

STEPHEN FITZGERALD 费思茛

# AUSTRALIA<sup>AND</sup> CHINA AT FORTY

STRETCH OF THE IMAGINATION

澳大利亚与中国已届

# 四十年

舒展的想象力



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STRETCH OF THE IMAGINATION  
舒展的想象力

费思棻  
Stephen FitzGerald

A lecture presented on behalf of the  
Australian Centre on China in the World  
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The Australian National University



Australian Centre on China in the World  
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Marking the Fortieth Anniversary of  
Australia-China Diplomatic Ties

澳大利亚国立大学中华全球研究中心  
纪念澳中建交40周年



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## Introduction

*I was delighted when Stephen FitzGerald agreed to my invitation to present a keynote address for the Australian Centre on China in the World (CIW). This oration marks the fortieth anniversary of a new stage in the Australia-China relationship inaugurated by the normalisation of diplomatic relations between the Commonwealth of Australia and the People's Republic of China in December 1972.*

*Dr FitzGerald was appointed as Australia's first ambassador to the People's Republic by the newly elected Prime Minister Gough Whitlam, head of a Labor government that, upon its electoral victory in December 1972, quickly moved to recognise that country. On 13 November, in the lead up to the 1972 election, Whitlam made one of the most famous political speeches in Australian history, It's Time. In it he declared that one of the aims of the new government would be 'to liberate the talents and uplift the horizons of the Australian people'. I think of uplifting horizons four decades on as I read Steve's 'Stretch of the Imagination'.*

*Due to ill health, Steve was unable to present the lecture on 1 November 2012 as planned. He has, however, kindly agreed to let us publish and distribute what is a profoundly thoughtful, visionary and challenging commemorative lecture on the past of Australia and China, the present of the relationship and its imagined (and hoped for) future.*

*As ambassador to the People's Republic during the years 1973-1976, Steve ran an embassy in Beijing at a time of unquiet, tension and eventually dramatic upheaval (and not only in China). He did so with the assistance of a group of talented and committed Foreign Affairs colleagues. Together they engaged with the China of the late-Cultural Revolution era with insight, energy and dedication. It was also an embassy that engaged with the small and motley groups of Australian students studying in China from 1973. It was an honour for me to be among them. It was, many years later, an honour to be invited by Steve to speak at a commemoration of the thirtieth anniversary of the Australia-China relationship organised by his Asia-Australia Institute of the University of New South Wales at the State Library in Sydney, in November 2002.\* Now, ten years later, it is an honour and pleasure for me to recommend Stephen FitzGerald's lecture to you.*

Geremie R. Barmé  
Founding Director  
Australian Centre on China in the World

## 引言

当我获知澳大利亚驻中华人民共和国首任大使费思莱博士接受邀请，将于2012年11月莅临中华全球研究中心，为澳中建交40周年的纪念活动做主题演讲的时候，心情无比愉悦。

澳大利亚工党政府在1972年12月的大选中获胜，惠特拉姆出任总理，随之迅速采取行动承认中华人民共和国，费思莱先生出任澳大利亚联邦首任驻华大使。1972年11月13日，惠特拉姆在澳大利亚历史上最有名的政治演说之一‘该到时候了’中宣布新政府的目标之一将是‘解放的人才和开拓澳大利亚人民的视野’。当我阅读费思莱博士的‘舒展的想象力’之时，我相信四十年后这一视野隐约再现。

然而，由于健康原因，费思莱未能如期亲临鄙中心讲话，但他执意由我们发表他的演讲稿，我们以此得以领略他对澳中关系过去与现今的深刻独到高屋建瓴式的回顾与展望。

作为1970年代的驻华大使，老费在动荡不安的时局和戏剧般的变革中主持馆务。在他的卓越领导和才华出众且志向坚定的外交部诸位同仁的通力合作之下，驻华使馆全体人员同心协力地投入工作，展现出他们的远见卓识，见证了中国文化大革命晚期和改革开放初始的所有活动。也是在此期间，驻华使馆迎来了一小撮志趣迥异的澳大利亚留学生，他们从1973年起在中国学习深造，其中包括鄙人。有幸忝列其中，固然是项莫大的殊荣。同样令我倍感荣耀的是，多年以后，我被时任新南威尔斯州大学亚洲澳大利亚研究中心主任的费思莱先生邀请，在澳中建交30周年的纪念会上发表演讲\*。十年时间如白驹过隙，今天的我以非常荣幸的心情向大家郑重推荐费思莱先生的这个书面演讲。

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**Chairman Mao Zedong, Prime Minister Gough Whitlam and Ambassador Stephen FitzGerald, October 1973.**  
Courtesy Stephen FitzGerald



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STRETCH OF THE IMAGINATION

费思茛 Stephen FitzGerald 舒展的想象力

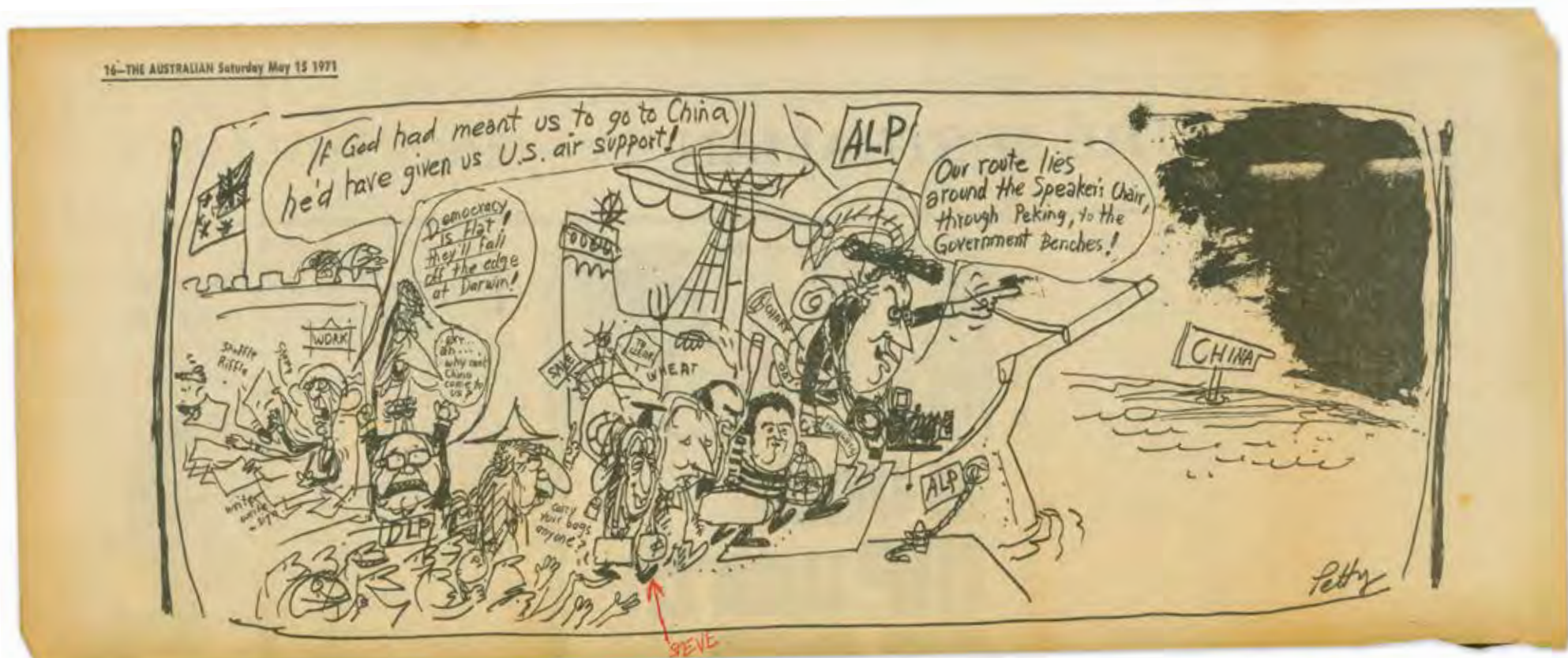


## Stretch of the Imagination

When Geremie Barmé, Director of the Australian Centre on China in the World, invited me to discuss Australia-China at forty, he suggested I might like to address some of the major dilemmas of the relationship. I'll give it a try:

## 舒展的想象力

中华全球研究中心的白杰明主任邀请我就澳中建交40周年发表讲话，并且建议我就两国关系的一些两难处境提供看法，我试着按这个思路讲一下：



A cartoon by Bruce Petty, *The Australian*, 15 May 1971. Courtesy of Stephen FitzGerald

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## The Leadership of Ideas

Jack Hibberd's *A Stretch of the Imagination* was the first Australian play to be produced in the People's Republic of China, in 1987. It played to packed houses for six weeks. I have often wondered what image of Australia those Chinese audiences took away from this monodrama, which presents a misogynistic, misanthropic old man awaiting death in the Australian Outback, reliving his life and loves, shooting his dog, quoting Plato, in 'a monologue sprinkled with piss, fart and dick jokes.'<sup>1</sup> It must have been a bit of a stretch, in 1987. I think it takes a bit of a stretch for Australia today to have a real view of political China and the kind of close political relationship we need but do not have.

Sometimes over the last forty years I have thought we were getting it right with China. This not one of those times. I've recently written an account of the Whitlam visit to China in 1971, when he was Opposition Leader.<sup>2</sup> And I'm struck now, as I was excited then, by the political boldness of it, the independence of thinking about both China and the US, the depth of historical and contemporary understanding of international affairs, the way a China strategy was set out and patiently explained in speech after thoughtful speech. The leadership of ideas. I'm



Ambassador FitzGerald has an audience with Premier Zhou Enlai, May 1973.  
Courtesy of Stephen FitzGerald

## 观念的领导力

杰克·希伯德的《想入非非》在1987年作为第一部被介绍到中华人民共和国的澳大利亚戏剧获得公演，而且连续上演六周，座无虚席。我时常想，当时的那些中国观众，到底会从这部独幕剧中获得关于澳大利亚的什么印象。剧中的唯一人物是憎恨女人、悲观厌世、射杀爱犬，并且引用柏拉图夹杂着大量涉及屎尿和鸡巴的粗俗笑话<sup>1</sup>，一面自言自语地回顾自己一生

的爱恨情仇，一面等待死亡降临的，生活在澳大利亚内陆的老头儿。这样一部话剧，在1987年绝对地舒展了观众的想象力，我认为我们在今天的澳大利亚也同样需要通过这样的想象力的舒展来获得对于中国政治，以及我们需要却没有得以实现的两国亲近政治关系的真实看法。

在过去的40年里，我时不时会对我们和中国关系的把握上充满乐观，但现在绝对不是能够让我乐观起来的时期。我最近发表了记述惠特拉姆作为反对党领袖于1971年访问中国的文章<sup>2</sup>，每当回顾起这个政治举动，其中所蕴含的政治勇气和关于中美两国的独立思考，对历史和现实国



not sure if one could say those things about Australia's present approach to China. It is difficult to know what the government thinks about it in a deeper, broader, longer-term political sense, because it doesn't conceptualise, explain, present best and worst case scenarios, offer a strategic framework. Government policy on China seems at odds with important Australian realities, more so now than at any time since before that 1971 Whitlam visit to Beijing. And that is notwithstanding the Asian Century White Paper and its exegesis by the Prime Minister.<sup>3</sup>



**Opposition Leader Gough Whitlam in China.**  
From left to right: Mick Young, Tom Burns (ALP President), Stephen FitzGerald, Gough Whitlam, Rex Patterson, Graham Freudenberg (Whitlam's speech writer), July 1971.  
Courtesy Stephen FitzGerald

I'm not ignoring the great many things going on between Australia and China which are uncomplicated and unconfused, the popular, the academic, the cultural and creative, the business, the many areas of day-to-day public service interaction where there is a productive working relationship and a positive energy. In these many ways the relationship between our two peoples is rich and rewarding, how we wanted it to be when we set out.

It's the thinking about it in that deeper, broader, longer-term sense that's the concern, as is the absence of stretch in the imagination. You can go to China a dozen times a year, but if there's no strategic view, and no depth of political understanding or depth in the political relationship, it doesn't mean you're getting it right. This is in one sense not special to our relations with China. When I talk to others about our relations with Indonesia, for example, or India, or Japan, or Korea, there is often a similar observation, about a certain amount of busy-busy activity at the top with lots happening on the ground but insufficient political depth. It's an Australian problem, and a media problem and not just one of the political class, although the two are sometimes hard to distinguish. We haven't been investing seriously in spreading and deepening our engagement with political elites

际关系的深刻理解，以及通过一再的演讲诠释对华关系战略时的耐心细致，这些体现出强大的观念领导力的事实所给予我的触动，就像当年一样地强烈。然而，在今天，我不确定是否可以将观念领导力这个词用于当下的澳中关系。在今天，若想从更深远更广阔的角度了解政府观念变得很难，因

因为它本身缺乏观念，也没有对最佳与最劣境遇的假设和必需的解释，更没有战略性框架。自从惠特拉姆1971年访华以来，我们政府的对华政策居然走到了今天的地步，已经日益与澳大利亚国情背离，而那个亚洲世纪白皮书和总理的解释，对于这个局面亦是无济于事<sup>3</sup>。

我亦不想忽视澳中两国关系在大量的事务中享有愉快的交往，并没有现今这样的复杂曲折。在民间层面，学术、文化、艺术和商务方面的交流，以及日常的公共关系的交往，都是卓有成效并且积极向上的。在这些交流中，两国人民的关系丰富多彩，回报丰厚，而且符合我们最初的期待。

真正令人感到担忧的是对这个关系缺乏更深远更广阔的长期思考，而且舒展的想象力异常匮乏。如果没有战略眼光和对政治生活的深刻理解，以及深入的政治关系，哪怕你每年多次访问中国，也很难说会有准确的把握。从这一意义讲，我们同中国的关系并不特殊，对于我们和印度尼西亚、印度、日本和韩国的关系，我也有着相似的感触，那就是在高层的忙忙碌碌和低层的来来往往之外，我们依然欠缺对政治的深入思考。从澳大利亚方面观察，这个问题不仅存在于政治层面，更是媒体的问题，尽管两者有时难以细致分辨。在拓展和深化与对方政治精英和有影

and influential institutions in these countries. But China is special because of the huge importance it has assumed in our bilateral relations, in our region and in global equations of influence and power.

Before Whitlam went to China in 1971, Australia's China policy had become in many respects a function of US China policy. Australia's China policy today is again becoming a function of US policy, in that Australia has made itself a military accessory to Washington's re-invigorated alliance system in the Pacific, which is about buttressing Washington's position *vis-à-vis* Beijing, providing support for its rivalry and contest with Beijing in Asia and the Pacific, and collateral for a policy for containment of China. The government denies it's directed against China but the way it's discussed in the US belies the denial, and the government's commitment to this military/ strategic direction in US foreign policy contradicts the contention in its own White Paper that 'this is not a world in which anything like a containment policy can work or be in our national interests'.<sup>4</sup> And on the matter of signing up to this US policy, between government and opposition there's a weird unspoken complicity of competitive bipartisanship.

That's where we've come back to, after forty years.

Let me make one thing clear. The point I am making is not about choice between China and America, which is how it has often been characterised, trivialised and deflected by the government to suggest that its critics only think in such absurdities. The point is about the nature of our relations. With China, and with the US.

And the problem is, the object of the policy of containment is now a country with which we have an overwhelmingly important relationship, second only to that which we have with the US, and an array of intersecting and common interests, not to mention that it's our major trading partner and recent economic lifeline, a country with which it is in our national interests to have extremely good political relations and an effective voice. And the government adopted its new military tilt to the United States without offering the Australian people any strategic view on where it thinks this means we are heading politically and strategically with China in the longer term. Government has vacated the leadership of ideas on China, and the Opposition does not fill the void.

From the 1960s, debate about the Australian response to Asia was fuelled by ideas from the very top. Whitlam on China, for example, Fraser on fleeing Vietnamese and non-European refugees, Hawke on enmeshment, Hawke and Keating both on institutional region-

响的机构建立联系方面，我们没有进行足够的投入。但是和我刚才所提到的其它国家相比，中国又是比较特别的，因为我们同中国的关系对我们在我们所在的地区乃至全世界的影响力和实力上极为重要。

在惠特拉姆1971年访华之前，在众多方面澳大利亚的中国政策附属于美国与中国的关系。今天，澳大利亚的中国政策又正在回到老路，澳大利亚俨然成为美国重返亚洲战略的同盟系统中的附属物。澳大利亚的这个立场加强了美国在对华博弈上的优势，为其对抗性政策提供了支持，是在亚太地区抗衡北京制约中国政策的一个筹码。澳大利亚政府否认这些行为出自针对中国的目的，但是来自美国的信息却恰恰相反。澳大利亚政府对美国的军事和战略投入，与白皮书上所说的‘当今世界，遏制政策早已不起作用，而且也不符合我们的国家利益<sup>4</sup>’全然矛盾，而且就是否追随美国遏制政策的问题，政府与反对党间具有心照不宣的默契。

这就是我们花费了整整40年所收获和达至的回归。

让我进一步阐明我的观点。我并不是试图证明澳大利亚应该在中国和美国之间做出抉择，这恰恰是政府经常为它的批评者塑造的可笑形象，将他们简单化为只会在两者之间做选择的傻瓜。我在这里所要讨论的是关于澳大利亚与中国、美国的关系的本质。

当遏制政策的目标是已经同我们建立了在重要性上仅次于我们同美国关系的国家，而这个国家又是我们的主要贸易伙伴和近期经济的生命线，与其构建良好关系和享有有份量的声音对我们的国家利益至关重要的时候，我们所面临的利益选择盘根错节，异常复杂。然而，政府在军事上向美国倾斜的同时，并没有给澳大利亚人民指出战略远景，并没有让他们知道这样的决策会对我们同中国的长期关系产生何种影响。政府就这样在观念领导力上制造出了真空，而反对党也没有来填补这个空缺。

自从上世纪60年代开始，高层的观点，例如惠特拉姆关于中国，弗雷泽关于越南和其它非欧洲难民，霍克对于纳入政策的看法以及霍克和基廷



alism, Keating on finding security in – not from – Asia. These were all tough issues, and there was a strong contest of ideas but there was also a progressively more open and imaginative attitude to the challenges of our region, if not always agreement. The debate necessarily entailed discussion of our identity, what ideas and values were fundamental to our Australianness and could not be compromised.

John Howard deliberately put that discussion to sleep and openly congratulated himself on having done so. In 2003 he told a Liberal Party Convention: ‘we have ended that long seemingly perpetual symposium on our self identity that seemed to occupy the ten years between the middle of the 1980s and the defeat of the Keating government in 1996.’<sup>5</sup> He achieved this somnific outcome largely by withdrawing himself and his government from debate about Asia. If government doesn’t engage it’s difficult to have a policy debate that goes anywhere. And there were other negative incentives at the time which he encouraged, like the tacit disparagement of Asia that followed the Asian financial crisis in 1997 and the dog whistle politics of race after the rise of Pauline Hanson. He had a prescriptive and dated view of what it means to be Australian which ignored our demography and our geography. Such messages as he did give out on China were business as usual, and nothing about ideas or long-range strategies. He was the one who first set up the false dichotomy of choice between the US and China, in order to suggest that his predecessors had made such a choice and he had not. But it wasn’t a dichotomy. The idea of an independent foreign policy with strong if different relations with both had long been fact. It was Whitlam who enunciated it, and demonstrated it in plain speaking with Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai in Beijing in 1971, and it was a complete distortion for Howard to imply as he did that under Keating Australia had made a choice for China. But if Howard vacated the leadership of ideas and put the debate to sleep, his successors didn’t stir it from its slumber.

关于制度化的地区主义，基廷对在亚洲之内而不是在亚洲之外寻找安全的观点，都对澳大利亚与亚洲关系的争论起到了推波助澜的作用。这些问题都很复杂，观点交锋也很激烈，但是即使并不能总是达成一致，对于应对我们所处地区的挑战而需要的开放和具有想象力的态度的形成，起到了重要的作用。这些辩论必然引起关于我们自己的身份认同的讨论，并让我们思考哪些思想和价值对于我们的澳大利亚必不可少，而且不容改变。

霍华德将争论搁置起来，自以为是地以为这是高明之举，而且还在2003年的自由党大会上宣布说：‘我们已经结束了无止无休的身份认同争论。这个争论在1980年代开始，直到基廷政府1996年倒台，已经花了我们整整十年的时间’<sup>5</sup>。他的这种休眠疗法，很大程度上依靠他和他的政府从关于亚洲的争论中一走了之。缺乏政府参与，一切有关政策的争论都难以取得影响。在其它时间，他所鼓励的抑制政策争论的做法导致了负面效果，包括在波林·汉森提出反亚裔移民问题，以及此后的1997年面对亚洲金融危机对亚洲采取的轻视态度和狗哨政治，始终实行一套已经过时的，强加与人的，忽视我国人口构成和地理位置的政策。霍华德传递给中国的信息只是生意照做而已，根本谈不上任何有深度的观念或长期战略。他还首次提出了中美两国必选其一的论调，暗示他的前任已经在两者之间做了选择，而他本人却超越了圈套。但是，他这种二元论的说辞并非事实，事实上我们曾经有一个更独立自主，也更强有力的，但是又有区别，有差异的外交政策。这一政策早已被惠特拉姆表述，并在他1971年同中国总理周恩来会见时的平实语言中得以体现。霍华德却完全歪曲了这个事实，暗示基廷领导下的澳大利亚已经投靠了中国。霍华德就是通过如此这般手段，将观念领导力在政府内部送入冬眠，而他的接班人也再没有将其唤醒。



## China Strategy and Debate

## 中国战略与争论

This bit of history is important because we have to realise that government has not been in the business of the leadership of ideas about China or the rest of the region now for nearly a decade and a half. Asia has become a technocratic/ transactional/ economic/ security exercise and not a dynamic engagement driven by ideas or political understanding or strategic thinking. And the longer this goes on the less government wants to debate its policies and the greater the risk that governments lose the sense of strategy altogether. As the CEO of the ANZ bank, Mike Smith, said to the Australia-China Business Council in July this year, there is what he politely called a ‘lack of attention’ to ‘an over-arching view of the Australia-China relationship and its long-term health’, and he called for ‘a return to the sense of strategy and focus on China that Australia developed in the 1980s and 1990s.’<sup>6</sup>

Mike Smith thought the White Paper on the Asian Century might provide some answers. Perhaps. I welcome the fact of the White Paper, and the Prime Minister’s aspirational commitment to Asia, because the signals that come from the very top can have a motivating effect in public life and in the community. But, numbers and statistics aside, almost all of it could have been written a dozen years ago and indeed most of it was in one form or another, and some of it back in the 1980s, and it has taken this long for this government to catch up. And we’re in hazardous territory when government itself doesn’t lead with ideas, has no narrative of its own, and outsources the thinking to someone else. If there’s no strong sense of the ideas and the issues on the part of the political leadership, and no intellectual investment in the conceptual part, chances are there won’t be the imagination or conviction to carry someone else’s ideas through. We have seen this happen. How many strategies, for example, relating to Asia in various forms? How many government declarations of support? But how many times a failure to grasp what this idea is really about, or even what it takes just to secure foreign language learning in schools and universities? And how often a withering away of the state funding, as the government’s own Asian Studies Council withered away in 1990 when the government declined to renew its mandate? Or looking elsewhere, take the fate of the Henry Tax

这段历史之所以是重要的，是因为我们必须认识到在过去的15年中，不论是对于中国，还是对于本地区的其它国家，我国政府在观念领导力方面一向是打马虎眼的。亚洲对我们而言仅限于技术、贸易、经济及安全等具体层面，对于所有的这一切，全都没有观念领导力，政治理解力以及战略构想的指引。事实上这种状况延续得越久，政府越懒得进行反思，于是丧失战略能力的可能性越高。今年7月，澳新银行执行总裁麦克·史密斯在澳中商会上非常委婉地指出我们对澳中关系和它的长远发展‘缺少一些大局整体观念’，他因此呼吁‘我们应当回归曾经有过的对战略构想的重视，以及我们在1980年代到1990年代对中国的高度集中的注意力’<sup>6</sup>。

麦克·史密斯认为政府的亚洲世纪白皮书多少尚须能够回答一些他所思考的问题，似乎我也应该对这本白皮书的面世，以及总理对亚洲的重视而感到高兴，因为来自高层的信号毕竟能够对公众起到一些引领作用。但是，在其中繁杂的数字和统计之外，白皮书在很大程度上只是旧调重弹，其中甚至还包含着一些仅是因为政府做事拖拉，直到现在还没有实施的，早在1980年代就已提出的旧事。我们现在正处于这样一种险恶处境：政府不能靠理念来领导，也不具有本身的叙事活力，居然把思考与决策交与让别人越俎代庖。然而，如果政府对理念和政治领导力毫无清醒认识，而且从不进行智力投资，怎么可能拥有足够的想象力与信心基础实施别人的理念？而这，已经是我们所面对的现实。针对亚洲的战略设计不胜其多，政府口头上的支持也不胜其多，但我们根本就没有理解这些战略背后的理念是什么，甚至连在中学和大学里怎样确保外语教学课程的开展都没弄明白。此外，政府在很多时候会或者釜底抽薪的举措，例如政府在1990年宣布停止对它自己批准成立的亚洲理事会的资

Review or, by the look of it, much of the Gonski Education Review.

I don't know the full story of the hiccups in the finalisation of the Asian Century Review. But in my experience of reviews of this kind, the minister responsible, in this case the Prime Minister, has to engage regularly with, and be able to contest, the ideas, concepts and strategic and policy options as they are developing, for there to be strong strategic outcomes. We wait to see if from this process the government will develop that overarching view and sense of strategy and focus on China whose absence Mike Smith lamented. It's not there in the current document.



Prime Minister Gough Whitlam with his wife Margaret and Ambassador FitzGerald at the Australian Embassy in Beijing, October 1973. Courtesy of Stephen FitzGerald

The problem is, that other decision which has already been made about relations with the United States carries an unavoidable implied strategic view of our relations with China. Ken Henry, in an opening shot in his new role as Executive Chair of the ANU Institute of Public Policy, had the following to say about this kind of decision-making: 'I can't remember', he says, 'a time in the last 25 years when the quality of public policy debate has been as bad as it is right now. I think it is quite serious. There is an insufficient understanding of the issues that Australia confronts. There is a role for deeper analysis, there's a role for deeper thinking and there's a role for a much higher quality of public debate and all of this needs to happen before governments make and announce decisions.'<sup>7</sup> That can certainly be said about China policy. Henry argues that part of the reason for this problem is that academic specialists have retreated into the ivory tower and become divorced from 'the real world debate'.

助，或者将注意力转向其它，例如亨利税务报告的命运，以及看上去将要面临相似处境的龚斯基教育报告。

我不知道亚洲世纪白皮书的出台都经历了哪些艰难曲折。但就我的个人经验而言，这类文件的相关负责人——在这里就是总理本人，必须参与其由雏形到完成的全部过程，并且能就其中所蕴含的理念、观

念、战略思考及政策选择提出看法及表述异见，并且加以评估和判断，唯此方能确保其产生强大的效果。至于政府在这一过程中是否规划发展出了自己的宏观图景和战略方针，以及麦克·史密斯所感叹的是否已经对中国给予了足够的关注，我都要拭目以待，因为这些内涵在目前的文件中，至少是看起来并不存在。

问题的症结在于，政府已经做出的对美关系的决策，不可避免地影响到了对华关系战略。肯·亨利在他就任澳大利亚国立大学公共政策研究院执行主席一职伊始，就发表了如下看法：‘在已经过去的25年里，有关公共政策的辩论从来没有像今天这样低劣，这是个非常严重的现实问题。对于澳大利亚所面临的种种问题，我们缺少足够的理解。在政府宣布决定之前，需要有更深入的分析和思考，以及更高质量的公众辩论’<sup>7</sup>。我认为他的这一观点用在对华政策方面也无比恰当。肯·亨利认为，导致这种局面的部分原因，在于学术界的专家们都躲在象牙塔里，他们对现实世界的辩论不闻不问。



I have some sympathy for the academics, because of the way public discussion is often reduced to caricature by the media, the dismissive spin with which government responds to intellectual debate, and the personal denigration that too often greets different views. Not to mention the distraction of the contemporary Australian university environment, with its tyranny of KPIs, performance reviews, survey and information demands from government, competition for funds, and academic contribution measured in work points. A group of Sinologists told me recently they couldn't do public policy because it didn't give them work points. Work points! In China they went out with Chairman Mao. But Henry's observation is true of many China academics, a problem Professor Barmé has underlined heavily in the excellent *2012 China Story Yearbook*.<sup>8</sup>

And it's true also of the White Paper process. As some have pointed out, in the past there was a practice of first putting out a Green Paper canvassing the big ideas and encouraging public debate around those ideas before getting to a more policy-definitive White Paper. But in launching the Asian Century White Paper, the Prime Minister simply told us it is 'the plan which answers the question'.<sup>9</sup>

We have to thank Hugh White for stirring into wakefulness the debate about our future with China. But here again, beyond bits of riposte and tit-for-tat and self-awarded ticks, the government itself has not really engaged in that debate with a coherent narrative of its own.



Stephen FitzGerald and a representative of the Chinese Ministry of Agriculture who is taking delivery of Prime Minister Whitlam's gift to mark his autumn 1973 visit: a Murray Gray Bull, 'Saber Bogong'.  
Courtesy of Stephen FitzGerald

我对于学术界的境遇怀有几分同情。公众辩论往往被媒体进行漫画式的简单化，知识界的辩论往往被政府冷嘲热讽，持不同意见者们也往往互相攻讦，欲置对方于死地而后快，更不必说当今的澳大利亚大学环境了：绩效考核、表现评价、来自政府的各式各样的信息调查、为获得经费而进行的竞争，尤其是以分值形式计算的论文发表数量与采用刊物等第。连中国的人民公社的工分都已经和毛主席一道归西的当今，我们的教授们却在为工分而苦恼！我当然不是说中国的学术界没有面对相似问题，关于此事，在白杰明教授所编的那本精彩的《2012年中国的故事年鉴》一书中亦有论及<sup>8</sup>。

白皮书的出台与上述情形类似的本末倒置。现已有人提出，此前的通例是先发放一本将基本观点勾勒出来的绿皮书，然后对这些观点进行公众辩论，进而得到在政策层面十分具体的白皮书，而在这次发布亚洲世纪白皮书的时候，

总理仅仅是简单地告诉我们说这东西‘有问必答’<sup>9</sup>。

我们必须感谢修·怀特，是他引发了有关我们与中国的共同未来的辩论。令人遗憾的是，除了巧言善辩之辞，政府并没有提出过完整自洽的叙事，也没有真切地参与到辩论之中。



## Disjunction between Economic and Political Relations

There is another issue, which is both fallout from the lack of debate and reinforcement for the government not seeing a need for a broad strategic view. Australians have become comfortable with the idea that the relationship with China is essentially commercial, that China policy is skewed to focus overwhelmingly on the economic and what we can get out of it.

There's a bit of history here, too. It was in the second half of the '90s that this contraction in China focus to the economic began, and a separation of policy into deepening economic engagement on the one hand but retreat from the Hawke/Keating strategy of deepening political engagement on the other. This was a political choice. But there were also other factors at work, and one which I think was important was a shift in attitudes in Australian society at that time, the rise of the 'aspirational voter'. This was the voter more interested in an ever-better personal material life than in party platforms for reform or social change or policy debate about ideas or visions or values. This trend went hand in hand with the rise of the aspirational politician, the one who cares less about ideas and principles and standing on them and more about gaining and staying in office and therefore more about the aspirations of aspirational voters, and what Ken Henry calls 'the race for political points and the key to the Lodge'. That aspirational culture has since been overtaken by the culture of entitlement, perpetual material winning, fed shamelessly by both sides of politics.

This social change did not arise from anything to do with China, but I think it helps to explain, not why government took an increasingly economic-focussed view of the relationship, but why Australians by and large thought it unexceptional. A 'what's in it for me' attitude to domestic political parties was comfortable with a 'what's in it for us' attitude to a foreign relationship, and not too much taxing stuff about China literacy or learning to live with China. It's excellent that we have a strong and mutually beneficial economic relationship. But as the ANZ's Mike Smith said: 'we need to challenge ourselves by asking is a focus on our economic relationship with China – our central connection – all there is? Are we happy enough simply being solid reliable buyers and sellers, and even investors?' And he's a banker.

## 经济关系和政治关系的差距

在此另外不得不提，澳中经济关系和政治关系之间的明显落差，既是辩论缺失的结果，也让政府对建立广阔的战略视野的必要性更加无视。今天的澳大利亚人已经基本适应这么一种现实：对华关系的本质是商业，而对华政策也应更加向经济倾斜，人们所谈的都是能够从中得到什么好处。

我想有些历史经验很值得回顾：我们与中国的关系逐渐趋向于经济化始于1990年代后半期，政府的政策在致力于加深与中国的经济交往的同时，与霍克和基廷的加深政治层面交往的战略决策背离。这当然是另一种政治选择，但是其中也有非政治的因素。重要原因之一是因为澳大利亚社会整体态度的转变，出现了一批唯利选民。这些人更注重个人经济生活的改善，对建设能够推动改革和社会变化，以及政策辩论的政党纲领毫无兴趣。于是，顺应这个潮流的唯利政治家应运而生，这些所谓的政治家并不以信念和原则为重，仅是注重如何获得更多选民支持，保证大权不会旁落。这些高度重视唯利选民愿望的政治家，理所当然地使政治选举成为肯·亨利所指出的获得政治加分和摘取总理官邸钥匙的竞赛。随后，这种唯利文化又逐渐地被追求即得利益以及永无休止的物欲的文化取代，而这又离不开两党看起来有分别，实际上却一致的鼓励。

虽然上述社会变化过程和中国毫无关系，但我认为它能够解释一些问题。在这里我所指的并不是政府为什么越来越在两国关系中注重经济的问题，而是澳大利亚人为什么会认为这样的态度没什么不对。一旦人们习惯使用‘此事对我有什么好处’的态度衡量国内的政治党派，他就自然而然地会用同样的态度衡量本国与外国的关系。对于这些人，若是要求他们深刻了解中国并且关心与中国相处的问题，实在是苛求。稳固互

But if you look at where the emphasis falls in the new White Paper and in the Prime Minister's speech introducing it, it's on the economic and mainly about us and the 'what's in it for us'. It's about 'winning in the Asian Century', she said.

The disjunction between the economic and the political is most apparent on the subject of Chinese investment in Australia, one of the few serious issues on which the government has joined debate about China, even if mostly only when forced to. It wants Australia to be open to Chinese investment, more or less, but it has lacked the kind of political relationship that could test questions or reserva-

利的经济主导关系本身非失误，但是正如澳新银行的麦克·史密斯所说，‘我们应当挑战自己，应当问一下自己，经济到底是不是我们同中国关系的全部，我们是否满足仅仅得到一个靠得住的贸易伙伴，甚至是投资者’，如此卓有见地的话语，居然是出自一位银行家之口。

如果你关注一下亚洲世纪白皮书以及总理的相关讲话，将发现其重点依然落在经济上，它所关注的仍旧是‘我们’和‘此事对我们有什么好处’。对此，我们的总理大人说‘这就是关于如何赢得亚洲世纪’。



From left to right: Deng Xiaoping, Zhou Enlai, Gay FitzGerald, Stephen FitzGerald and Wu De (Mayor of Beijing) at Beijing Capital Airport farewelling Gough Whitlam, November 1973.  
Courtesy of Stephen FitzGerald



tions about some aspects of this investment and give it political confidence in its economic decisions, leaving it all too often defensive in the way it handles the issue.

Linda Jakobson has captured this dilemma in her Lowy Institute Brief, *Australia – China Ties: In Search of Political Trust*.<sup>10</sup> Political trust. For the purpose of understanding, caucusing and where possible influencing and cooperating, but not, as she emphasises, for political endorsement. She points out that Germany, which most Australians if they thought about it would regard as geo-strategically remote from China and not at all affected by it in the way we are, has a quite intensive dialogue with China of this kind. And here's what an official Chinese release on the latest round of Sino-German talks chose to highlight: a relationship of frequent visits at high level, an effective dialogue mechanism, substantial cooperation, mutual trust.<sup>11</sup>

For Australia to have got this far and not to have that political trust has been to say the least neglectful. So it is heartening that the government has now proposed to the Chinese a three-tier dialogue process, at Prime Minister, Foreign Minister and Treasurer level. It has taken from 1996 until Bob Carr to get there, and he is to be applauded for this initiative. But it's astonishing that it was so neglected for so long, and having left it so long it will now be harder to achieve. The timing of the approach, in the midst of a troubled Chinese leadership transition, is not ideal. And in my view an initiative of this kind should only be raised directly at head of state or government level. There are too many opportunities for protective or self-interested officials to get in the way of a positive response when the approach comes at lower level. There is a lot of ground to make up.

**Stephen FitzGerald, ALP President Tom Burns (in the background), Margaret Whitlam, Prime Minister Gough Whitlam, interpreter, Paul Raffaele (Australian Broadcasting Commission Bureau Chief), Rex Patterson (Minister for Northern Development) and Vice Premier Deng Xiaoping at the Summer Palace in Beijing, November 1973.**  
Courtesy of Stephen FitzGerald



政治和经济的割裂，在中国对澳投资问题上尤为突出。投资问题是为数不多的几宗让政府觉得不得不为之进行辩论的关于中国的议题之一。政府希望澳大利亚对中国开放投资，但是它又没有足够的政治能力确保与投资相关的一些问题经历必要的考验，让它具有足够的信心进行经济决断，其结果是在处理此类问题时往往过分拘谨。

琳达·雅各布森在她发表在罗伊研究院简报的《澳中关系：寻求政治互信》<sup>10</sup>一文中描述了这一两难局面。政治互信的目的是理解，达成一致，相互影响及合作，而不是简单支持对方的政治立场。她在文中指出，德国这个对多数澳大利亚人而言与中国距离遥远，影响力有限的国家，却和中国建立了更为积极有效的对话，这从中国最近对中德对话的评价即可见一斑：‘高层互访频繁和有效对话机制，注意实质性合作并相互信任的两国关系’<sup>11</sup>。

澳中两国关系发展到今天，也没有达至足够的政治互信，只能说是我们的失误。正是因此，当政府在前不久向中国建议总理、外交部长、财政部长层级对话机制的时候，人们感到欢欣鼓舞的理由。自

从1996年直至新任外长鲍勃·卡尔提出的，却直到现在才得以实现，一件并不复杂的事情被拖延了如此之久，令人匪夷所思，而时日的拖延又必定导致实施难度的增加。然而，澳大利亚选择在中国领导人正在新旧交替的时候实施这一方案，时机也远非最佳。在我看来，这种举动只应当在政府最高领导人层面提出，如果层次偏低，将会面临来自底层官员基于自身利益出发的许多制肘，难以获得理想效果。总之，在这方面我们需要加倍努力，尽量弥补过去的不足。



## Imagining China

And here I think is the single biggest dilemma Australia faces in relations with China. We have to have that stretch of the imagination; we have to be able to imagine a different kind of relationship and a different concept of China to establish that political trust. How we imagine China has of course often been an issue for Australians, since before Federation, and because of cultural, linguistic, political and geographical distance it was never easy. But now China is here, and the distance is yesterday. With the exception of Bob Carr and Malcolm Turnbull and possibly one or two others on either side of the parliamentary despatch box the contemporary Australian political class in general seems not to have been able to think itself into the kind of relationship that fact demands. Here is how I believe we ought to imagine it.

We have to think about China, not as another United States – that would be ridiculous – but in somewhat the same conceptual and functional way as we think about the United States, or other parts of the world where we have more longstanding relationships than we have with China – the UK for example, or Europe. We have important economic relationships with all of those, but the way we think about them and feel we can relate to them is multi-dimensional and not just economic, and in our policy we respond to several dimensions and in our relations we work at knowing them in these several dimensions, and knowing their politics as well as their political and other elites.

That's how we have to think about China, and invest in the relationship in the way we have over many decades both casually and in structured exchanges in the United States. We have to be able to imagine a relationship comparable to that which we have with the United



Gay and Stephen FitzGerald with Gough Whitlam at the ruins of the Garden of Perfect Brightness 圆明园 (the 'Old Summer Palace') shortly before the Tangshan Earthquake, July 1976.  
Photograph by Warren Duncan

## 想象中国

这里我要提出我所认为的澳大利亚与中国关系的最大的两难之处。我们需要延伸想象力，必须试想一个全然不同的关系，一个与今不同的中国观察视角，从而构建我们的政治信任。如何想象中国，是摆在澳大利亚人面前的课题，在联邦成立之前，由于文化、语言、政治制度和地理距离的遥远，进行这样的想

象无疑是困难的。而现在，中国已近在眼前，诸多的距离已经属于昨天。然而，除了鲍勃·卡尔和麦肯·特恩布尔等几位议员之外，澳大利亚目前的政治家的大多数似乎都不能设想出符合现实强烈要求的两国关系。我认为我们在想象中需要注意到以下——

即不要简单地把中国想象成另一个美国，又需要使用与我们思考美国或其它与我国建交更早国家，例如英国和欧洲很多国家的概念来思考我们同中国的关系。我们国家和这些国家有着重要的经济往来的同时，我们对它们的感知是多维的，而非仅限于经济。在政策层面，我们对这种多维特性也做出了反应，努力地在多种层次增进相互了解，包括了解对方的政治，政治精英阶层和非政治精英阶层。

对待中国，我们也必须使用相同方式，与我们在过去的几十年中和美国的交往同样地注意增进各方面的交流，建立全方位的关系。我们必须设想和对美关系具有可比性的对华关系：我们应当谋求在中国获得与我们在美国所获待遇类似的准入程度，让我们寻求在对方政治中心自己的



States in the sense that we should aim to have in China a comparable breadth of access and clarity of voice in the centres of political power and influence. Most immediately, this requires close and frequent engagement at the highest level of government, as apparently now envisaged by Bob Carr. But once a year? And sometimes in the wings of multilateral relations? Which is how the proposal has been reported. What we need is an intensity of sustained personal contact, as exists, for example, among leaders of the ASEAN states, or between the Europeans. We have to cultivate confidence on the Chinese side that that much contact is worth it for them. And we have to be prepared to ignore the distance and get on a plane, repeatedly when necessary. Because a good political relationship depends on maintaining that intensity of contact.

声音。这将需要紧密的，经常的政府高层互相联络，而这也正符合最近鲍勃·卡尔所提的期望和预见。每年一次的互访够吗？或者仅仅是在多边高峰会议之间隙见面？而这也就已经是我们从报道上看到的目前的全部。我们真正需要的是长期的，频繁而私人化的接触，如同东盟机制或欧盟国家之间的关系那样。为此，我们也要说服中国，让他们知道这类接触对他们也很有益。我们需要忽视地理距离，需要做到一旦需要随时登机访问，因为良好关系需要接触频密程度的保证。



**The FitzGerald's Ming Tombs Farewell Party with Lao Su, Head of Household at the Embassy Residence and Lao Yan, the Ambassador's driver, November 1976.**  
Photograph by Warren Duncan



But that's only a beginning. We also have to work, as a long-term project, on the lack of breadth and depth I mentioned earlier. By and large, the Australian political class has not developed extensive personal networks in different centres of power in China and with people on the way up – government, party, military, business, writers, social researchers, public intellectuals, think tankers, policy wonks, whatever. We have to attend to this. It will be important for giving stability and sustainability to over-arching dialogue and summitry. But it's also essential for developing connections and friendships that will enable us to talk easily and at will with many people, and begin to think about China in a more rounded, less Anglo-centric and, dare I say, more human way. This is not just for politicians, but for public servants and advisers and staffers, and the flotilla of interest groups that hangs around the foreign relations process. Not everyone, of course. That would be preposterous, and we don't have or need that anyway with the United States. But there have to be enough.

The Prime Minister has now embraced an aspiration that by 2025 one third of Australia's top 200 publicly listed companies and one third of the senior leadership of the Australian Public Service should have deep experience in and knowledge of Asia.<sup>12</sup> Leaving aside that thirteen years is too long to wait, and for such a modest outcome, why does she not also designate one third, at least, of federal and state politicians? That she does not tells us a lot about the self-perception and self-knowledge of the Australian political class.

We must also begin now, as a high priority, to target the next generation of Chinese leaders, particularly those who will rise to power at the time of the next leadership transition in 2022, with a well thought-out and targeted program involving Australians and Chinese in extended study tours, dialogues, secondments, internships, and specially funded elite programs in our universities to attract the cream of Chinese students into graduate studies together with the best and brightest of Australians.

You don't have to like the Chinese system. You don't have to kowtow to the Chinese, just as you don't have to kowtow to the Americans. You don't even have to like Chinese people if that's your bent. Some people don't like the British or Americans. But imagining China in this way, and engaging through many channels and at many levels will help us in getting towards the access and clarity of voice we need. That's what a mature relationship would look like.

这些仅仅是开始。正如我以上所言，我们必须为长期目标努力拓展两国关系的广度和深度。就目前而言，澳大利亚的政治家们还没有在中国的各种权力中心建立和发展足够的个人关系网络；他们和中国的高层机构和人员，不论是政府、政党、军队、智库、政策专家、作家、社会研究者和公共知识分子等，都没有建立足够的联系。我们必须加强这方面的工作，与高层对话交往的稳定性和可持续性至关重要。对于发展两国关系和友谊同样重要的是，我们要能够和对方的很多人建立对话交流，并且用更加平衡的，更加人性的，而不是盎格鲁中心主义的眼光看待中国。这不仅仅是政治家的事，政府官员和政府顾问，以及政府雇员和利益集团都要参与进来。我当然也不是说每个人都要直接参与，如果那样做同样没有道理，而且我们同美国的关系也不是人人参与。

总理已经表达了这样的期望：在2025年之前，在排名前200位的上市公司和公务员系统内的资深官员中，具有与亚洲打交道的丰富经验者分别达到三分之一<sup>12</sup>。用长达13年的时间实现这个目标是否太久姑且不论，总理阁下为什么没有将澳大利亚联邦以及各州的主要领导人纳入这个显然并不遥远的目标呢？请千万不要和我说她是想以此告诉我们，澳大利亚政治家是多么地富有自见之明。

我们必须从现在起提高对下一代中国领导人的重视程度，尤其是那些将在2022年就任的中国政治领袖。我们必须推出澳大利亚人和中国人共同参与的，包括学习、旅行、对话、实习等活动的青年交流项目；要在大学里特别资助一批精英项目，以此吸引最优秀的中国学生前来澳大利亚，与最聪明的澳大利亚学生一道学习和进修。

你不一定非得喜欢中国的体制，也不需要向中国低三下四，就像你不一定要向美国卑躬屈膝同样。如果你就是不喜欢中国人也没有关系，因为也有人坚决地不喜欢英国人或美国人。但是，通过对中国的想象，通过多渠道多层次的建设，将会帮助我们获得进入中国的通行证，并有助于我们在中国高层有机会表述己见，而这才是我们所需要的。我想，两国间成熟的关系大概就是如此。

## A Strategic Relationship with China?

Dealing with official China can be difficult, and official China doesn't always make it easy. The lack of transparency, the blurring of Party and government which makes it difficult to know exactly where decision-making lies, the hierarchy issue which often pressures the foreigner to accept a lower than equivalent level of access, even the fact that from the highest down to the lowest levels in the Chinese government you never see a Chinese politician or official in their working office, and of course the special *guanxi* among Chinese into which a non-Chinese foreigner finds it difficult to find a way. And for China, Australia is a long way behind the US and quite a number of other major foreign policy priorities. According to the former ambassador to Beijing, Geoff Raby, in recent years Australia has had difficulty competing for access.<sup>13</sup>

But it's not out of the question for Australia to expect a relationship of the kind I have outlined. Australia may not be front-of-the-mind in the everyday counsels of the Chinese Politburo, but it is significant enough for China to want a more strategic relationship. Vice Premier (and now Premier-elect) Li Keqiang publicly suggested as much when he visited Australia in October 2009 to calm the troubled waters in our relations of the preceding eighteen months. This had started with



**Ming Tombs Party. The gathered host listens to Cultural Councillor Jocelyn Chey's farewell speech, November 1976.**

Photograph by Warren Duncan

## 建立战略伙伴关系

和中国政府打交道，有时很困难，中国政府时不时地会给我们出些难题。由于缺乏透明度，党和政府的界限模糊，有时候让我们很难知道真正的决策者是谁。森严的等级观念，往往让外国人在和中国政府打交道时不得不接受不对等的现实；从高层到基层，你几乎不可能和一个中国政治家或高级官员在他平时工作的办公室里会面，更不用说那些令非中国血统外国人一头雾水的所谓‘关系’。对中国而言，

澳大利亚远远没有美国，以及另外几个国家重要。前任驻华大使芮捷锐曾经说‘近年来，澳大利亚在同其它国家获取中国准入程度的竞争中毫无优势’<sup>13</sup>。

但是，这并不是说澳大利亚没有希望获得我所描绘的那种两国关系。澳大利亚或许不是中共中央政治局每次都要讨论的重要议题，但起码还算得上是让中国对建立双边战略伙伴关系感兴趣的。这一点在中国国务院副总理（现在的候任总理）李克强2009年10月访问澳大利亚时的声明中表露无疑。李克强访问澳大利亚的目的之一是试图缓解在此前18个



Kevin Rudd's speech at Peking University in April 2008, in which an attempt to raise the human rights issue by offering an opinion as a 'outspoken friend' *zhengyou* 诤友 misfired and got up the nose of many in the Chinese government, moved on to the *Defence White Paper*, which suggested China as military adversary, a proposition Kevin Rudd never denied, then to the fracas over the arrest of Stern Hu, and the Chinese demand to censor the Melbourne Film Festival, and the government was doing nothing at high level to sort it out.

But Li Keqiang came to Australia. There was an economic element to his visit, of course, but it also signalled that the disruptions in the relationship were of some concern. He went on record saying China and Australia needed a 'healthy and stable' relationship, for which read China wanted this but believed this hadn't been the case in the recent past.

And what the official Chinese release chose to report up-front about this visit was this: 'Stressing dialogue, coordination and cooperation were crucial for bilateral relations, the Vice Premier said both nations need to adhere to a strategic and long-term perspective to deal with bilateral ties. Only by joint efforts could the two sides achieve common progress.'<sup>14</sup> I don't know what was said in private. But it seemed to me it was about a deeper and more meaningful overall strategic engagement, a partnership, and if that was what Li was offering, as far as I can see the Australian government passed. If it was, we can assume that reflects a broadly shared strategic view in Beijing, and Xi Jinping (now President-in waiting), on a visit to Australia in 2010, seemed to confirm this.

That being said, there are complex influences on China's foreign policy decision-making and we can't expect that everyone in China will always be reading from the same book. I want to raise two of these, because they require a deeper and more sophisticated understanding of China on our part, and a strategy for careful management.

月里双方关系的紧张。紧张始于陆克文总理2008年4月在北大的演讲，在这次演讲中，他为了引出对中国人权的批评，使用了‘诤友’的概念和典故，此举让对方颇为不快。其后的国防白皮书，又将中国定义为军事对手，陆克文对此也从未否认。此后又经历了关于胡士泰的争吵，中国要求澳大利亚当局对墨尔本电影节进行干预的事件，对于这些麻烦，澳大利亚政府的高层没有任何作为。

李克强来到了澳大利亚，他的访问难免掺杂经济因素，但也表明了双方关系所出现的这些波折令中国感到担忧。李克强在公开场合说中国和澳大利亚需要‘健康而稳定’的关系，他的这种表达，可以理解为中国需要这种关系，但这种关系尚未建立。

对于这个访问，中国官方如此报道：‘李克强副总理强调对话、协调和合作对双边关系的重要性，而两国也必须根据共同的长期战略前景处理双边关系。只有通过双方共同努力，才能有所发展’<sup>14</sup>。在私下里他们是如何表达我不得而知，仅就官方报道，在我看来这是一项有关更深入的，更有意义的战略关系的要求。如果这是李克强带给我们的礼物，澳大利亚到目前为止还没有接受的表示。倘若它确为礼物，我们可以认为这是北京方面已经达成一致的认识，而且目前即将就任国家主席的习近平本人，在2010年访问澳大利亚时亦曾确认这个姿态。

尽管如此，中国的外交政策仍会受到各种复杂因素的影响，而我们也不能指望所有中国人的思路一致。这里只是举例讲述广泛、深入并且更加全方位地认知中国，以及可操作的战略关系的重要。

## China's Foreign Policy Spectrum

One is the dilution of the power and influence of the traditional foreign affairs establishment, with the rise of influential new actors in foreign policy, which Linda Jakobson has described in another analytical paper.<sup>15</sup> These new actors include powerful ministries and some Party agencies, parts of the armed forces, paramilitary organisations, mega corporations, provincial governments, the state security apparatus, personal fiefdoms like the one run by Bo Xilai, and others. They don't just influence policy development, they try to pull established policy their way and, particularly but not only in the case of the military and the paramilitary, sometimes succeed and sometimes don't get pulled back into line. We have seen something of this in maritime disputes between China and its neighbours.

For us, the issue is primarily a relationship management challenge. We have to spread over a much wider foreign policy landscape, and be prepared for unexpected pressures and behaviour in foreign policy in a way we didn't in the past. Internal political rivalries may accentuate this challenge, as well as the massive corruption which permeates the whole society. To quote Wen Jiabao on this, he said, against the background of allegations of massive enrichment of his own family and with some understatement, corruption 'tends to occur frequently in departments that possess great power and in areas where the management of funds is centralized. Corruption cases involving State-owned enterprises and high-level officials are still serious.'<sup>16</sup> It would be unwise to think that these do not include departments, enterprises and officials Australia deals with in China.

This is not to suggest Chinese foreign policy is out of control. It operates within a framework of long-range assessments and strategies. But if we think of the way different interest groups seek to pull US foreign policy in different directions, that is very approximately how things are in China. And both in and surrounding these interest groups there are also very different ways of looking at China's place in the world. David Shambaugh, in an article whose title 'Coping with a Conflicted China' encapsulates this challenge for all who deal with China, identifies seven distinct perspectives on China's global identity, all the way from a closed and narrow 'Nativism' to an open-minded 'Globalism' which he equates to Liberal Institutionalism in the West.<sup>17</sup> For those

## 中国的外交政策

传统的外交事务机构的权力，正在被新兴的有影响力的外交力量所稀释。琳达·雅各布森在她的另一篇论文中曾经谈到此点<sup>15</sup>。这些外交新势力包括中央政府的部级机构和其它党政机构、军事机构、准军事组织、大型企业、省市政府、国家安全部门，以及诸如薄熙来曾经掌控的那种私人领地等等。这些力量不仅限于影响政策，更试图按照他们自己的意愿左右制定政策，特别是在军事和准军事组织方面，但又不仅仅局限在这两个方面。它们有时得意，有时被压制，这种情况在中国与邻国发生沿海领土纠纷时略显端倪。

上述情况对我们所进行的两国关系梳理已经形成了挑战。因此我们必须改变以往的做法，要向更为广阔的外交领域拓展，并对面临无法预期的压力和行动做出预案。不论内部的政治对抗，还是渗透全社会的大规模腐败，都可能加剧这种挑战。此刻正在面对家族敛聚财富指摘的温家宝曾经说：‘腐败往往在那些权力集中并掌控大量财富的政府部门发生，涉及国企和高官的腐败案件仍很严重’<sup>16</sup>。我很难想象和澳大利亚打交道的那些企业高管和政府官员，全部不在温家宝所述之列。

这当然不是说中国的外交政策已经失控，因为它的运行基于长期的评估和战略。但是，如果比照美国的各利益集团试图影响外交政策的现实，中国的事情也是大致如此。在不同的利益集团内部，对中国也存在着的很不相同的看法。沈大伟在他的《如何应对冲突中的中国》中描述了这个和中国打交道的任何国家都要面临的挑战，并且提出了关于对于中国全球身份的7种不同看法——从封闭狭隘的本土意识到在作者看来与西方自由主义制度类似的开放全球化<sup>17</sup>。至于那些坚信决不可能发生军事冲突的人，我建议他们先去看看美国不同利益集团对外



who believe military misadventure is not possible, I'd suggest look again at the history of different US interests acting on US foreign relations, and think how it might be in China, and how it might be with two such sets of actors in play, one in America and one in China.

I don't believe any of these new actors in China has an interest in acting militarily against Australia. They have no reason to, and I've seen no evidence any would want to. Cyber attacks, yes. Everyone is into that. But the use of armed force? Not unless we became involved with the Americans in some kind of US-China hostilities.

交政策施加影响的历史，然后再回过头来想想中国又会是怎样，而美国和中国在各有一群利益不同的利益集团情况下会出现何种状况。

我不认为其中的哪个集团或某种势力会认为对澳大利亚施加武力威胁符合其利益，它们没有这样做的动机，也没有它们正在这样做的证据。网络攻击确实存在可能，但是每个国家都有人在搞这个，而真正使用武力，除非是我们参与了美国针对中国的某种敌对行动的情况之下。



A representative of *People's Daily* with Premier Zhao Ziyang, Stephen FitzGerald and Randal McDonald (Managing Director of *The Age* newspaper and Syme Media Enterprises) at the launch of *China Daily*, a project on which *The Age* collaborated with *People's Daily*, June 1981. Courtesy Stephen FitzGerald

## Chinese Exceptionalism

The other complexity comes from Chinese exceptionalism. This is not quite the same as the nationalism we have seen, for example, in China-Japan relations. Nationalism is a problem, and because of its ugly aggressive, emotional and xenophobic nature when it takes on mob form, it's going to be a challenge if it's allowed to run unchecked, perhaps and hopefully not directly for us, but certainly for some of our friends and neighbours, which may make it a problem for us too.

But Chinese exceptionalism, while it can be expressed in nationalistic outbursts, is somewhat different. It stems from a moral certitude which is global in perspective. It's not like American exceptionalism; it doesn't have god or the Enlightenment dream or saving the world for democracy. Not everyone in America shares the exceptionalist idea, of course. And if you've spent a lot of time in China you will know many Chinese who reject Chinese exceptionalist thinking. This thinking rests on an interpretation and mythologising of Chinese history, projected into an idealised virtuous China of the present. It's also infused with the idea of one hundred years of humiliation at the hands of foreigners. It's not that that didn't happen. It certainly did. But it is played upon as though China alone in all the world suffered so.

Some observers, like Henry Kissinger, have argued that unlike the American the Chinese variety is 'cultural' and not proselytising. I'm not sure about that. I've seen a bit of it in my time, but among ethnic Chinese communities outside China there are many who've seen a lot more. But what Chinese exceptionalism and American do have in common is that they each assume a virtuous or righteous position for themselves exclusively in relation to other countries and social systems, a kind of 'divine right' in the lay sense in which that term is often used, which is theirs to exercise but not for others. And both varieties are short on self-examination and self-criticism.

Exceptionalism doesn't drive everything in China's foreign policy, but it does influence foreign relations from time to time and it's not new. In the 1970s, for example, the Italian filmmaker Michelangelo Antonioni made a documentary film about China which the Chi-

## 中国特殊论

中国特殊论是导致另外一些复杂状况的原因，这个情况与中日关系中所表现出来的民族主义又有所区别。民族主义是棘手问题，当暴民心态作祟时，它展现出丑陋的一面：富有攻击性，盲目的冲动和排外主义，如果不加控制，势必造成麻烦。但是，这种情况或许不会直接冲向我们，然而，即使它涉及到我们的朋友和邻国，亦会造成对我们的间接负面影响。

尽管可以表现为突发性的民族主义行动，中国特殊论仍旧有别于民族主义，它源自全球视野的唯我独尊心理。中国特殊论不同于美国例外论，在它背后并没有关于上帝和启蒙，或者以全球民主化为己任的理想。但是，正如并不是每个美国人都赞同这种观点一样，如果你在中国生活足够长久，就会发现很多中国人也不赞成中国特殊论。中国特殊论的根基是对中国历史的神化，并将这个神话投射到具有超凡美德的理想现代中国。与此同时，它还掺杂着百年来强敌侵略所带来的民族屈辱感。这些侵略确曾发生，只是在中国特殊论者看来，在全世界只有中国才吃过这种苦头。

有些观察家，例如亨利·基辛格，认为中国特殊论和美国例外论的最大区别是中国特殊论更多地表现在文化层面，缺少宣教性。对此，我不敢苟同，我有我自己的经验，那些海外华人也应该有更多的感受。我认为美国例外论和中国特殊论的共同之处，在于它们都假设自己在与其它国家和社会系统的交往中无疑是更具崇高的道德感和更加正确的一方，具有独特的天赋权力，并且毫不例外地厌恶自我检讨和批评。

中国特殊论并不能操纵中国外交政策的方方面面，但是它确实影响着对



nese denounced as anti-Chinese. When the ABC announced it would show the film, a protest was lodged in Canberra with a demand that the showing be cancelled. On the Australian side, we said this was a matter of our right to freedom of speech and the media. The Chinese attitude was not just that China objected to the film but that when China says so we actually don't have that right – in effect, the Chinese right extinguishes ours – and the attitude was self-righteous and rude and somewhat bullying. I should add that later, after the Smashing of the Gang of Four and the rise of Deng Xiaoping, I had a personal apology from the Foreign Ministry over this issue. Which shows that the exceptionalist view is not fixed, not everyone shares it, and the foreign affairs establishment acknowledges

外关系，这种事情屡见不鲜。在1970年代，意大利导演安东尼奥尼拍摄了一部关于中国的纪录片，该片被中国当局认为含有丑化中国的意图。当澳大利亚广播电视公司宣布将要公映这部影片的时候，北京向堪培拉提出了抗议，要求取消公映。在澳大利亚方面看来，我们有我们自己的言论自由和媒体自由立场，而中国的态度不仅是对这部影片的反，更是对我们享有的这些权利的无理否定；他们似乎是在使用他们的权利压倒我们的权利，如此的态度无疑是粗鲁和自以为是的，而且在某种意义上带有欺凌性。需要补充的是，在粉碎四人帮，邓小平复出之后，我本



Stephen FitzGerald joins President Jiang Zemin to sing 'Sailing the Seas Depends on the Helmsman' 大海航行靠舵手, Sydney, September 1999.  
Courtesy Stephen FitzGerald

that it can be damaging. Now admittedly 1973 was itself an exceptional time in China. But three and a-half decades later we had that incident with the Melbourne Film Festival, when a junior official from the Chinese Consulate General rang the Festival Director and demanded not only that the film be withdrawn but that the Director actually justify himself to her for programming it.

Some may say that is similar to what Australia does when it raises human rights in China. But I think not. The Chinese position was that its right should override any rights we had, in these cases China's right being to direct how it is seen, presented and understood in Australia. That is not something Australia does in China.

Another example relates to foreign nationals of Chinese descent. China's Nationality Law does not recognise dual nationality, and states that: 'Any Chinese national who has settled abroad and who has been naturalized as a foreign national or has acquired foreign nationality of his own free will shall automatically lose Chinese nationality'.<sup>18</sup> So having a foreign nationality and passport ought to be definitive. But there are countless examples where Chinese exceptionalism simply asserts that an ethnic or even part ethnic Chinese with foreign nationality is, by appearance or ancestry or place of birth, 'Chinese'. *Hua* 华, meaning 'Chinese', for example, is the character stamped by a Chinese border official in the Australian passport of the Australian-born son of one of my Caucasian Australian friends and his ethnic Chinese wife, despite his repeated statements, when asked, that he was Australian. Mostly the treatment of foreign nationals as Chinese is below the radar and does not lead to dispute, which does not make it any more appropriate, but in quite a number of public cases it has been a cause of misunderstanding and friction in China's foreign relations including ours.

The waters are muddied here by what I call the new compradores. These are ethnic Chinese of non-Chinese nationality employed by foreign businesses and others to work for them in China, often by people with no China skills that would enable them to judge but who believe it when they are told by the comprador that he or she has a network that reaches the president, or at least the president's personal doctor. When some of these people become deeply involved in playing the *guanxi* game, because of the nature of that game this inevitably involves them in domestic Chinese politics and sometimes in a way that transgresses against Chinese law or simply against what is regarded as appropriate for a foreign national. I still don't think it's acceptable that their foreign nationality should be disregarded, but you can see why some Chinese authorities might think 'looks like a Chinese, behaves like a Chinese, is a Chinese'. There's a way for Australian businesses and organisations to manage this,

人收到了中国外交部就此事所表达的歉意。因此，中国特殊论的观点也并不是一成不变，而且没有得到所有人的拥戴，到头来外交部门也承认这种态度会带来不良后果。回顾1973年，这确实是中国的一段特殊岁月，但是在35年后，在墨尔本电影节，仍旧有相似的事情发生：中国总领事馆的一位下级官员向墨尔本电影节的总监打电话，她不但要求取消一部电影的放映，而且还要求总监本人对这部电影为何入选做出解释。

有些人可能会对这种事情和澳大利亚对中国人权问题的挑剔行为视为同样，我却不是这样认为。中国方面的立场是他们的权利可以压倒我们的权利，具体到电影节的事件，中国认为他们有权依照其意愿在澳大利亚行事，在澳大利亚呈现中国意志，而澳大利亚并没有在中国做过相似的事情。

另一个例子涉及到中国血统的外国公民。中国的国籍法不承认双重国籍，规定任何中国公民自愿加入定居国国籍后自动丧失其中国国籍<sup>18</sup>。但是在很多时候，基于中国特殊论，会根据一个人的中国血统或部分中国血统，甚至仅凭相貌或出生地，将外籍人认定为中国人。中国的边防官员曾在我的澳大利亚白人朋友的华裔夫人和他们的孩子的签证上加盖华人标记，尽管她不断地声明自己是澳大利亚人。将外籍人当作中国人，在很多时候并不引人注目，也不一定会导致争执，但这并不意味着其行为正当，而且经常导致误解，以及包括澳中关系在内的中外关系的一些摩擦。

再一种被我称为新买办的现象令事情更为复杂。很多非中国籍的华裔被外国企业雇佣，并被派往中国。这些人往往会告诉没有中国经验的老板他们自己在中国有很多而且很强大的关系，能够上达主席，或者至少是主席的私人医生。当这种人深深地陷入到关系游戏之中的时候，游戏的本质决定了他们不得不涉及中国国内政治，有时也不得不从事违法行为，做外国企业驻华雇员不应当做的事情。我不知道他们的外国籍是否应该被忽略，但我可以理解为什么中国官方会认为长得像中国人而且做事也像中国人的人，就一定是中国人。我认为澳大利亚企业和机构在



which is by having a strong code of ethical conduct explicitly in relation to working in China, and making sure that those they employ actually share its values. And for the government to have a serious dialogue with China about the issue.

The biggest challenge of Chinese exceptionalism Australia has faced to date was the bussing to Canberra of thousands of ethnic Chinese, mostly students from the People's Republic, on instruction from Beijing, to try to prevent demonstrations over Tibet during the passage of the Olympic torch in 2008. The issue here is not the for and against on Tibet, but the fact that China believed it had the right in support of its view to mobilise ethnic Chinese to try to disrupt and interdict, in Australia, the exercise of an Australian democratic right to peaceful protest. That's one part of the exceptionalism. The other is that China would not allow such an act on its own soil.

This action regrettably made the presence of the tens of thousands of Chinese students in Australia something of a two-edged sword. It cuts one way to the benefit of the students and Australia. But it left an unfortunate question mark over whether China might seek to cut it the other way and again seek to use ethnic Chinese here in this or other ways in some virtuous China cause. This is not to impugn the loyalty of Chinese Australians. And with the right kind of relationship, we can talk to China about it. But we must not again have a situation like that externally manufactured counter-demonstration in 2008. China of course has a right to its views, but not to the projection of these views in a way which infringes our rights in our country, and on this we must have a solid continuing understanding.

So there will be times when political trust will be tested by actions on the Chinese side, as it is now by actions on ours.

中国运作时应当制定一套约束工作人员具体行为的道德规范，并且让所有雇员接受这一价值观念。就政府而言，则应当与中国进行关于这类问题的严肃对话。

中国特殊论带给澳大利亚的最大的挑战是2008年奥运会的火炬传递。为了阻止关于西藏的示威，中国的一些在澳机构根据北京指令，从澳大利亚各地运送大批中国留学生到堪培拉进行反示威活动。问题并不在于我们支持西藏与否，而是在于中国认为有权动员在澳华人群体在澳大利亚阻止或扰乱澳大利亚人在自己国土上的和平抗议。这无疑是中国特殊论的表现之一，因为中国绝不会允许同样的事情在他们自己的国家发生。

这个事件让在澳学习的数万名中国留学生的存在成为一柄双刃剑，同时强化了这些留学生和澳大利亚人的权益。但是它留下了一个不幸的问号，让人不禁要问中国是否可能寻求利用相似方式，动员中国人在这里为中国所认为的正义事业效力。我绝不是在这里攻击华裔澳大利亚人对

国家的忠诚，而是指出如果我们与中国建立了合适的关系，即可以和中国就这些问题进行深入磋商。我们决不能再次面对2008年这种在外部制造出来的反示威活动，中国当然有保持自己看法的权利，但这并不意味着它为了表达这些看法而侵犯我们的权利，对此，我们一定要稳定持续的见解。

也正是因此，中国方面的行动会考验双方的政治互信，如同我方若有相似行动一样。



Gay FitzGerald after a day's work at the Beijing No. Two Machine Tools Factory, spring 1976.  
Courtesy of Stephen FitzGerald

## Australia, the United States and China

The decision to ‘pivot’ Australia into the re-invigorated US military alliance strategy in the Pacific was a decision about China, not just about America. It was developed in secret. It was not announced by the Australian government but by the US President in the Australian parliament. The government has not offered the public any strategic assessment of the benefits, effectiveness and risks of this decision, and has deflected questioning with arguments which slide away from the questions raised. It’s a decision about China because, even on the blandest interpretation, what is going on militarily with America in Asia and the Pacific is of great significance and is of the greatest possible interest to China, and we are involved in it. We don’t actually know the full extent of what may have been committed by Australia, although there is information available in Washington that suggests much more than the Australian government has given out, and in bits and pieces it has appeared in the Australian media,<sup>19</sup> but not on government websites. One indication of how far this commitment has run is the secondment of the Australian general, Richard Burr, as deputy commanding general of US Army Pacific, where he will be responsible amongst other things for dealing with America’s allies. The deputy. Perhaps that is why the Australian government made no announcement about it.

The Prime Minister didn’t think to go to Beijing before the Obama visit and talk to her counterpart. Not to seek approval but to inform, discuss, listen, and if possible reassure. Nor for that matter did she go to Indonesia, India, Japan, Korea or other Asian countries of importance to Australia, which speaks much for what we think about our priorities as between relations with the US and relations with the region.

For Australia to declare, as it has, that the new arrangement with the United States is not directed at China, when discussion and analysis in Washington and around the world clearly indicates that it is, and when you can’t see who else apart from North Korea such significant re-invigoration of the alliance could be against, can hardly inspire trust in the Australian government in Beijing.

## 澳大利亚，美国和中国

利用澳大利亚作为美国重返太平洋战略杠杆的决定，明显针对中国，这一直是个秘密。这个秘密的公布，并不是由澳大利亚政府，而是由美国总统在澳大利亚国会的演说宣布。政府没有向公众提供关于这个战略的获益、有效性和风险性的任何评估，而且在如何选择的问题上总是不做正面回应。即使是最浅显的解读，这样的决定也必然与中国相关，因为美国在亚太地区的任何军事行动，对中国都具有重要性，而且中国也必定对此密切关注。我们不必知道澳大利亚所做出的投入的全部，尽管来自华盛顿的信息表明，这个投入也许远比我们政党所公开的要多；虽然这些信息也在澳大利亚媒体点滴披露<sup>19</sup>，却始终没有在政府的网站正式公开。可以佐证澳大利亚涉入之深的是，澳大利亚将军理查德·伯尔被任命为美国太平洋陆军的副司令，负责包括处理美国盟国事务在内的诸多事务。也许这个‘副司令’的使命，也是澳大利亚政府不愿意公开其投入的理由之一。

总理并没有想过在奥巴马之前访问北京，以便和中国领导人提早进行交流——并不是寻求他们的赞同，而是讲述、讨论、倾听，以及可能的话做必要的安抚和保证。她也并没有带着这样的想法去过印度尼西亚、印度、日本、韩国等对澳大利亚很重要的亚洲国家。难道这还不足以说明在我们看来对美关系的重要程度远远高于我们同本地区其它国家的关系吗？

当澳大利亚公开宣称它和美国的新安排并不是针对中国，而来自华盛顿以及全世界的信息却表明并非如此的时候；当你看不到除北朝鲜以外，美国的新战略联盟还会有别的假想敌的时候，若想获得北京对澳大利亚政府的基本信任，显然不可能。



There is now serious contest and rivalry across the Pacific between America and China. This is not good for Australia. It's not our contest, the American national interest in this contest is not our national interest, and taking the US side is not necessary to our relations with the US. This is not to argue that we shouldn't have a close relationship with the US, or that we should side with China, or ditch a client relationship with the US only to have one with China. We need a close relationship with both and a client relationship with neither. It's to say we have absolutely no national interest in being a party to this contest, even if it doesn't come to military hostilities and regardless of arguments about whether or not the US is in decline. Some have suggested, Malcolm Turnbull among them,<sup>20</sup> that Australia should pursue a hedging strategy with China, and that's something we should discuss, so long as it means hedging both ways, for example on the fact that ANZUS does not commit the US to anything but an obligation to consult and is unlikely, ever, to engage the US in anything which is not a function of core US interests. But Australia is not hedging, it's playing, on the American side. And I agree with Geoff Raby, when he said: 'To execute a hedging strategy effectively and not create mutual suspicion and hostility, it is important to have a solid basis of trust between China and us. And that', he said, 'no longer exists.'

We see here the problem I spoke about at the beginning. There is no sense of a firm Australian strategic hold on this issue, from a specifically Australian national interest point of view. The decision to commit to the US military strategy has the appearance of a passive conceding of the Australian interest, an acquiescence in an American view of security in the Pacific. On the part of the Australian political leadership, at least. But not, perhaps, on the part of some in the strategic, military and intelligence establishment in Canberra, who see their interests in enmeshment with their counterpart establishment in Washington, and their interest as equating to the Australian national interest. That is to say the least questionable, as former Defence Department Secretary Ric Smith suggested at the Australian Institute of International Affairs conference in August. Or former chief of the army Peter Leahy, who has written, in an article titled 'We must not get too close to the US', that Australia should maintain the ability to say no to the US and separate itself from its actions.<sup>21</sup>

It is not the national interest, and some of our assumptions underlying this approach to the US alliance do not reflect our national reality, geographically or demographically. Our region is long since not a white European domain. And we are not demographically an Anglo white country. I think Keating was right. We have to find our security in Asia, not from it. As another former chief of

现在中美之间正在太平洋上展开针锋相对的竞赛，这对澳大利亚而言并不是好事。这不是我们的竞赛，美国的国家利益也不是我们的国家利益，加入美国一方对于强化我们同美国的关系并非必要。这不是说我们不当与美国保持很亲密的关系，也不是说我们应当和中国站在一起，或者抛弃与美国的关系，仅仅保留同中国的关系。我们需要的是和这两个国家都建立亲密的关系，而这种关系并非客户关系。这也就是说我们没有任何国家利益的理由让我们加入到它们的竞赛中去，如果这种竞赛并没有导致双方产生军事敌意，并且和美国的衰退与否没有关系的话。包括麦肯·特恩布尔在内的一些人认为，澳大利亚应当对中国采取对冲策略<sup>20</sup>。我认为只要这种对冲是双向的，就应该可以讨论它的可行性。例子是美澳新共同防卫协定并没有让美国承诺任何事情，除了约定其有义务咨询澳方意愿之外，基本上没有可能让美方做任何一件不符合它重大利益的事情，而澳大利亚所做的并非对冲，而是选择成为美国的盟友。我同意芮捷锐的说法：‘为了有效地执行对冲策略，而不是相互猜疑和敌视，重要的是我们和中国之间需要有一个坚实的信任基础，然而这样的信任已不复存在’。

在这里我又遇到了演讲一开始时所遇到的问题，即澳大利亚没有从本国利益出发的战略指导方向。加入美国军事计划的决定，看上去是被动地出让澳大利亚国家利益，是对美国的太平洋安全观的屈从，至少从澳大利亚领导层面看来是这样。但是在堪培拉的战略、军事和情报机构人士却不是这样认为，他们相信自己的利益和在华盛顿与他们地位对应的人物的利益一致，而且他们的利益等同于澳大利亚的国家利益。这只是大致状况，也就是说至少可以说是存在这种问题。正如前国防部秘书瑞克·史密斯今年8月在澳大利亚国际关系研究院大会上的讲话，以及前陆军总司令彼得·莱希在他的《我们一定要和美国保持距离》中所提到的：‘澳大利亚应当保持向美国说不的能力，并且避免被拉入美国的行动之中’<sup>21</sup>。

并不是国家利益，以及我们对于与美国建立同盟关系的构想没有反映我们国家无论地理上还是人口构成上的现状。我们所处的地区早已不是欧

the army, John Sanderson, has said, Australia's future lies in building a proper strategic relationship with its Asian neighbours: 'This is where we live. And if there is anything about this relationship with the Americans that impairs our ability to build on that relationship then we should have a much deeper strategic debate.'<sup>22</sup>

What, then, about the next stage in relations with China? This is not about soothsaying, or declaring we'll do more of this and that of what we're doing already and calling it a strategy. It's about thinking.

洲白人占主导的地区，从人口分布讲，我们也不是英裔白人的国家。我认为基廷的见解正确，我们必须向亚洲，而不是从亚洲之外寻求安全。正如另一位前陆军总司令约翰·桑德森所言：‘澳大利亚的前途系于能否和亚洲的邻居建立相宜的战略关系，而亚洲就是我们生活的地方。如果我们同美国的关系妨碍了我们同亚洲建立关系，那么我们应当对这样的澳美关系进行深刻的战略辩论’<sup>22</sup>。

那么，我们与中国关系的下一阶段将会如何？这并不是预言或宣示，而是基于我们已在应用的策略和我们正在做什么的现况所进行的更多思考。



Trade Minister Jim Cairns' visit to Shanghai with Vice Minister of Foreign Trade Chai Shufan (next to Gwen Cairns) and Chai's wife, overlooking The Bund, October 1974.  
Courtesy Stephen FitzGerald



## Australian Identity and Values

First, to develop a strategic view of China we have to revive that national conversation which John Howard declared buried in 2003, because to have a strategy that deals with a country we do not fully understand, which is undergoing great change domestically and effecting great change externally, we have to have a strong sense of what is important to us and what is non-negotiable. The 1990s debate about Asian values was derided by many in western countries but it was important because it revealed a lot about what people in Asian countries were thinking, and it was good for us because it came at

## 澳大利亚的身份和价值观

首先，要发展一个对中国的战略眼光，我们必须唤醒被霍华德在2003年宣称已被埋葬的全国性的讨论。要对我们并不完全理解，自身正在发生巨大变化，并且对外界影响力很大的国家制定关系战略，必须首先明白对于我们什么是至关重要的，什么是不容商量的。在1990年代，对于亚洲价值的辩论曾在西方国家受到鄙视，但是我们正是从中了解到亚洲国家和人民的所思所想，这对我们而言很有益处，因为我们正在加深与亚



Stephen FitzGerald and Prime Minister Whitlam at talks with Premier Zhou Enlai, Great Hall of the People, Beijing, October 1973.  
Courtesy Stephen FitzGerald

a time when we were discussing our own values in the context of becoming closely engaged with Asia. Reviving this conversation is going to be difficult in one respect because in the course of the politicians' long-running argument about asylum seekers the major political parties have lost their moral compass and authority, and while they talk about values this is often empty and tainted by unfortunate compromise.

If Australia is a lucky country, one of the luckiest things is that it inherited the ideas of the European Enlightenment and developed its political and social system around them, and it's the values of the Enlightenment we need to affirm, not the values of entitlement.

I think it is because we have not been having that conversation that we seem to equivocate on whether or not China can be regarded as a partner, in a broad sense, and whether or not we can or even want to take on the challenging task of developing political trust with a great power that is supposedly our friend, but non-democratic.

We also have to discuss whether, if we feel challenged by getting politically close to this country, this is only because it is non-democratic, or is it because of something else? Are we colour blind in this relationship, for example, or white Anglo? Not everyone in the Australian political class seems to have the same view on this.

So let's not sideline discussion about values in our relations with China. My view is that we can have a close partnership and not just an economic one, and a close relationship of political trust. But you have to be tough, and have courage in your values, to deal with China, just as you ought to be tough, and have courage in independent views, to deal with the United States.

洲国家交往的背景下讨论我们的自身价值体系。让这种讨论重新获得生命，在某些方面将会遇到困难，因为主要政党和政治家在长时间围绕难民问题争吵则渐渐失去他们的权威和道德高地。现在，在讨论价值的时候，他们的语言流于空洞，并且由于道德上的妥协失去了可信性。

如果说澳大利亚幸运，那么最幸运的一件事是它继承了欧洲启蒙思想并将其融入到政治和社会系统的发展之中。我们所要肯定的正是这种启蒙思想的价值观，而不是不思进取的特权价值观。

因为我们还没有进行讨论，所以我们对中国是否可以被视为广义上的战略伙伴的问题没有明确态度；对于是否愿意接受同这个非民主制的大国建立政治互信的挑战，我们的态度也是模棱两可。

我们必须讨论的问题之一是，如果我们对和这个国家在政治上靠拢感到不适，该国的政治的非民主制是否是唯一的原因？我们在处置这种关系时是否做到完全无视种族差异，是否以英裔白人的眼光看待问题？我想并不是每位澳大利亚政界人士都会对此持有相同看法。

因此，我们不要把有关价值的讨论和我们的关系割裂开来。我的观点是，我们和中国可以建立紧密的伙伴关系，具有政治互信的关系，而不仅仅是单纯的经济关系。但是，我们也必须在捍卫自身价值时拿出足够的勇气，提出自己的独立观点，就此点而言，我们与中国或美国的交往理应一致如此。



## A China Strategy

Second, Australia has to have a China strategy, but it has to think about China itself before it can have a China strategy. And here we have to tackle that fundamental task of any credible strategy that we keep dancing around but never doing; looking in depth at the subject itself, before we come to any perspectives on it from our point of view. Remember the vacuity of the 2009 Defence White Paper on this score. We have to have a government-initiated in-depth assessment of China, in its political, social, economic, educational, scientific, environmental, civil society, military and many other dimensions, with

## 中国战略

其次，澳大利亚必须制定中国战略，但是在此之前它必须对中国进行思考。如果我们要制定具有可信度而且能够付诸实施的中国战略，我们必须仔细观察这个国家，然后得出从我们视角出发的结论。在这里，我需要指出2009年国防白皮书对此重点的忽略。我们必须有由政府牵头的，对于中国的深入评估，包括政治、社会、经济、教育、科学、环境、公民、军事，以及其它维度，并且做出关于变革和演进的长期情境设想。



On the Great Wall with Prime Minister Malcom Fraser and his wife Tammie, June 1976.  
Courtesy of Stephen FitzGerald

long-range scenarios for its evolution. Not a once over lightly, but a project of possibly up to a year in duration, with strong intellectual leadership, engaging both government and non-government China experts and using government and open sources, and it has to be an Australian assessment not an American one. It appears the Asian Century White Paper, on which so much is now supposed to rest, did not think to commission such an assessment.

You can't have credible hedging without alternative long-range scenarios, and you can't have credible long-range scenarios without undertaking this kind of assessment.

Any realistic strategy necessarily has to be grounded also in an understanding of thinking on the other side, something we have not been good at. This is not just that we need a better understanding of what China wants from us. We certainly need that. But we also need to attend to Chinese opinion and intellectual debates, and how understanding their thinking will help us to develop our own strategic ideas. We have to understand reality on their side, otherwise our strategies will have no reality. In a recent article in the *Australian Financial Review*, a Chinese scholar and public intellectual, He Fan, described Australia as 'a lonely country'.<sup>23</sup> It's not a description that would have occurred to most Australians, but it's not the first time I've heard it.<sup>24</sup> It would not be a bad starting-point to an understanding of Chinese attitudes to explore, his immediate explanation in that article, yes, but more the further reasons for that singular characterisation of Australia which to us seems so uncharacteristic.

And any realistic strategy must also address weaknesses, vulnerabilities and risks, on the Chinese side and on ours. The possible downside, to balance the kind of self-referencing upside represented in the Asian Century White Paper.

就时间而言，这不能是蜻蜓点水，而将是年度性的工程，需要同官方和非官方的中国专家进行广泛的接触与合作，需要利用政府资源和公开资源，需要强大的观念领导力的参与。这样的评估将是澳大利亚的，而不是美国的，而那个承担太多的亚洲世纪白皮书似乎对这样的严肃评估并无兴趣。

如果没有长期设想，不可能有可信的对冲战略；而在未经评估的情况下，不可能会有可信的长期设想。

成功的战略必须建立在对对方思路进行解析的基础上，而这不是我们所擅长。我们不仅需要知道中国想从我们这里得到什么，还要对中国的社会舆论和知识界的争论抱有兴趣，因为只有理解他们的思路，我们才能发展自己的战略思想。我们必须理解他们所处的现实，否则我们的战略只是纸上谈兵而已。在《澳大利亚金融评论》刊发的一篇文章里，中国学者和公共知识分子何帆将澳大利亚描述成孤独的国家<sup>23</sup>，这种表述似乎为大多数澳大利亚人所始料不及，但这绝不是我第一次听到这种说法，而且它也不失成为理解中国态度的切入点，由此探讨作者的论述，以及这个在澳大利亚人看来并不恰当的形象化表述背后的深层原因<sup>24</sup>。

任何现实的战略也必须准确把握其弱点和漏洞，并且尽量评估风险，对于我们和中国，都是同样。因此，我们还需要查看一下亚洲世纪白皮书在自我标榜的那些优点之外，还有哪些缺陷。



In Mao Zedong's study with Xie Ruoyun, Zhou Enlai, Tang Wensheng (Nancy Tang), Mao Zedong, Gough Whitlam, Stephen FitzGerald, Wang Hongwen and Wang Hairong, November 1973.  
Courtesy of Stephen FitzGerald



## A China Debate

Third, we have to have a debate which engages government, and not just a contest of ideas outside government from which government is detached. And we have to have a strategic narrative from government, that can be debated before pre-emptive decisions are made, and not just have government pull a few things out of the Asian Century White Paper and say that's what we're going to do. The White Paper has no strategic narrative on China.

In this debate, it is essential also that we have a new engagement by China scholars. This is not a matter only for Sinologists who specialise in international affairs or defence or strategic studies. The public debates from the '60s to the '90s were richly informed by academics from a variety of disciplines. What's needed now is more than just winking Sinologists out of universities and into what Henry calls the real-world debate. We need our centres of Chinese Studies to be training more Sinologists who think strategically, think about Australia-China relations, think about China's relations with the world, so that in future, institutions like the ONA or the Lowy Institute no longer lack a ready supply of China specialists with the mix of qualities and qualifications they require.

These three things should be in step, not sequential. But they will take time, and there are several measures which Australia needs to take now:

- One is for the government not only to secure that high-level political dialogue, but to buttress it with a much greater intensity of personal contact, and to begin now to secure its long-term utility with greater breadth and depth of political engagement with the next generation of leaders;
- Two is for Australia to return to a policy of greater independence, and distance itself from US military strategies directed against China and from any policies of either China or the United States which promote rivalry, contest and military brinkmanship, using diplomatic means to urge them to find a stable long-term peaceful accommodation, ultimately and preferably within a multilateral regional context;

## 中国辩论

第三，我们需要政府参与其中的辩论，而不是政府置身事外的观点展示说明。在政府做出决定之前，需要有政府的战略叙事可以供我们展开辩论，而不仅仅是让政府从亚洲世纪白皮书中抽出某一部分，然后告诉我们这就是我们要做的事情。此外需要指出的是，在这本亚洲世纪白皮书里，并没有对中国提供战略叙事。

在这样的辩论中，很重要的是我们必须得到中国研究学者的参与。这些学者不仅局限于专门研究国际事务、国防或战略的汉学家，事实上1960年代到1990年代的公众辩论都得到了来自不同学科的专家所提供的信息。我们现在所要做的，不仅是将大学里的汉学家们挖掘出来进行亨利所说的‘真实世界的辩论’，我们还需要我们的中国研究中心培养训练能够进行战略性思考的新一代汉学家，能够反思澳大利亚和中国关系，以及中国和世界关系的新一代学者。如果这样，诸如澳大利亚联邦评估署或罗伊研究院等机构，将不会出现中国问题专家的短缺。

以上的三件事情，需要有步骤地同步进行，而不是先后顺序实施，完成这些事情将会花费很长时间，而另外一些事情是澳大利亚现在就需要做的：

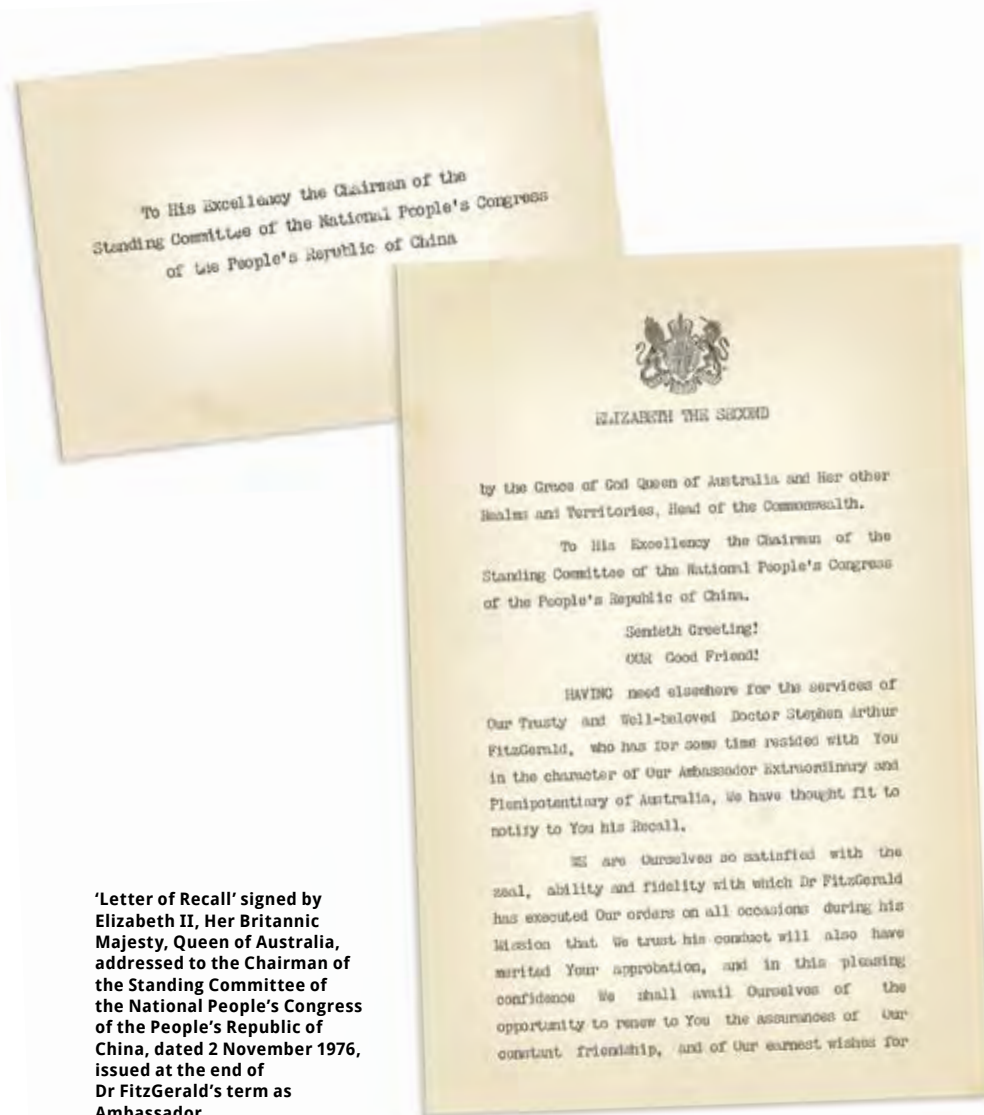
- 第一，政府不仅要保证高层政治对话，而且需要通过加强私人沟通方式实现不同层面的对话；与此同时还要和未来的领导人进行广泛深入的政治接触，确保对话机制的长期有效。
- 第二，澳大利亚应当回归更为独立的外交政策，要和美国针对中国的军事战略，以及双方正在加剧的竞争和军事冒险政策保持距离；要通过外交途径帮助他们双方找到稳定的，长期的，最终可以在地区多边架构下实现的和平共处。

- Three, the government should make an unequivocal declaration that it will not be party to any strategy, policy or arrangement aimed at containment of China, and will remove Australia from any that is; and,
- Four, Australia should also use whatever diplomatic means it has, where appropriate in company with regional neighbours, to counsel and where necessary and possible pressure China against military confrontation with the US and military brinkmanship in disputed territorial waters.

And finally, government ministers and spokespeople might try to listen to critiques of China policy, think about the ideas they are trying to get across, engage with them, and not meet them with dismissive response. If that seems too much of a stretch of the imagination, it's nothing compared to the stretch they'll require if we get it wrong with China. Which is definitely a possibility.

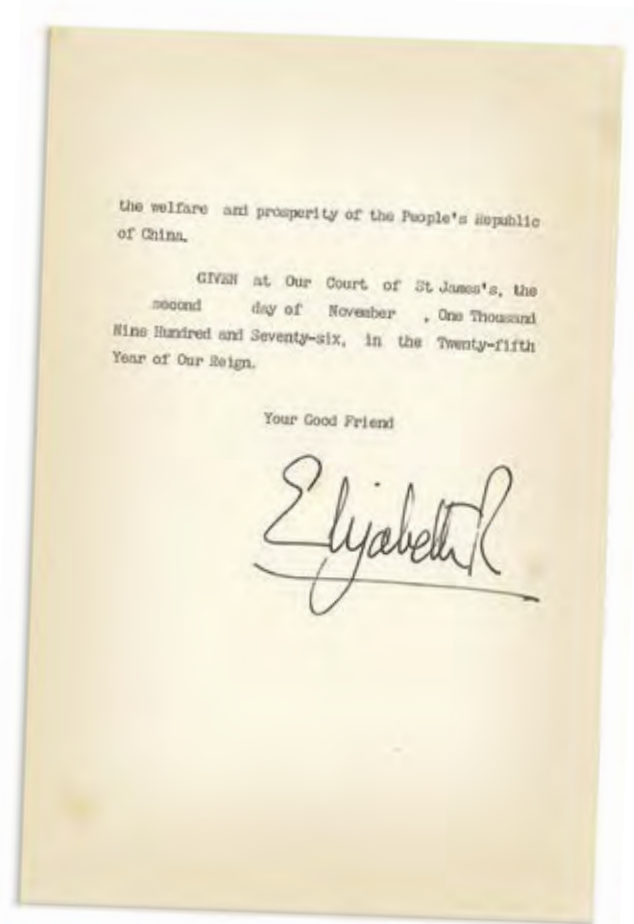
- 第三，政府应当明确宣布不参与任何旨在遏制中国的战略、政策和计划，并且解除现已存在的这类关系。
- 第四，澳大利亚应当使用它的外交力量，与我们地区的邻国们一道向中国提供建议，推动中国放弃与美国的军事对抗，放弃在存在领土纠纷的海域实施军事冒险的行为。

最后，政府的部长和发言人应当试图倾听外界对中国政策的评论，并对这些言论所蕴含的观点加以思考，加强和深化接触，而不是采取排斥姿态。这似乎看起来有必要舒展想象力。但是，如果我们在对华战略存在重大失误，其后果将不堪设想。鉴于误入歧途的可能性确实存在，其它的一切都是微不足道。



'Letter of Recall' signed by Elizabeth II, Her Britannic Majesty, Queen of Australia, addressed to the Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China, dated 2 November 1976, issued at the end of Dr FitzGerald's term as Ambassador.

Courtesy Stephen FitzGerald





## Stephen FitzGerald: a Biographical Note

Stephen FitzGerald began his professional career as a diplomat, studied Chinese and became a career China specialist. He was China adviser to Gough Whitlam, and Australia's first ambassador to the People's Republic of China, and in 1980 established the first private consultancy for Australians dealing with China, which he continues to run. Since the late 1960s, he has worked for policy reform in Australia's relations with Asia, and for Asia Literacy for Australians. He chaired the 1980s committee of the Asian Studies Association of Australia on Asian Studies and Languages in Australian Education, and the government's Asian Studies Council, which wrote a government strategy for the study of Asia in schools and universities. In the same year, he chaired the government's Committee to Advise on Australia's Immigration Policies, which wrote the landmark report, *Immigration: A Commitment to Australia*. He was head of the ANU's Department of Far Eastern History and also of its Contemporary China Centre in the 1970s. In 1990, he founded and until 2005 chaired the UNSW's Asia-Australia Institute, dedicated to making Australia part of the Asian region through think-tank activities and idea-generation by regional leaders meeting in informal discussion. He has been consultant to the Queensland and Northern Territory governments on the introduction of Asian languages to the school curriculum, consultant to Monash, Melbourne and Griffith universities on mainstreaming Asia in university studies, Chair of the Griffith Asia Institute, and Research Strategy Director of the China Research Centre of the University of Technology Sydney. He has also been a consultant on governance-related aid in China and Southeast Asia, for the Federal and Northern Territory governments, and the governments of Britain, Denmark and others. He has published monographs, reports and articles on the above topics.

## 费思茱简介



费思茱博士的职业生涯肇始于外交舞台，他长期研究中国事务，是著名的中国问题专家。在1970年代，他是惠特拉姆的中国问题顾问，澳大利亚派驻中华人

民共和国的首任大使。他1980年创办了有关澳中关系的咨询机构，并执掌该机构至今。自1960年代开始，他致力于澳大利亚的亚洲关系政策改革，以及加深澳大利亚公众对亚洲的了解。他曾在1980年代担任澳大利亚亚洲研究语言教育协会的研究部主席，领导该机构为政府起草了关于在教育机构进行亚洲研究的战略报告。他还出任过澳大利亚移民政策专家组主席，领导该机构为政府提供了具有里程碑意义的澳大利亚移民报告。他曾担任澳大利亚国立大学东亚历史系主任和该大学的当代中国中心主任；他创建了新南威尔士大学的亚洲与澳大利亚学院，并担任主任直至2005年。他还是昆士兰州和北领地政府在教学中引入亚洲语言的顾问，莫纳什大学、墨尔本大学、格里菲思大学推动亚洲研究主流化的顾问；以及格里菲思亚洲研究院的主席，美国德克萨斯大学圣安东尼奥分校中国研究中心的研究战略主任，澳大利亚政府对华以及对东南亚援助事务的顾问，并为澳大利亚联邦政府、北领地政府，以及英国、丹麦等国政府提供咨询。他出版过与以上题目相关的大量论文、报告和文章。

## Australian Centre on China in the World (CIW)

The Australian Centre on China in the World (CIW), College of Asia & the Pacific (CAP), The Australian National University (ANU) is an initiative of the Commonwealth Government of Australia in collaboration with ANU, a university with the most significant concentration of dedicated Chinese Studies expertise and the publisher of the leading Chinese Studies journals in Australia. CIW is a national research centre that is jointly managed by a body of academics that includes scholars of China at universities in Adelaide, Brisbane, Hobart, Melbourne and Sydney.

The Centre is a humanities-led research institution that is engaged with the broad range of social sciences to produce academic work that, while relevant to the full spectrum of demands of international scholarship, also relates meaningfully to those in the public policy community, and to the broader interested public, both in Australia and overseas. It values a New Sinology, that is an intellectual, cultural and personal involvement with the Chinese world (be it in the People's Republic, Hong Kong, Macau, Taiwan or globally) that is underpinned by traditions of academic independence, local fluency and disciplinary relevance.

### CIW sites

<http://ciw.anu.edu.au>

<http://www.thechinastory.org>

### CIW publications (also available online)

*Australia and China: A Joint Report on the Bilateral Relationship* 中国和澳大利亚：关于双边关系的联合报告, with the China Institutes of Contemporary International Relations (CICIR), February 2012

*China Story Yearbook 2012: Red Rising, Red Eclipse*, August 2012

Stephen FitzGerald, *Australia and China at Forty—Stretch of the Imagination*, 澳大利亚与中国已届四十年—舒展的想象力, February 2013

### CIW journals

*China Heritage Quarterly* ([www.chinaheritagequarterly.org](http://www.chinaheritagequarterly.org))

*East Asian History* ([www.eastasianhistory.org](http://www.eastasianhistory.org))

*The China Journal*, co-published (<http://ips.cap.anu.edu.au/chinajournal/>)

*Danwei*, affiliated ([www.danwei.com](http://www.danwei.com))

## 中华全球研究中心 (中全中心)

澳大利亚国立大学的中华全球研究中心是始创于2010年的综合性研究机构。中心宗旨为：立足人文传承，兼容社会科学精微调研，关照公众求知要求，力图对公共政策有所贡献。

本中心深切关怀中国和文化中华的全球意义和人间意味；力求摆脱教育事业的庸俗工业化，以跨学科的态度倡导学术民主，并且主张诚挚的思想交流；在承传先贤治学立场与方法的同时，努力结合新颖知识和研究视角，不断地益于当今且时刻瞻望未来。

### 中全中心网站

<http://ciw.anu.edu.au>

<http://www.thechinastory.org>

### 中全中心出版物

*Australia and China: A Joint Report on the Bilateral Relationship* 中国和澳大利亚：关于双边关系的联合报告, with the China Institutes of Contemporary International Relations (CICIR), February 2012

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*Danwei*, affiliated ([www.danwei.com](http://www.danwei.com))





# Notes 注释

- \* Geremie R. Barmé, 'Over 30 Years of China and Australia – some thoughts on a glum convergence', Asia-Australia Institute, State Library of New South Wales, Sydney, 14 November 2002.
- 1 Darren Brookes, 'A Stretch of the Imagination – A Bit of a Stretch', a review by of a production at Gardens Point Theatre, June 2009.
  - 2 Stephen FitzGerald, *The Coup that Laid the Fear of China*, The Whitlam Institute, September 2012. An extract of this speech was published as 'Whitlam's China Masterstroke', *Review* supplement, *Australian Financial Review*, 5 October 2012. For the full text, see the Australia-China Council '40th Anniversary of Diplomatic Relations' site.
  - 3 Julia Gillard, Speech at the launch of the Commonwealth Government White Paper, *Australia in the Asian Century: 'History Asks Great Nations Great Questions'*, 28 October 2012.
  - 4 *Australia in the Asian Century* White Paper, p.229.
  - 5 See Transcript of Prime Minister John Howard's Closing Address to the Liberal Party National Convention, Adelaide, 8 June 2003.
  - 6 Address to the Australia China Business Council, Sydney, 20 July 2012
  - 7 Ken Henry, 'Future Proofing', *ANU Reporter*, Spring 2012.
  - 8 Geremie R. Barmé et al, eds, *China Story Yearbook 2012: Red Rising, Red Eclipse*, Canberra: Australian Centre on China in the World, Australian National University, 2012.
  - 9 Gillard, 'History asks great nations great questions'.
  - 10 Linda Jakobson, *Australia – China Ties: in search of political trust*, Policy Brief, Lowy Institute for International Policy, 28 June 2012.
  - 11 'China Germany Agree on Enhancing Cooperation to Boost Ties', 30 August 2012.
  - 12 Gillard, 'History Asks Great Nations Great Questions'.
  - 13 Geoff Raby, 'Australia and China at 40: pivot, divot and the US', The 2012 Richard Larkins Oration, Monash University, 8 August 2012.
  - 14 Xinhua report, 30 October 2012.
  - 15 Linda Jakobson and Dean Knox, *New Foreign Policy Actors in China*, SIPRI Policy Paper, Stockholm International Peace Research Institute 26/2010.
  - 16 *China Daily*, 12 September 2012
  - 17 <http://csis.org/files/publication/twq11wintershambaugh.pdf>
  - 18 <http://www.china.org.cn/english/LivinginChina/184710.htm>
  - 19 See for example Peter Hartcher, 'PM had cold feet on US base plan', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 5 November 2012, which gives a glimpse into the extensive discussions which preceded the decision, and concludes with the following:
 

Although both governments say the US presence has nothing to do with hedging against the possibility of an aggressive China, a US expert on Obama foreign policy, James Mann, writes in his book *The Obamians*: 'The administration did not hide the fact that China's growing assertiveness had prompted the new policy' of the Asia pivot.
  - 20 The ANU Centre for China in the World maintains a comprehensive collection of the articles and speeches in this debate, including Malcolm Turnbull's, in The Australia-China Story section of its website The China Story.
  - 21 Peter Leahy, 'We Must Not Get Too Close to the US'.
  - 22 See *The Australian*, 12 April 2012.
  - 23 He Fan, 'Australia's China Challenge', *Australian Financial Review*, 21 September 2012.
  - 24 When meeting with Richard Nixon's daughter, Julie Nixon Eisenhower, and son-in-law, David Eisenhower, on 31 December 1975, Mao Zedong remarked that he didn't want to travel to Australia because when looking at it on a map, it 'made one feel so lonely' 澳大利亚在地图上看看就怪让人寂寞.

## Media Reports and Related Commentary

- Bernard Lane, 'First Envoy to China Sees Risks in US Alliance', *The Australian*, 14 November 2012.
- Alexander Downer, 'We Don't Have to be Asianised to be an Asset to the Region', *The Australian*, 14 November 2012.
- Bernard Lane, 'Former Diplomat Warns of Beijing Role in Chinese Student Activism', *The Australian*, 21 November 2012.

Dr Stephen FitzGerald's oration, *Australia and China at Forty—Stretch of the Imagination*, was written for the Australian Centre on China in the World (CIW) to mark the fortieth anniversary of the normalisation of diplomatic relations between Australia and the People's Republic of China.

During 2012, CIW celebrated the anniversary year in a number of ways:

- On 24 February, we launched with our Beijing collaborators, the China Institutes of Contemporary International Relations (CICIR), *Australia and China: A Joint Report on the Bilateral Relationship* 中国和澳大利亚：关于双边关系的联合报告；
- In July, we co-hosted a visit and major public address by Professor Ezra Vogel of Harvard University on Deng Xiaoping and the Reform Era;
- On 9 August, we launched *China Story Yearbook 2012* along with The China Story website, see: [www.thechinastory.org](http://www.thechinastory.org);
- In August, we also launched The Australia-China Story database, see: <http://www.thechinastory.org/the-australia-china-story/>;
- On 26 September, Professor Emeritus Wang Gungwu 王赓武 presented the Second CIW Annual Lecture, titled 'China's Choices', published online on 2 October;
- From 28 October, we featured a discussion of the Commonwealth Government's White Paper *Australia in the Asian Century* on our website;
- On 12 November, we published Dr FitzGerald's CIW oration, *Australia and China at Forty—Stretch of the Imagination* online;
- On 1 December, we published a speech by the Centre Director, Geremie R. Barmé, on the commemorative year, 'Doubtless at Forty 四十不惑', see: <http://www.thechinastory.org/2012/12/doubtless-at-forty-四十不惑/>;
- On 28 December, we released a Chinese translation of Dr FitzGerald's oration prepared by CIW titled 《澳大利亚与中国已届四十年—舒展的想象力》；and,
- On 31 December 2012, we published a letter from the Director of CIW to the Chinese Embassy in Canberra related to The China Story Project.





**W**e have to think about China, not as another United States – that would be ridiculous – but in somewhat the same conceptual and functional way as we think about the United States, or other parts of the world where we have more longstanding relationships than we have with China – the UK for example, or Europe. We have important economic relationships with all of those, but the way we think about them and feel we can relate to them is multi-dimensional and not just economical.

Stephen FitzGerald

即不要简单地把中国想象成另一个美国，又需要使用与我们思考美国或其它与我国建交更早国家，例如英国和欧洲很多国家的概念来思考我们同中国的关系。我们国家和这些国家有着重要的经济往来的同时，我们对它们的感知是多维的，而非仅限于经济。

费思莱



**FRONT COVER:**

Premier Zhou Enlai greets  
Ambassador Stephen  
FitzGerald, May 1973.  
*Courtesy Stephen FitzGerald*

**BACK COVER:**

The FitzGeralds' Ming Tombs  
Farewell Party with Lao Su,  
Head of Household at the  
Embassy Residence,  
Gay and Stephen FitzGerald  
and Lao Yan, the  
Ambassador's driver,  
November 1976.  
*Photograph by Warren Duncan*

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Australian Centre on China in the World  
中华全球研究中心 / 中華全球研究中心



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ANU College of Asia & the Pacific, Canberra, Australia