，属于半文盲或文盲。因而，白人与华人之间沟通困难，也就使这两个种族之间很难产生友谊。此外，由于华人信仰道教和佛教，欧裔便更加认定华人是异教徒、无神论怪物，认为华人永远都不可能融入一个基督教的社会。因此，许多华人间寺庙遭到破坏和亵渎。

当时的维多利亚州长邓肯·吉利斯（Duncan Gillies）对华裔移民和欧裔移民做了一个比较，认为欧裔移民，不管其是来自哪个欧洲国度，“能更容易地融入澳洲社会，理由是他们的生活习惯、宗教信仰以及道德观念都与主流人群相近。”可以说东西方的文化差异使澳大利亚人进一步加强了其民族意识，即澳大利亚应是白人的国度，和亚洲文化截然不同。

道德的“堕落”

白人定居者经常担心全部为男性的华裔移民群体的出现会引发道德堕落。巴瑟斯特自由出版社（Bathurst Free Press）和回旋镖出版社（Boomerang）发表了一些关于华裔移民道德“堕落”的评论文章和图例说明。其中描述到“他们是半野人种族，野蛮粗俗，会使欧洲人的整体道德水平下降。”还有一些对华裔移民的刻板印象为“他们是对澳大利亚的诅咒，一群野兽般的、没有道德良知的骗子、窃贼，在一些情况下甚至是谋杀犯和强奸犯。”一位工会领导人曾说道：“众所周知，在任何一个社会中，只要华人一多，就会对这个社会的

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9 锡德纳姆 & 托马斯，前文引证，7.
10 同上.
11 同上.
12 同上.
13 吉利斯给维多利亚总督的信，4月11日，1888年。所有各殖民地在伦敦的要求下对反华人法律做出的解释都刊登在昆士兰立法议会投票和进程中（Qld LA V&P），1888年，第3卷，吉利斯的信在第197-198页。引自飞利浦•格里菲斯（2006），白澳的形成：统治阶级议程表，1876-1888年，为完成澳洲国立大学哲学博士学位所提交的毕业论文。
14 霍恩，前文引述，1，第21-22页.
道德水平造成非常不良的影响。” 然而，华裔移民尤其因为将吸食鸦片的习惯和新型赌博游戏“番摊”带入维多利亚而备受鄙夷。在这一时期，有关社会公害一鸦片的新闻被大量记载，尽管白人移民却在同时沉迷于酒精。此外，华工还被怀疑做出各种不正当的勾当，很多在金矿区的华人淘金者也因不诚信商业行为受到指责。还有一则连环画称华裔移民用澳大利亚野狗皮毛伪造狗尾，并以高价出售。

不仅如此，欧裔移民还担心男性华裔移民的“恶习”会轻易令白人女性道德败坏，做出伤风败俗之事。当时还有漫画将男性华裔移民描述为强奸犯和嫖客，或声称一些不道德的华裔房东使很多白人女性身败名裂。一本著名的反亚裔杂志《孤军奋战》（Lone Hand）连续刊载了一个名为《大五》（The Big Five）的故事，描述的是女主人公特雷夫小姐（Lady Trevor）曾经非常反叛，但在被亚洲人抓住之后，便“注定要对其顺从并成为其妻妾”。

防御

在某种程度上，亚洲移民使澳大利亚白人意识到了他们在对抗亚洲“侵袭”中的脆弱，尤其是在澳大利亚北部和沿海地区。澳大利亚最深切地感受到入侵威胁的一次是在二十世纪四十年代左右，日本轰炸澳大利亚北部，并在悉尼港发动潜艇攻击。在这之后，澳大利亚人才开始对亚洲问题进行系统的学术研究。但是，“亚洲侵略”这个概念其实早在之前就存在于澳洲了。这是由于欧洲殖民者对亚洲威胁深感恐惧并过分对其进行想象，使得他们开始担忧人口稠密的亚洲邻国会对其国家安全造成威胁。其中，澳大利亚白人尤其担心其国家荒凉的北部和无防御的海岸线会遭到亚洲“入侵”。而这种极度的恐惧也构成了十九世纪到二十世纪早期期间出现的排华、反亚裔情绪的基础。1879 年，澳大利亚北领地（当时受南澳政府管辖）有 3400 名华人，比欧裔人口高出 7 倍。华人几乎在北领地的各个经济领域里“独占鳌头”。其余四个东部殖民地的政客因此“开始警惕北部可能被华人占领的局面。”这样的设想似乎也有一些依据，因为有人声称欧裔移民几乎没有可能进行反抗，他们是“脆弱的和失败的，注定由一个或几个亚洲国家来统治。” 1887 年，一个华人委员会被大清帝国派来调查华裔移民在澳情况。这一举动引发了关于认为正在复苏的中国会给澳洲带来种种危险的激烈讨论。因为中国本身的确切参与被认为是中华帝国自信提升的标志，对于华裔移民问题的讨论也因此进入了另一篇章。由此，澳洲对于亚洲“入侵”的恐惧被提升到了殖民地之间或者国家水平。1888 年 6 月，来自六个澳大利亚殖民地政府的代表们在悉尼举行会议，除了塔斯马尼亚以外，所有政府首次将种族排斥列为一项国策，以应对华裔移民所带来的重大危机。

15 戈瑟德等，前文引述，2，第 30 页。
16 同上，第 57 页。
17 大卫・沃尔克(2005)，”射杀梅布尔：勇士的男子气概和亚洲侵略”，澳洲历史，第 2 卷，第 3 期，第 1-11 页。
18 大卫・沃克(2002)，”幸存者的焦虑：澳大利亚对亚洲的回应，19 世纪 90 年代至今”，澳洲历史研究，第 120 卷，第 319-330 页。
19 沃克，前文引证，17，第 404 页。
20 霍恩，前文引证，1，第 37 页。
21 吴，前文引证，7，第 15 页。
由于对“亚洲入侵”的害怕，澳大利亚白人传奇故事——以灌木丛为根据地，力抗亚裔“入侵”——在联邦成立之前和之后的一段时间里逐渐被大众、媒体及政客修改和美化。例如1888年出版的小说《我们如何失去澳大利亚》（How We Lost Australia）和1895年出版的《黄色潮——亚洲入侵澳洲的罗曼史》（The Yellow Wave: A Romance of the Asiatic Invasion of Australia）高度赞扬了那些灌木丛居民。1908年电视连续剧《联邦危机》（The Commonwealth Crisis）描述了理想的澳大利亚人形象：“在远离了法律蛊惑的地方，居住着更加强势好斗的澳大利亚人民…他们最擅长的就是将入侵者赶出本国。”22《孤军奋战》（Lone Hand）杂志的编辑弗兰克·福克斯（Frank Fox）称“那些居住在灌木丛中的人们是反抗太平洋沿岸的亚洲地区入侵澳大利亚的中坚力量”。

具有讽刺意味的是，从淘金热到一战前，澳洲白人在与亚裔不同形式的接触过程中所作出的反应实则增强了澳大利亚人的民族意识，并留下了以灌木林为根据地力抗亚裔“入侵”这样的光辉事迹。此外，欧洲殖民者通过与东方人区分开来产生了增强内部凝聚力的共同需求，并用以应对亚裔移民对他们的经济、文化、道德以及防御形势所造成的“外部威胁”。而这些威胁，不管是想象出的、被夸大的还是带有偏见色彩的都互相交织在一起，并与种族主义意识形态和政治煽动有着千丝万缕的联系。

22 查尔斯 H·克莫斯（1908），联邦危机，墨尔本：托马斯·罗提安，第144-147页。
23 弗兰克·福克斯（1912），太平洋地区的问题，伦敦：威廉姆斯 & 诺格特，第60页。
澳式中餐 vs. 正宗中国菜：中国饮食的地域性比较

Bowany Pugh 杨娇龙

英语原文由周杨 (Chelsea Zhou) 翻译成中文，并由张译方 (Yifang Zhang) 校对。

杨娇龙拥有中国研究荣誉学士学位，目前于悉尼大学攻读国际法律硕士学位。她游历过中国许多地方，并曾在中国工作、学习过。

如果你问一个土生土长的澳大利亚人什么是中国菜的话，他会毫不犹豫地告诉你：“中国菜嘛，就是中国菜啊。”在澳大利亚，中国菜往往和泰国菜、印度菜还有意大利菜一样，被认为是一种单一的菜系。然而人们忽略了菜系内部微妙的地域性差异，这使得中国菜绝不具备任何意义上的单一性。中国是世界上最大的国家之一：国土面积 970 万平方公里、拥有 56 个民族和数不胜数的地区方言。当一个土生土长的澳大利亚人来到中国之后，他那些由咕噜肉配玉米青豆炒饭组成的、关于中国菜的童年记忆将会被彻底颠覆；体验中国美食将成为生活带给他最为丰富多彩的饮食经历。以下是我行走中国的美食之旅：它始于云南省昆明市、北上至东北哈尔滨市、最终沿着海岸线回到上海。

云南省向来被称为中国最富少数民族特色的地区。昆明作为省会，是云南省经济、交流和文化中心。在昆明品尝美食，实际上就是在品尝云南不同民族间饮食传统的完美融合。在昆明你什么都能吃得到：辣子鸡、香豆腐、炸乳鸽、牛蛙饺子……我在昆明西坝路上闲逛时偶然发现了一家古朴典雅的当地名餐厅，店里的服务员坚持让我进来尝一尝他们餐厅的回族特色菜：糖醋葡萄鱼。这道菜把鱼切成片，然后在上面开十字花刀，再用木薯粉裹起来油炸。鱼片炸好后会自己卷起来，上面珠状的鱼肉像——没错——就像一串串葡萄，之后淋上酸甜的酱汁、再放上新鲜的香菜，尝起来又辣又甜、味道新鲜多汁——这和澳大利亚老套的酸酸甜甜的中国菜比起来，实在令人眼前一亮。

走出昆明，云南会让你更加深刻地体会到中国菜的丰富和多样性。酸辣鱼是大理白族的一道名菜：整道菜被放在陶罐里，里面放有高汤、嫩豆腐、大葱和韭菜。竹笋似乎也是云南菜中特别受欢迎的一种食材。这些看起来像白色幼虫的东西在云南省各地用不同种方法烹饪：在大理，这道菜吃起来和刚炸好的盐醋味薯片很像；在离大理 7 小时车程的腾冲，这道菜不用醋烹饪、而是洒上干辣椒调味。但云南省最大的美食惊喜并不是这些，而是当地人对于奶酪的喜爱。大多数澳大利亚人，甚至是大部分中国人自己都不会把奶酪和中国菜联系在一起，但是云南省的白族人和撒尼族人会自豪地告诉你，他们能够用平底锅煎出美味的山羊奶酪。

往北走一点你将来到四川省，这里的美食以辣闻名。悉尼也有许多地道的四川菜馆，它们都突出了川菜的一个极其鲜明的特色：辣！可是仅仅去达令港的红辣川菜馆或是位于 Glebe Point 路上的蜀香坊吃饭，你绝对不可能了解川菜复杂多样的口味。中国本地的川菜和澳大利亚川菜的一个显著不同就是对花椒的使用。由于花椒在澳大利亚很少见且不会被大量使用，中国本地川菜中大量的花椒调味会立即引起你的注意：一旦咬到花椒，你的嘴就会
瞬间麻掉，你甚至可能会像被牙医打了麻药一样流着口水。而川菜口味的另一个极端是基本不含有辣味，这更是令人惊异不已。其中成都的名菜蹄花汤据说对养颜美容有很好的功效。

深夜里，年轻的夜店咖们在回家醒酒前，会挤在餐厅里享用睡前护肤大餐。

四川菜下属有四个地区菜系，其中最著名的是重庆菜。重庆菜的辣就像重庆城的天气一样火热。重庆火锅是其中最广为人知的代表菜。我去吃重庆火锅的餐厅是市中心一家又小又简陋的餐馆，我一进去就很担心火锅上桌后会变得非常热。而读这家火锅店的菜单对我来说又是另一个难题：我纠结着想从菜单中挑出和“牛肉”、“鸡肉”、“豆腐”相关的菜，但我看到的只有“新鲜猪喉咙”和“鸭肠”这一类的菜名。重庆火锅对于吃惯了澳大利亚菜的我们来说实在是相当刺激的一次挑战！

沿着长江往下走，你就会来到湖北省的武汉市。尽管中国的每个城市好像都有那么一条专门的小吃街，武汉的户部巷却显得与众不同。例如：北京的王府井小吃街常常会用新奇的食物，比如活蝎子、海马烤串儿等来吸引食客，户部巷却放弃了这种噱头，而是售卖一些如汤包、麻辣鸭脖和热干面这样在的传统当地小吃。武汉的汤包比我在澳大利亚见过的任何汤包都要大，汤包的上面开了一个孔，你可以在吃汤包馅之前用吸管来品尝其中美味的汤汁。

接下来你将会来到中国东北部的沿海城市——青岛，城市最著名的自然是深受中国人民喜爱的青岛啤酒。你会发现当地的美食以海鲜为主：海参、墨鱼子、海星等等。青岛的本地小吃是海鲜大排档，小贩们会沿着街边排成一排卖烧烤，内容从烤鱿鱼到烤鱼丸，无所不有。小吃街的两旁还放满了装着生啤的酒桶，令整条街都充满了独特的青岛味儿！

在中国东部的沿海地区，我尝到了更为熟悉的中国菜，因为它们来自与海外有密切往来的大城市。北京烤鸭恐怕是最著名的中国菜了。北京的全聚德烤鸭店有5个街区那么大，能够一次性容纳5000人就餐。全聚德在全世界都享有盛誉，来自北京、中国其他地区和外国的食客们为了一尝烤鸭无可挑剔的美味而纷至沓来。全聚德只选用2.5公斤重的肥美鸭子，并在烤制之前用风箱加工，让鸭皮与鸭肉分离，令鸭肉更多汁、鸭皮更香脆。烤制中使用梅子、桃子和枣子干来为鸭肉调制出丰富的果香。全聚德拥有一群受过专门训练的厨师，他们唯一的工作就是监控烤鸭烤制的全过程。烤鸭做好后就会被端上桌，然后由一位专业的厨师负责片皮切片。负责这一工作的厨师号称能够把鸭连皮带肉切成完全等份的120片。在全聚德享用美食的整个过程既新鲜又奢华，让人不禁想起悉尼市位于Heymarket的高级食府——东海海鲜酒家和金唐海鲜酒楼。它们所做的每一道菜都那么的相似，从菜品本身到佐餐调料都是完美的复制。

上海是一个名副其实的国际大都市。对我来说，只要有一碗汤和一个三明治当午饭，再来瓶红酒，我哪儿都能呆得下去。可是上海也有它自己与众不同的中国饮食文化，而且上海恐怕是中国拥有最多种饺子的地方。我在离上海旧法租界不远的地方就意外发现了一家餐厅，并在那里吃到了非常美味的XO酱炒海螺。在这道菜里，海螺被剥壳、切细，然后和少量XO酱混炒。菜品看起来也非常棒，海螺肉被放在西芹条和胡萝卜片上，螺壳则被放在苹果泥丸子上。这道菜无论从外观、味道还是烹饪技巧上都比得上一些澳大利亚最好的餐厅，而且与我在中国其他欠发达地区吃到的菜大不相同。

和许多澳大利亚人原有的认知不同，中国菜由多种菜系组成、种类繁多，而且每一个地区都有着各具特色的菜品。但在一些地区、甚至是全国的中国菜中，我也发现了一些相似性。如自贡市以烧烤串出名，但是这些烤鸡肉、辣金针菇和鹌鹑蛋也以不同样式出现在如成都、西安、甚至是更北边的哈尔滨市。闻名的中国包子能够在中国任何地方的街边小贩那里
买到。不过北京和杭州的大包子是按个卖的，而在中国西南地区，包子都是一口能吃下的大小，因此是按笼来卖。在中国旅行的时候我常常用一个城市包子的质量来评判当地的美食水平，因为我曾经在腾冲的一个工业区小巷子里吃到一种十分美味的小笼包，于是我便不停地在不同地方寻找和它相似的美味。有一些中国的包子小贩确实做出了符合我要求的味道，但是我在悉尼却始终找不到任何一个哪怕能和腾冲小笼包稍微有一点接近的包子。


澳大利亚式的中国菜是由产自澳大利亚或是其他进口原料烹饪而成的，这就使它们或许永远都不可能完美地复制中国菜本身。然而形成澳大利亚式中国菜和真正中国菜之间区别的却不仅仅是原材料。事实上，与我们互动频繁的某些中国地区（如广东省）对在澳大利亚形成的中国菜产生了很大的影响。人与人之间关于饮食的互动渐渐融入了澳大利亚社会，而中国菜就在这一过程中被改变得逐渐偏向澳大利亚人的口味。

被誉为“厨师圣经”的最新版本法国美食大辞典 Larousse Gastronomique 将烹饪描述为是对“时代的习俗与当下和距今不久的习惯以及偏好”的映射。我们常常认为饮食代表的是一个国家的传统，然而，事实上它代表的不仅仅是传统，还是一个国家的现在以及它刚过去的近似。也许 Yu-Xiao Zhu 应该把澳大利亚也加入到他的中国饮食地图中去，然后找出澳大利亚式中国菜与其他中国菜在原材料和烹饪方式上的相似与不同。我相信从中我们能发现，澳大利亚式中国菜混杂了一些中国菜——特别是中国东南沿海地区菜式的特点，它不仅表现出中国古老文化的元素，也深受近代历史和当今人口流动的影响。

当一个澳大利亚人聊到中国菜时，他其实聊得并不是真正的中国美食。他在谈论的是一种独特的澳大利亚式中国菜，而且只代表着中国饮食这一广阔体系中的一部分。除非你吃遍中国、感受到中国美食的复杂性，否则你是绝对不可能真正了解中国菜的。这一点也让我终于领悟到，我在悉尼是永远不会找到完美的腾冲小笼包了。
A Place, Some Place, Out of Place, Still In Place

一个地方，某个地方，格格不入，还是合适的

Edgar Fergus Ho 何峰岳
SECTION V
CREATIVE WORK
ENGLISH

第五部分
原创作品部分
英文类作品
Where is Home?

郭骏程 Guo Juncheng

Translated into English from the original Chinese by Katrina Fan 范羽佳 and proofread by Greg Mikkelsen 葛云天.

This piece was awarded the ACYA Journal Creative Work Prize.

Juncheng is a Tai person from Xishuangbanna, who floated around Beijing at the Central National for Minorities for four years before floating onto foreign lands and places as a Master of Arts (Asia-Pacific Studies) student at the Australia National University. He is engrossed with literature, poetry and all other rational and irrational fancies.

I lost my culture, I am homeless. I found a new culture within me, I am an outsider.

Life is like a journey during which we constantly look for a place to belong and end up finding a place that we call ‘home’. However, the destination we keep looking for is a place that we left a long time ago and can never go back to.

In Australia, the question I was asked most was ‘where do you come from?’ But I was always hesitant before replying.

My first home is Xishuangbanna, a land of dense forests, heat waves and muddy rivers. But these memories are already blurred and indistinct. I left this border town for a strange city with my parents at the age of three. Memory of this ‘home’ was rebuilt after I grew up, visiting grandparents over the Chinese New Year. Such visits were made every year, but each time only for a week or so. After ten years, I thought I had again come to know this place as home, but when I took my camera around Jinghong city in my third year of university, I discovered that still I did not understand her.

I insist on visiting a Buddhist temple whenever I am back in Xishuangbanna. There I can resolve my emotions, pray for a red line and summon unspeakable forces back to my heart. That year, they built what was hailed as the largest Theravada Buddhist temple in Southeast Asia, and I went to visit with my parents. They were able to enter as locals, but a ticket officer stopped me at the gate because my identity card shows that I am not a Jinghong local. I took out my student card from the Central University for Nationalities and tried to convince him that I was born there and am of the local Dai ethnicity. But I had nothing to say when he asked me to speak the Dai language. I realised that I had been gradually banished from my hometown ever since I was born. Finally, I had been stopped outside the door, never to be let in again.
I can only be dragged forward by time, to find another home.

It is often said that universities are like your second parents, and so Beijing should be my second home. I had the best years of my life there. A youth of eighteen and nineteen blossomed with satisfaction irreplaceable. When it came time to graduate, many of my fellow classmates from out of town were struggling to decide whether or not they wanted to keep drifting around Beijing and make this faraway metropolis their home forever. Without a doubt, I loved the subway system, cinemas, libraries, historical sites, scenic spots and delicious food of Beijing. However, if you asked me whether I would be willing to lay down roots in the city, I would have to decline, due to the illness I suffered in the winter of my freshman year.

I became seriously ill just after I arrived in Beijing; the freezing winters of Northern China are too hard to adapt to. I thought it was just because my body was weak, and that I would be fine once I became accustomed to the new climate. However, the same affliction would take its toll every late autumn or early winter: a relentless cough that simply could not be remedied until the weather changed for the warmer come springtime. What is more, Beijing summers are not particularly pleasant either. If my hand so much as brushed over a handrail on the subway or a public bus, even if I did not rub them my eyes would still become red and watery once I returned home. At the start, I thought this might be because my towel was dirty, but if I left Beijing the problem would suddenly disappear. My mother, who studied medicine, told me later that it was an allergy, not an infection. Ever since then I have known that I cannot live in Beijing no matter how large or attractive it is. If not even my health could be guaranteed in this place, then why should I struggle hard to make it here and call home a place so hostile to outsiders?

So I went abroad to seek my ideal home.

It was only after I went abroad that I finally realised that I only have one home, and that is China. I have not yet found the ideal place to settle down in this enormous country, but the ancient culture that penetrates through the strokes of the characters in her name is enough to give my soul something to fall back upon. It only takes the writing of a few Chinese characters or the most common of Chinese dishes to cause foreigners to regard me, this black-haired and dark-eyed person, with increased respect. Reciting classical poetry and studying ancient literature used to seem like such a burden, but now I understood these as an enormous blessing. The Chinese people possess almost identical script and grammar, use the same ways of thinking, and experience similar inspiration and emotion to our ancients who lived two thousand years ago. Chinese characters withstood the erosion of time, and from them we can still see what the ancients saw, understand what the ancients thought, and feel what the ancients felt. This is a remarkable achievement in and of itself.
This feeling became stronger when I was an Asia-Pacific Studies research student in Australia. More than half of the students in my major could speak Chinese, whom I initially though would put me to shame. But I found out later that the Chinese most of them had learnt was only sufficient for use as a tool – they could not experience the deeper meanings stored in Chinese characters. Even those foreigners who claimed to be or were recognised in their field as ‘China hands’, could only consider China with their brains and be remarkable only to the extent they could think about China, without ever being able to feel the Chinese language with their hearts. People cannot change where they were born or where they came from. Destiny made arrangements for you the moment you were born, and whether or not you are able to realise the beauty in this, we all have to live in a place called ‘home’.

After thinking about it carefully, I realised that Australia is not my real home. I am of Dai ethnicity, and the home that the heavens planned for me should be in the Dai language and culture. However, being a so-called ‘false Dai’, I cannot even form a full sentence in the Dai language, let alone understand the depths of the Dai. If I were to stand in front of other people and say nothing, they would undoubtedly think of me as no different from any other majority Han ethnicity Chinese. Yes, I admit it; I was long ago assimilated and am a Han Chinese through and through. In my family, not even my parents’ generation speaks the Dai language, and so I did not learn it as a child and did not know where to begin with it as an adult. I left my home from the moment I was born and am never able to go back.

There are many people of Asian descent who are born in Australia, and in a white society they are a minority. They rarely return to their ancestral homeland, but because of their parents they are fluent speakers of their ancestral language. Their situation is much better than that of most Chinese ethnic minorities. However, through the course of deep friendships I realised that their hearts have long been westernised, they speak English better than their ancestral language, and the literature and art they appreciate is in English. Apart from an ethnic identity, they are no longer able to inherit or promote their native language. So they are also a group of homeless children, the same as me, always hovering in front of the door of their ‘home’, but unable to go back in.

Home is not only a place to eat and sleep at ease, but also the resting place of a person’s body and mind. In this turbulent world we are constantly migrating in order to try and find some place to settle down and somebody to love. This place we search for has the tastes, foods, customs and festivals, and the sounds, thought and appreciation, of our mother tongue, but more importantly it has the people whom we are familiar with and do not need language to know, that the expression in their eyes says: ‘child, you belong here’.

Where is this home of mine? I keep asking myself this question. I have let so many homes slip by, and now I have come to a new place to keep searching. When will I be able to find a place where I am happy? Or return to it? I firmly believe that wherever you are standing now is your home. But
from a cultural standpoint, my original home has already forsaken me and I am destined to be a wanderer, forever drifting. But I believe that I am not alone in this world. So many people move from one place to the next, all bringing with them a yearning for their hometown whilst building a new home together. All that we itinerant children can do is to keep moving forward, ceaselessly gathering the dust of our hometowns, which whirls and scatters in the air around us to speck-by-speck form the land underneath our feet. This way our bones will have a place to return to, and our descendants a place to go.
The Naked Artist

Gareth Durrant 吴忠彦

Translated into English from the original Chinese by Chelsea Zhou 周杨 and proofread by Greg Mikkelsen 葛云天.

Gareth is a sexual health educator who enjoys working on the front line of family planning and youth HIV/STI prevention and is interested in Australia's engagement with Asia. Condom demonstrations in Mandarin are his go-to party trick.

A flaxen midday glow coruscates on my brow. I take a deep breath and slowly open my eyes. The light shining softly on my face is not in any way harsh, nor does my body feel cold. Bones wrapped in flesh, flesh wrapped in skin. My quilt covers it all. My warm body is lying in bed, upside down, with my feet at the headboard and my head at the foot of the bed. A pillow is on the floor, another beneath my head and the third, gone without trace. The naked artist lying beside me is still sleeping. The music that accompanied our midday nap is still on. Whether or not it is the same song, I have neither idea nor concern.

His body is on par with any gymnast, his skin has a natural tan and his muscles are well developed. With his hair shaven he has a look that suggests both Asian and Middle Eastern. It’s a face that would fit in almost anywhere. Although new to Kending, I can only assume the locals think he was born and bred in Pingdong.

Because of him, I’m tempted to give up everything and travel south – all the way until I get to Kending National Park. Not running away exactly, just leaving. The richness of my life is fading like colour being slowly washed away. Rationality keeps reminding me that the grass is not always greener on the other side, but I’m not listening. I want the first breath of each new day to come from a salty sea breeze, and the first sound I hear to be the waves on the Strait. I want to grant my senses a chance to communicate with nature.

“I might as well go with you.” I whisper tentatively.

Curled up in my bed as he is, he doesn’t reply, sleeping quietly like a baby. Sometimes you need to seize the opportunities before you and be sure of your own decisions; bravely do the things you want to do. But I don’t dare. Experience tells me it is in my nature to trap myself with all kinds of obligations. And I can never change.

I raise my head, staring at his shaved pommel-shaped head: “I envy your freedom.”
He once said to me, “I never want to be a successful man. What I want is simple. So long as I can paint, that’s enough. In truth, it’s a greedy wish but I keep telling myself that success or failure, it doesn’t matter. As long as I can continue painting I’ll know that I’m not stuck in a rut. Just like when a poet demands words of unambiguous simplicity, that’s success enough.” I envy his spirit as an artist. The closer I get to him, the more I understand that while I have a passion for writing, I’m not a writer.

Seeing him naked in my bed, my obsession resembles that of Dorian Grey. I don’t know if I should wake him up or leave him in his sleep. Indulgence hurts.

A while ago I started having doubts about our relationship. He told me, “I don’t make my living on words so I can’t offer you a good metaphor. But we are in this uncertain state. I’m going to leave and you will go back to Australia. Every time I walk in this apartment of yours on Guling Street I cherish it, because I don’t know if there will be a next time. Every time I walk out from your door, I think to myself ‘this could be the last time.’”

Our naked bodies are wrapped around each other, radiating a sleepy tenderness from the nap we took. Truth is we don’t need the quilt, an anniversary, or a plan for the future. The feelings are enough. When someone with a passion for writing and a naked artist are napping intertwined, they don’t owe an explanation to anyone outside that bed.
Thoughts on the Road: The Beauty of Poems and Art in the Classical Gardens of Suzhou

Translated into English from the original Chinese by Chelsea Zhou 周杨 and proofread by Peter Harris.

Cloudy Liu was born in Shanghai and is now a second year student at the City University of Hong Kong, majoring in Finance. In 2013, she came to Monash University as an exchange student. She loves travelling, playing piano and reading books. She is interested in studying traditional culture and wants to share the rich and profound Chinese culture with people from all over the world.

Your steps are on the zigzag of the verandas; your ears are on the bubbling of the running water and the chanting of the birds; your eyes are on the pink bricks, black tiles and dancing shadows of trees; your nose is on the faint scent of orchids. Placing yourself in the Classical Gardens of Suzhou is like listening to every meaningful Chinese idyll and experiencing in three dimensions the scenery of classical shanshui paintings (山水画).

Most of the masters of the Classical Gardens of Suzhou were literati of great erudition and scholarship. They wished to maintain inner peace amidst the pandemonium of the city, to dwell poetically on this earth. These ‘mountains and forests in the city’ that they built are not merely stones piled into rockeries and tiles layered into pavilions; they are spiritual homes built with the poetic understanding and artistic aesthetics of their scholarly masters. Professor Cao Lindi 曹林娣 believes the literati incorporated their personal emotions and profound appreciations into the design of the gardens. By artistically recreating the beauty of nature, they achieved a state of ‘humanised nature’.

The poetics of the Classical Gardens of Suzhou lie mainly in antithetical couplets and the naming of sights. In Cao Xueqin’s 曹雪芹 Dream of the Red Chamber (Hong lou meng 红楼梦), the character Jia Zheng 贾政 gives voice to the author’s view that the exceptional beauty of garden architecture and scenery would not be as outstanding without the calligraphy naming them. Poetry offers a descriptive epitomisation of a view’s objective natural beauty, as well as being an expression of

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144 □ ACYA JOURNAL OF AUSTRALIA-CHINA AFFAIRS
scholars’ subjective emotions, and therefore attains a plane of harmony between humankind and nature. One example is the ‘Stay and Listen Pavilion’ (Liuting 國 留听阁) in the Humble Administrator’s Garden (Zhouzheng yuán 拙政园). The name ‘Stay and Listen’ (Liuting 留听) is a citation of Tang poet Li Shangyin’s famous line “the withered lotus stayed and listened to the rain” (留得枯荷听雨声). Seeing a lotus withering, its moment of beauty forever lost, amidst pouring rain the poet could not but think of and long for friends – whom could he turn to and talk about his heartfelt loneliness? Wang Guowei’s (王國維) phrase, “When I observe the world, everything is affected by my character” (以我观物，故物皆着我之色彩), illuminates how objective scenery through poetry becomes a carrier for thoughts and feelings of dejection. Apart from expressing one’s innermost emotions, the linking of poetry and natural scenes in the Classical Gardens of Suzhou can also reflect the moral character of the literati. The name of the ‘Small Room of “Who to Sit With”’ (Yu shei tongzu xuan 与谁同坐轩) refers to Su Shi’s (苏轼) line “Who to sit with – the refreshing breeze, bright moon, and I” (与谁同坐? ——清风明月我). The poet here expresses his longing for freedom and indifference to fame and wealth by choosing the company of the wind and the moon. A further example is the ‘Orange Pavilion’ (Dai shuang ting 待霜亭), the name of which is taken from Wei Yingwu’s (韦应物) verse “I would like to send you 300 oranges for your sickness, but we need to wait for the frost to fall before we harvest the best oranges” (书后欲题三百颗, 洞庭须待满林霜). That oranges only turn red and become their best after the fall of frost becomes a symbol for the scholar’s indomitable strength of character in the face of adversity on the path to wisdom and virtue.

The poetic doublets hung around the Gardens are a more direct expression of the thoughts of the literati. One doublet in the Humble Administrator’s Garden reads, “The woods are more silent with the cry of cicadas, the mountain more peaceful with the chirping of birds” (蝉噪林愈静，鸟鸣山更幽). The silence and peace cited in the doublet are a harmony of ‘presence’ (you 有) and ‘absence’ (wu 无), a balance of the Buddhist concepts of ‘loss’ (kong 空) and ‘gain’ (se 色). The poet expresses his understanding of Zen; the cries of cicadas and chirps of birds are temporary just like wealth and status in the secular world, which pass in an instant and end up lost. Therefore, only by recovering one’s original simplicity can one approach the essence of existence. White plum trees on either side of the pavilion where the doublet is displayed serve as a reminder of the link between nature and the virtue of looking beyond material gain.

As a matter of fact, poetics everywhere permeate the design of the gardens – the trees and meadows, the rockeries and streams, all send forth a rich scholarly aura. Qing dynasty scholar Qian Yong (钱泳) suggested a winding route to be taken when visiting a garden, as the way visitors move

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3 Wang Guowei, Renjian cihua 人间词话 [Jen-Chien Tz’u-hua].
4 Qian Yong, Lv yuan cong hua 踏园丛话: “造园如作诗文，必使曲折有法，前后呼应，最忌堆砌，最忌错杂，方称佳构.” [Building a garden is similar to writing a poem: plots have to be intricate, the start must hint at the end. Only a construction without meaningless strings of words or unorganised prose can be considered well designed].
gradually into different areas of the garden is similar to the Chinese poetic idea of synergies—opening, developing, changing and concluding 起承转合 (qi, cheng, zhuang, he), and touring a garden this way can make one feel more of a poetic rhythm. Visitors first walk through a winding veranda of varying heights and lightings before reaching a bright clearing, reminiscent of the pre- and post-comparison of poetry composition, of restraining emotion until the climax.

In the Classical Gardens of Suzhou, poetics unfold before one’s eyes the lofty intellectual attainment of the literati, whereas paintings give expression to their unique aesthetic tastes. The Gardens lack the luxurious colours of imperial gardens, but what they do possess is simplicity and elegance. Similar to a splashed-ink shanshui painting, the artistic style of the Gardens embodies the learned tranquility and peaceful minds of the masters. The phrase “no beauty in the world can match that of simplicity” (朴素而天下莫能与之争美) from Zhuang Zi’s 庄子 Way of Heaven (Tian Dao 天道) is an accurate description of their moral code; such people do not want to attract the world’s attention with artificial pretence, but wish to develop their ideal of poetically dwelling on this earth. Many notable artists such as Wen Zhengming 文徵明 and Ni Yunlin 倪云林 made blueprints for Classical Gardens in Suzhou, combining shanshui painting techniques with garden design.

Qing dynasty thinker Wang Fuzhi’s 王夫之 notion that the probing of all the emotions able to expressed by objects is required to complete the reconstruction and sublimation of natural scenery (ti wu de shen 体悟的神) is very important in traditional Chinese art. The same idea was applied to the selection and construction of materials in the Classical Gardens. One example is the ‘Lion Forest Garden’ (Shizi lin 狮子林). The Lion Forest Garden was built by students in memory of a teacher. Rockeries are piled up to look like lions striking various poses. The phrase ‘lion’s roar’ (shizi hou 狮子吼) is a metaphor for Zen masters inducing scriptures in the Buddhist scriptures, and so the lion-shaped rockeries connote the art of passing on knowledge. Plum blossoms and pine trees in the garden serve to symbolise the high morality of the master of the garden.

Another key aspect of traditional Chinese painting is the illustration of both what is real and what is not. As opposed to the emphasis on detailed depictions of reality and explicit perspectives in Western art, shanshui painting is known for the frequent practice of leaving blank areas (liubai 留白). These blank areas leave open the possibility of imagination, representing the philosophical idea of ‘doing everything by doing nothing’ (无为而无所不为). The limited focus of Western Art is relatively monotonic compared with the diverse and piercing perspectives of Chinese painting that provide viewers with the feeling of imagination outside the frame. Wang Qijun 王其钧 and Ding

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5 Wang Fuzhi: “含情而能达，会景而生心，体物而得神.” [Understand emotions so that you can express them; understand scenery so that you can animate it; understand objects so that you can feel the nuances of nature].

6 Wang Duo 王铎 (2003), Shanshuihua yu shanshui yuanlin 山水画与山水园林[Shanshui paintings and shanshui gardens], Zhongguo gudai yuanyuan yu wenhua 中国古代苑园与文化, Hubei Education Press.
Shan 丁山⁷ have compared the ponds of the Classical Gardens of Suzhou to the blank areas in *shanshui* paintings. For example, in the Humble Administrator’s Garden diverse scenery spreads out by the watersides around a centre identified by the ponds and the Orchid Island (*Lan dao 兰岛*).⁸ Such instalments provide the viewer with feelings vast and limitless. Lights and shadows leaking through the windows and the delectable scent of the plants make up aspects of the virtual scenery of the Garden. This virtual scenery, along with the physical scenery of pavilions and pagodas, forms a real-life *shanshui* painting.

The beauty of this painting and the poems within it are not isolate but in perfect unity, complementing each other to enhance the ambience of the Classical Gardens. Another example is the physical scenery of the Qiahang Pagoda (恰杭) set behind a pond in the Lingering Garden (*Liu yuan 留园*).⁹ Observed from the But Pavilion (*Ke ting 可亭*), the pagoda looks like a ship sailing on the lake. The master of the garden based the scenery on poet Du Fu’s 杜甫 lyric “the ship without an owner happens to be just right for two to three to sail” (*野航恰受两三人*), expressing pride in the knowledge that two to three real friends are better than a crowd of uncivilized company. This pagoda is a perfect representation of scenery within a poem and poetry within scenery, the both in complete harmony supplementing and complementing each other, stirring boundless reverie in the viewer and enabling them to experience the spiritual value of the gardens.

Reflecting upon the poetic grace of Chinese gardens, this is real value of such gardens: they complete the ideas, emotions and values of the literati of an age. Despite the changing of dynasties and the passage of time, the fluttering elegance of the calligraphy and inexhaustible variety of the plants and rockeries in the Classical Gardens of Suzhou provide modern people with the code to decrypt history and culture, imbuing the entire Gardens with life, and encouraging people today to begin to understand these Gardens as the materialisation of the thoughts and emotions of ancient scholars, as the paradises of their free spirits, and as the essence of Chinese culture.

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⁷ Wang Qijun and Ding Shan (2007), *Yuanlin yu huihua* 园林与绘画 [Gardens and paintings], Tujie zhongguo yuanlin 图解中国园林, China Power Press, pp.204-207.

Hangzhou in Winter

杭州的冬天

陈诗韵 Sylvian Tran
SECTION VI
CREATIVE WORK
CHINESE

第六部分
原创作品部分
中文类作品
何处是家乡

郭骏程 Juncheng Guo

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”。

西双版纳傣族，以中央民族大学为据点，在北京漂了四年之后，继续漂在异国他乡，目前于澳大利亚国立大学攻读亚太研究硕士学位。沉迷于文学、诗歌，以及一切理性与不理智的幻想。

I lost my culture, I am homeless. I found a new culture within me, I am an outsider.

我们的人生就是一个不断寻找归宿的旅程，这个旅程的终点便是那个被我们称为“家”的地方。然而，我们启程不断去寻找的目的地，却是我们早已离开却一直都回不去的“家乡”。

在澳大利亚，别人最常问的一句话就是：“你从哪里来？”回答这个问题之前，我总有一些犹豫。

我的第一个家乡在西双版纳，那里有茂密的森林，热浪和浑浊的江水。可这些记忆早已模糊不清。三岁便随父母离开这个边陲小城，去往一座陌生的城市。对这个“家”的记忆都是长大之后，在春节回来看外婆外公时重新构建起来的。每年都去，一住就是一个多星期，我自以为十多年的累积足够让我重新认识这个家乡。可是，当我大三那年拿着摄像机在景洪城的大街小巷穿梭时，我发现我是那么的不了解他。

我一直坚持每次回西双版纳都去一趟佛寺，把所有心事都在那里静静化解，祈求一段红线，让无以言状的力量都回到心窝。那一年，这个号称东南亚地区最大的南传上座部佛教寺院建好了，我和父母去拜访。在门口，父母都能以本地人的身份游览，而我却被检票人员拦下了，理由是我的身份证显示我不是景洪人。我拿出中央民族大学的学生证和他辩解半天，试图说服他们我是在这里出生的，我也是本地的傣族。可当他们问我不会傣语时，我却无话可说。也许从我出生的那个时候开始，我就已经被这个家乡渐渐驱逐，直到这一刻，终于被在门外，再也进不去。

我只能被时间推着往前赶，去寻找另一个家乡。

都说大学是人的第二个父母，那么北京也应该算是我的第二故乡了吧。在这里，我度过了最愉快的几年。一个十八、九岁的青春，就在这里绽放着，再惬意不过了。毕业的时候，周围很多同学都在纠结要不要继续北漂，把这个异地的大城市当成他们永远的家乡。毫无疑问，我爱这里的地铁公交，爱这里的电影院图书馆，爱这里的名胜古迹，爱这里的美食。可当问我愿不愿意在这座城市扎根时，我却不愿意，理由是大一入冬时的一场病。

当时刚来北京，受不了北方的严冬，大病了一场。以为是自己身体虚弱，只要以后适应了气候便好。可是之后的每年秋末冬初，都要得上一模一样的病，咳嗽不止，非要把春天天气转暖才会好转。除此之外的夏季，也并不好过。只要一上公交车，手碰到扶手椅子，即使不去揉眼睛，回去也会眼红流泪。开始以为是自己用的毛巾不干净，可是自从离开北京，这个毛病就再也没有犯过。后来学医的母亲说，你这是过敏，并不是感染。自此以后便觉得，纵使北京再大再好，也不能待下去了。一个连自己的健康都不能保证的地方，我凭什么要为一张求之不得的准入证而拼命，把这个排外的异地当作家乡。

于是我走出国门，去寻找自己心中理想的家。
出了国才知道，我的家乡只有一个，那就是中国。虽然我还没有在这个偌大的国度，找到一处实际的安身之地，但她字里行间透出的悠长文化，足够让我的心灵有所依靠了。只要把从小就会写的中国字在外国人面前画两下，再把随便一道家常便饭里的中国菜往他们面前一放，无论是谁，都会对你这个黑头发黑眼睛的人刮目相看。从前觉得背古诗、学古文是一种负担，自那以后才明白，这是极大的幸福。我们和两千多年前的古人一样，用着近乎相同的文字和语法，用着同样的思维方式，体会着相似的领悟与感动。从那些打败了时间侵蚀的文字里，我们依然可以想古人所想，领会古人所思，体悟古人所感，这本身就是个了不起的成就。

在澳大利亚学习亚太研究期间，这份感受更加深切。所学专业的大半同学都会中文，起初实在有些自叹不如。可之后才发现，他们学到的中文，大多只是作为工具的语言，并不能体察方块字背后蕴藏的深意。即使是那些自诩或被业界认为是“中国通”的外国人，他们也只是用脑子来思考中国，并且思考得很出色罢了。他们始终还是不能做到用心来感受中文。正如出生地或是籍贯，并不是想改就能改的。你出生的那一刻命运便帮你做好安排，不管你能不能发现其中的妙处，都要让你永远住在这个被称之为“家”的地方。

但仔细一想，这也并不是我真正的家。我是傣族，上天给我安排的家应该是傣语言文化。可是，这个被大家叫做“假傣族”的我，连一个完整的傣语句子都说不出来，更别提深处的文化了。站在别人面前，如果说我不说，别人肯定以为我与其他汉族无异。是的，我承认，我早已被同化，我是一个彻底的汉人。父母那一代早已不用傣语说话，我小时候无从学起，长大后也不知道哪里能捡起。我在出生的那一刻起，早已离家出走，再也回不去了。

澳大利亚也有很多本土出生的亚裔孩子，他们在白人社会里也是少数族裔。他们很少回到自己的故乡，但因为父母的关系，都能说一口流利的本国语言。他们的处境要比中国大多数少数民族好得多，但深究之下才发现，他们的内心早已被深深西化，英语比本国语言说得好，欣赏的文学艺术也都是英语著作。除了一个民族认同，他们是不可能继承和创造本国的语言了。原来他们也是一群无家可归的孩子，和我一样，始终站在那个被称为“家”的门口徘徊，却已经永远回不去了。

家不仅仅是一个可以安心吃饭、睡觉的地方，一个让人舒心的家乡，还能让人的心灵和身体同时找到归宿。我们在这个动荡的世界里不断迁徙，为的是找到一个爱你的人和一块歇脚的土地。在这块土地上，有我们熟悉的味道、食物、风俗和节日，有我们的乡音母语以及母语所表达出的对这个世界的思考和感悟，更重要的是有那么一群熟悉的人，毋需言语，从他们的眼神里就可以看到他们的认同：“孩子，你是属于这里的。”

这个家乡在哪里？我不断的问自己。我错过了那么多家乡，现在又来到一个新的地方寻找，我何时能找到这片乐土，或者说回到？我坚信那句话，你所站立的地方便是家乡。可是，文化上我原始的家乡早已抛弃了我，我在这个世界上注定是一个浪子，永远漂泊。我相信，在这个世界上也并不孤单。太多的人们从一个地方迁徙到另一个地方，带着心中对“老家”的渴望，一起建造着一个“新家”。我们这些流浪在外的孩子，只能不断往前赶、往前找，不断搜集飘零在空中故园的尘土，将他们一点一点聚集为脚下的土地。好让我们的尸骨，有所归处；我们的子孙，有所来处。
裸画家

Gareth Durrant 吴忠彦

吴忠彦是一名性健康教育者。他享受工作在计划生育，年轻人艾滋病预防的最前线，并对澳大利亚与亚洲往来感兴趣。用中文展示安全套的使用方法是他去派对的小把戏。

淡黄的午光投射在我脸上，我深深地呼吸，眼睛轻轻打开。在我脸上轻打的光一点都不刺眼，身体一点都不冷，骨被血肉给包了，皮肤包了腠而我的棉被掩盖一切。温暖的身体在床上的位置，颠倒相反，脚在床头，头在最下方。有一个枕头在头上，一个在我头底，另一个不知道跑到哪里去。旁边的裸画家也未醒过来。午睡前所放的音乐还在播，是同一首还是全新的我也搞不清楚，也不在乎。

他的身体可以跟任何体操选手比，皮肤自然黑，肌肉自然很发达。头发剃光了的他长相既有点亚洲又有点中东，反正就是一张世界通用的脸。即使现在住在垦丁，当地人也应该认为他是土生土长的屏东人吧。

因为他我最近很想放弃一切，往南部走，走，一直走，走到垦丁国家公园去。不算是逃亡而是想简单的离去。生活逐渐被冲淡了，生活花样也慢慢地褪色。总会理性的提醒自己，篱笆外的草也不一定更绿，但很难说服自己。我想每一天呼吸到的第一口空气是咸咸的风，耳边的第一个声音是屏东的海浪，给五种感官一个与大自然沟通的机会。

「我跟你回去好了」我低低又切切地说。

蜷伏在我床上的他没有回答，静静的，静静的，睡得像个孩子的他。我认为有时候必须抓住前眼前机会，肯定自己的决策，勇敢做想要做的事。但我不敢。经验告诉我，这就是我的本性，总是愿以种种的义务来锁住自己，改不掉的。

抬头望着他圆圆的头“我很羡慕你的自由”。

他曾经对我说过：“我啊，没有想要做个成功的人，我想要的很单纯，能够一直画图就好了。其实是一个很贪心的梦想，但是我老实跟自己说没有成功或失败的，我想要的是持续画图然后自己清楚我不是原地踏步，可能像诗人一样，努力要求自己精简文字就这样而已。”羡慕他画家的精神。我越接近他，越了解，我纯粹是个喜欢写写东西的人而不是作家。

看了他裸体在我床上，我的迷恋像《道林·格雷的画像》一般。不知道该唤醒他还是让他继续睡，纵欲过度易伤身。

前阵子对我们之间的关系开始疑虑，他对我说“我不搞文字的，自己也拿不出这种譬喻，但是我们就是在这个模糊的地带。我会离开，你会回澳洲，所以我很珍惜每次进你这公寓，实在是因为看不到下一次的时间，我不知道会不会有下一次。每次从你家大门离开，我在心底都好像：说不定这是最后一次见面。”

两个人赤裸的身体交织在床上散发出午睡后特有的温柔。其实不需要盖棉被，不需要甚麽情侣纪念日，不必规划未来，感受吧。感受。当一个喜欢写写东西的人和一个裸画家用珍惜和感受双臂抱住，何必对床外的人解释呢？
旅行随想；中国苏州园林的诗情画意

刘云 Cloudy Liu

刘云，生于上海，目前就读于香港城市大学。本科二年级，主修金融。2013年，她前往澳大利亚莫纳什大学参加为期一个学期的交换生项目。兴趣爱好主要有旅游、弹钢琴、看书等。喜欢研究中国传统文化的她也希望可以让世界各地的朋友更多地了解博大精深的中国文化。

行走于曲曲折折的复廊之上，耳边是潺潺的流水、婉转的鸟鸣，眼前是粉墙黛瓦、树影婆娑，清风里夹杂着淡淡的兰花香……置身于苏州园林，仿佛听到一首首隽永的田园诗，又仿佛看到一幅幅立体的山水画。

苏州园林的园主人大都是学富五车的文人墨客。他们希望在喧闹的城市中保持心灵的宁静，诗意地栖居。于是他们建起一座座「城市山林」，不仅是将石头叠成假山，将砖瓦砌成亭台，更是用他们对诗的理解和对画的感悟修建他们的精神家园。曹林娣教授认为文人们将主观心绪和深刻感悟融入园林，对自然美进行艺术再创造，达到了「人化自然」的境界。

苏州园林的诗情主要体现在景名和对联中。《红楼梦》中曹雪芹借贾政之口指出园林中的亭台楼阁、草木山水若是没有景名题字便难以彰显其独特的美。诗词能描述概括景物的客观自然之美，同时又表达了文人们的主观情感，达到了物我交融的境界。如拙政园的「留听阁」，取自唐代诗人李商隐的名句「留得枯荷听雨声」。荷花已谢，美好时光不再。绵绵阴雨不停，诗人对友人的思念不止。内心的寂寞孤独向谁诉说？王国维曾写道：「以我观物，故物皆著我之色彩。」客观景物因诗情而成为苦闷思绪的载体。除了内心情感的表达，诗词与景物的结合也体现了文人们的高尚品格。「与谁同坐轩」出自苏轼的「与谁同坐？——清风明月我。」远离名利浮华，苏轼愿与清风明月为伴，那该是一种怎样的洒脱与淡泊？又如「待霜亭」取自韦应物的「书后欲题三百颗，洞庭须待满林霜。」桔在霜降后开始变红象征了文人们在困苦逆境中展现其不屈不挠的骨气。

除了景名，文人藉助亭台楼阁中的对联更强烈直接地抒发了内心感悟。拙政园雪香云蔚亭中有一幅对联写道「蝉噪林逾静，鸟鸣山更幽。」蝉声鸟鸣更能衬托幽静的氛围，这种幽静不是死寂，而是「无」与「有」的和谐，「空」与「色」的平衡。对联表达了诗人对佛教禅宗的理解：蝉声鸟鸣都是短暂的，正如世间功名利禄转瞬即逝，一切最终归于空寂，因此唯有返璞归真才能更接近生命的本质。雪香云蔚亭的两边种植白梅。在这句诗词的点染下，人们便能联想到白梅纯洁与不争的品性。

其实，诗情早已渗透到园林设计的点点滴滴，园林中的一草一木、一山一水都散发着浓郁的书卷气息。清人钱泳提出园林中曲折的游园路线，渐进的空间排布就好像作诗时的

1 曹林娣，《姑苏园林——凝固的诗》，中国建筑工业出版社，2012。
2 刘天华，<胜景佳句天下传——园林与诗词文学>，《园林艺术及欣赏》，上海教育出版社，1989，304页。
3 出自王国维，《人间词话》。
4 钱泳（清）《履园从话》「造园如作诗文，必使曲折有法，前后呼应，最忌堆砌，最忌错杂，方称佳构。」
起承转合，人们在游园时便能感到诗般的韵律。游客先经过一段忽明忽暗，高低起伏的长廊，然后豁然开朗不就好像作诗中的前后对比、欲扬先抑？

苏州园林中，诗情展现了高尚的思想境界，而画意则体现了独特的审美情趣。苏州园林没有皇家园林的亮丽色彩，有的是淡雅与质朴。它就宛如一幅泼墨山水画，体现了文人们淡然、与世无争的心境。正如《庄子 • 天道》中所言，「朴素而天下莫能与之争美」，文人们绝不会通过刻意的包装欺世媚俗，他们希望的是通过苏州园林含蓄地展现自己心中的诗意栖居地。著名画家文征明、倪云林都曾为苏州园林设计蓝本，并将山水画的绘画技巧运用到园林设计中。

中国绘画追求王夫之⑤所倡导的体悟得神，即探索事物所能表达的情意，完成对自然山水的再造与升华。这一理念也被运用到园林景物的选取与构建中。例如，狮子林是学生为了纪念老师而建造的。园主人将石头迭成假山，远看酷似形态各异的狮子。佛书上「狮子吼」指禅师传授经文，于是形似狮子的假山便被赋予了学习传承知识的含义。此外，园林中的梅花、松树等植物则多被用来表达园主人的高尚情操。

中国绘画的另一大要领是虚实结合。不同于西方绘画中丰富细致的写实以及明确的聚焦，中国山水画常常有大量的留白。留白给人以无限的想象空间，体现了中国人「无声而无所不为」的哲学思想。西方绘画中的聚焦太过有限单调，而中国绘画的散点透视则能给人以画尽意在之感。王其钧、丁山提出苏州园林中大量水池的布置就好似山水画中的留白。例如，拙政园以水池和岛中心，其他变化多端的景物傍水而置，并层层包围，向外推移，给人以无穷无尽的感受。而通过漏窗营造的光影迷离之感以及植物散发的香味也都成为虚景的一部份。它们与亭台楼阁等实景结合，形成立体的山水画。

园林中的诗情画意并不是分开孤立的，它们完美结合，共同增添了园林的意境之美。例如，留园中的「恰杭」，前方布置水池，虚实结合。从亭中观望此建筑，就好似一艘正在湖面上航行的船。园主人借用杜甫的诗句「野航恰受两三入」，表达真正的知音两三人足矣的观点以及不想与凡夫俗子为伍的清高。诗中有画，画中有诗，两水乳交融，相辅相成，使人面对眼前景致产生无限遐想，体悟园林的精神价值。

反思中国园林的诗情画意，其中蕴含了园林的真正价值：它完成了一个时代文人思想、情感、价值观的寄托与传承。经历了朝代更替，几百年的时光逝去，飞舞飘逸的书法题字、千姿百态的草木花石成为了现代人解读历史与文化的密码，使整个苏州园林仿佛有了生命，也使现代人在诗情画意中渐渐明白苏州园林是文人情怀的物化，自由精神的乐土，更是中国文化的凝聚。

⑤王夫之，明末清初，「含情而能达，会景而生心，体物而得神。」
⑥王铎《山水画与山水园林》《中国古代苑园与文化》2003 湖北教育出版社。
⑦王其钧，丁山《园林与绘画》《图解中国园林》2007 中国电力出版社，204-207 页。
⑧张驭寰，<意境交融的拙政园>，《古建筑的符号》，华中科技大学出版社，2011，128-130 页。
⑨<名园长留天地间>，《百年园谱纳孝思》，贵阳市政协文史和学习委员会，贵州省史学会近现代史研究会合编 2004。
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