AUSTRALIA AND CHINA
A JOINT REPORT ON THE BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP
AUSTRALIA

中国和

A Joint Report on the Bilateral Relationship
AND CHINA
澳大利亚
关于双边关系的联合报告

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中国现代国际关系研究院
中华人民共和国·北京

2012
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In April 2010, Prime Minister of Australia Kevin Rudd presented the annual George E Morrison Lecture at The Australian National University.

The Morrison Lectures have been held at ANU since 1948. Chinese residents in Australia founded the series in 1932 to “honour for all time the great Australian who rendered valuable service to China”, the writer, journalist and adventurer George Morrison (1862-1920). They also hoped that the lectures would contribute to cultural relations and mutual understanding at a time of heightened international tension and suspicion.

The year immediately preceding Kevin Rudd’s Morrison Lecture, “Australia and China in the World”, there had again been moments of tension in Australia’s relationship with the People’s Republic. Some were due in no small part to the inevitable disconnect between mutual positions over a range of issues; others related to the realm of public opinion and different responses to the same events.

For those immediately concerned with Australia’s place in Asia and the Pacific, the country’s bilateral relationship with China, and our interconnectedness with the broader Chinese world, it was evident that the closer our two countries became the more we would experience the particular discomforts of propinquity and intimacy.

We thus feel that it is more pressing than ever before for concerned bodies and individuals to promote higher levels of mutual Australia and China literacy, an engagement that is not just utilitarian but in-depth and unequivocal. This, I believe, requires not merely a grounded realism but also a long-term, multifaceted understanding that builds on the past but can see beyond the present.
2010年4月，时任总理陆克文在澳大利亚国立大学一年一度的乔治·莫理循讲座上发表演讲。

澳大利亚国立大学自1948年起举办莫理循讲座。该讲座由澳大利亚华人于1932年创办，以纪念作家、记者和探险家乔治·莫理循(1862-1920)。“向这位伟大的澳大利亚人一直以来为中国所做的贡献致敬”。他们还希望这个讲座能在当时的国际社会所处的那个充满紧张和猜疑的年代，推进澳中两国的文化联系与理解互信。

就在陆克文在莫理循讲座上发表演讲——“世界中的澳大利亚与中国”的前一年，澳中关系一度陷入紧张。其中有相当部分是由于双方在一系列问题上的立场难以避免地存在分歧；其他则与民意，以及对同一事件的不同反应相关联。

对于那些密切关注澳大利亚在亚太地区所处的位置，与中国的关系，以及与更广范围的大中华地区和相互联系的人来说，很显然，两国关系越是紧密，也就越容易经历一些因亲近而产生的不适。

因此，我们感到对相关机构和个人来说，提高中澳双方的相互认知，进行不只是功利性的，更是深入而实际的接触，显得前所未有的迫切。个人以为，这不仅需要坚定的现实主义，更要基于过去并能看到未来的长期的多方面理解。
In concluding his Morrison oration Kevin Rudd announced the establishment of the Australian Centre on China in the World (CIW). The Centre is grounded in the humanities, is engaged with the social sciences and is relevant to public policy. Those involved in the newly established Centre were aware that Australia needs more and better channels to discuss and address bilateral issues. We need to appreciate better the mechanics of differences and the mutual responses to those differences. Where possible we might even hope to identify potential problems before they occur. It is important also to explore ways for concerned groups — academic, public, government, business and independent to engage with these differences in a manner that takes due account of the genuine interests of both sides, without allowing the more contentious issues to metastasize to the point where then risk the whole relationship. Yet at the same time we should not resile from difference.

To that end, in its earliest days the Australian Centre on China in the World initiated a collaboration with one of China’s leading think tanks, the China Institutes of Contemporary International Relations (CICIR). From first contact, we emphasized the desire for frank dialogue, not a dialogue premised on talking past each other, but rather to be in exchange with each other. We were thinking of the kind of frankness essayed by Kevin Rudd in April 2008 when, during an address to students at Peking University, he spoke of the particular amity displayed by a zhengyou, “a partner who sees beyond immediate benefit to the broader and firm basis for continuing, profound and sincere friendship.” Elsewhere zhengyou has been described as “an empathetic and engaged friend who can disagree, a trusted interlocutor, a principled partner in understanding.”

At a number of informal discussions and formal workshops in China and Australia during 2010-2011, our Centre discussed the possibility of collaboration with CICIR. We formed a writing group consisting of both CICIR and CIW colleagues that took upon itself the task of drafting an initial report on the “state of the relationship” between Australia and the People’s Republic of China.

We chose to work with CICIR because it is one of the leading Chinese foreign policy think tanks and because, due to its institutional linkages, it has access to the highest levels of the Chinese
在莫理循演讲的最后，陆克文宣布澳大利亚中华全球研究中心（CIW）成立。中心以人文科学为基础，结合社会科学，紧扣公共政策。参与这一新中心建设的人认识到，澳大利亚需要更多、更好的渠道来讨论并解决双边关系中存在的问题；需要更好的理解分歧产生的原因及过程，以及相互间对于这些分歧的反应；可能的话，甚至希望在问题出现之前就能有所发现。当然，探索一些方式，让学界、公众、政府、商界和独立团体等相关群体以适当照顾双方真正利益的方式参与到分歧的讨论与解决中来也很重要，以免让更多争议性的问题扩展到损害整个双边关系的地步。与此同时，我们也不应规避差异。

为达到这一目的，澳大利亚中华全球研究中心在创建之初就与中国一流智库之一—中国现代国际关系研究院（CICIR）建立了合作关系。从第一次接触开始，我们就强调要开展坦诚对话，这种对话不是继续陈词滥调，而是重在彼此交流。我们所说的这种坦诚，在陆克文2008年4月对北京大学学生的演讲中就有所表述，他当时形容这种特定的友好关系为“诤友”，意即“一个超越直接和短期利益的、建立在广泛和坚实基础之上的、着眼于持久、深刻和真挚友谊的伙伴。”此外，他还将诤友描述为“真正的朋友是敢于说出不同意见、直言规劝的，是能够就有争议的问题进行有原则对话的”。

2010-2011年间，我中心与中国现代国际关系研究院在中国和澳大利亚举行过数次正式、非正式的讨论与研讨，共同探讨合作的可能。随后，我们组建了一个由双方研究人员共同组成的写作小组，负责撰写首份有关中澳双边关系概述的报告。我们之所以选择与中国现代国际关系研究院合作是因为它是中国对外政策研究智库中的佼佼者，而且由于体制原因，它能
government. As a national centre working on China we at CIW intend for the CIW-CICIR Report to have relevance to policy on both sides; it is deliberately designed to be part of a bilateral discussion that is conducted at both official and non-official levels. Careful and gradual conversation over many months has produced a unique document on the relationship, distinct from all other examples of government, business, defence and journalistic stock-taking.

This CIW-CICIR Report was jointly prepared by a research institution in Canberra and a government-linked think tank in Beijing. We have throughout been aware that the nature and composition of our writing teams reflect different institutional realities. The collaboration, robust and fruitful, also reflects the nature of our two societies and polities. The serial rounds of discussions between Australian and Chinese colleagues were forthright and at times hard-hitting, and the process itself has had an impact on both sides. I would suggest that the process of preparing the report has been at least as significant as the actual report itself.

On the Australian side the report reflects views freely arrived at by CIW. Yet we involved senior Australian public servants in the early rounds of discussions, in order to ensure our endeavour was relevant to Australia’s policies, and to assure our Chinese partners of the seriousness with which we approached the project. We also shared drafts of our material with academic colleagues and members of the business community.

The report itself makes clear that it is an overview designed to identify common ground and common interests that can form the basis for more detailed and specific projects. Given the differing realities of our two countries it is significant that we have been able to identify so much common ground, without in any way trying to skirt or disguise areas where our perspectives do not align, or where we disagree. We were also particularly mindful of the importance of articulating clearly the areas of disjunction and friction, as well as offering shared suggestions about how these may be recognized and, perhaps, addressed.
够接触到中国政府的最高层。作为一个国家级的中国研究中心，澳大利亚中华全球研究中心希望这份联合报告能与双方政策相关，并旨在成为官方和非官方双边讨论的一部分。数月来，我们进行了认真而循序渐进的讨论与交流，终使这份独一无二的双边关系研究报告付梓。它是特别的，因为它不同于政、商、防务、媒体所做的任何一种盘点式的报告。

报告由堪培拉的一家研究机构和北京的一家与政府有联系的智库联合完成。我们始终清楚，这一写作小组的性质和构成反映了不同的制度现实：我们密切而富有成效的合作也体现了两国社会和政体往来的实质。我想说，报告创作的过程至少与报告本身一样意义重大。澳中双方同事之间一轮又一轮的讨论都是直言不讳的，有时甚至很激烈。这一过程本身就影响着彼此。

从澳大利亚的角度看，报告体现了澳大利亚中华全球研究中心自己的观点。但我们在早期的几轮讨论中均邀请了澳大利亚政府的高级官员参与，以确保我们的努力契合澳大利亚的政策，也向我们的中方伙伴保证我们开展这一项目的严肃性。我们还将报告草稿分享给了学界伙伴和商界人士。

报告本身清楚地表明，这是一份有关澳中双边关系的概述，旨在寻找共同的合作基础和利益，以为开展更加细致、具体的项目奠定基础。两国国情迥异，在没有避开或掩盖双方不同的观点、不一致的意见的情况下，我们能找到如此多的共性，这本身就意义非凡。我们还要铭记，清楚地指明存在的分歧与摩擦，对如何认识并可能解决这些问题的建议不吝分享，尤为重要。
China and Australia have a long, shared history, one marked by many “firsts”. It is a bilateral relationship that has been both unique and constructive. With the normalization of relations in 1972, the relationship entered a new stage and, despite various diversions and distractions, it has enjoyed a constant upward trajectory. It is a relationship of cooperation and mutual benefit, one that surpasses difference, be those differences in relation to history and culture, political systems or stages of economic development.

Over the past four decades both countries have featured prominently in the Pacific. Australia is an integral part of China’s rise just as China is an integral part of Australia’s prosperity. A bilateral relationship based on cooperation and mutual benefit is good for both countries; it is a bilateral relationship that plays an important role in ensuring the stability and prosperity of the Pacific.

In recent times our two countries have been mutually supportive and, following our relative success in weathering the Global Financial Crisis, we have entered a new stage in the history of our relationship. The greatest challenge that we both now face is how to build further on the relationship, how to bring greater maturity and strategic vision to it and how to develop mechanisms to ensure it is more efficacious, more creative and more regionally and globally constructive, in particular at the present crucial juncture when the world is experiencing dramatic change, transformation and re-alignment.

In essence the question is: how will both sides overcome the ‘dual disconnect’ brought about by the pace of change?

The first is a new disjuncture: one between our social and economic relationship on the one hand, and our strategic relationship on the other, where the latter has failed to reflect the
中国和澳大利亚的交往历史悠久，而且创造了多个历史第一，展示了两国关系的特殊性和建设性。1972年，中澳建交将两国关系带入新的发展阶段。虽跌宕起伏，但总体向上，形成超越历史文化、政治制度和发展差异的互利合作关系。40年来，两国日益成为太平洋的重要国家。中国的崛起需要澳大利亚，澳大利亚的繁荣需要中国，两国合作互利共赢，成为维护太平洋稳定和繁荣的重要双边关系。

当前，中澳两国相互支持，在相对成功地应对了国际金融危机的共同洗礼之后，再次步入新的历史发展阶段。两国发展关系面临的最大挑战，是如何在全球大变局、大转型、大调整的背景下，以更成熟的心态、战略、机制和措施，创建更有成效、更富有创造精神、更具地区和全球建设性的双边关系。其本质，就是如何克服两个“速度”的差异。首先是克服两国经济社会变迁速度快于两国战略关系跟进速度的新差异。这就意味着两国长期以来以经济相互依赖为主要支柱的关系模式不再适应，如何发展社会文化层面的
dramatic developments in the former. This implies that the long-standing model for the relationship, of which economic complementarity has formed the cornerstone, no longer suffices. How to build a multi-faceted relationship based on developing mutual reliance in the cultural and social spheres, has become a salient question requiring a response.

The second disjuncture is that between our current strategic bilateral relationship and the fast-paced structural transformations occurring in the Asia-Pacific region.

The rise of new great powers, especially China, the return of the United States to Asia and the Pacific, combined with the increased speed with which the global centre of gravity is shifting towards our region, has resulted in a regional transformation. It is a transformation that features an increase both in strategic comfort and in strategic abrasion. Adjustment of the China-Australia strategic relationship will be influenced by this structural transformation, while at the same time itself influencing it. But the strategic relationship between our two countries is clearly lagging behind the changes in the overall strategic situation in Asia and the Pacific. It is for this reason that it is a matter of pressing urgency as to how our two countries develop new forms of collaboration in the strategically complex environment of Asia and the Pacific so that the shift of global gravity will be more assured, enhancing thereby the steadier construction of a harmonious Asia-Pacific.

It is in consideration of this that the collaboration between the China Institutes of Contemporary International Relations (CICIR) and the Australian Centre on China in the World (CIW) was born. Over the past three decades the China Institutes of Contemporary International Relations have developed the study of Australia and in the process CICIR has established numerous academic exchanges. With the creation of a bold, new enterprise such as the Australian Centre on China in the World it is only natural that CIW would become one of the newest and most important collaborators for our Australia specialists.

This report is the result of a collaborative endeavour over the past two years. It offers one of the few overviews of the China-Australia relationship as a whole. It differs from political or economic reports in that it features the observations and analysis of
相互依赖，形成多根支柱，成为中澳关系需要解决的突出问题。其次是如何克服亚太格局转型速度快于两国战略关系跟进速度的差异。随着新兴大国尤其是中国的崛起，美国重返亚太，加快全球重心向亚太转移以及亚太格局转型的速度，加剧各国战略磨合和摩擦的强度。中澳战略关系的调整既会受格局演化的的影响，反过来又会影响格局演化。但是，中澳战略关系调整的速度，显然落后于亚太整体战略格局的演变。

因此，两国如何在复杂的亚太战略互动中发展新型合作关系，使全球重心向亚太转移的步伐更加稳健，使和谐亚太的构建更加平稳，成为当务之急。

基于此，中国现代国际关系研究院（CICIR）与澳大利亚中华全球研究中心（CIW）的合作应运而生。30多年来，中国现代国际关系研究院的澳大利亚研究在中国已自成体系，并与澳大利亚建立了广泛的学术交流关系。而甫一成立即显示出强大实力的澳大利亚中华全球研究中心，顺理成章地成为我院澳大利亚研究最新和最重要的合作伙伴之一。这份报告，就是双方两年通力合作的结晶。报告是为数不多的对中澳关系进行全景式扫描的研究成果。它与政府或商界研究报告不同，反映了双方研究者的观察与思考。报告不回避观点差异，力求在尊重事实的基础上客观描述双方的看法。
researchers on both sides. This report does not shy away from differences of perspective, but attempts rather on the basis of facts to account objectively for the views on both sides, aiming to present a “realistic portrait” of the relationship between China and Australia.

The report offers an overall assessment of the internal and external situation in both countries and from this basis it looks to the future as well as offering some in-principle suggestions. Objectively speaking, this report is professional, considered and practical. It is the product of the dedication, confidence, candour and flexibility of researchers on both sides. It is the outcome of an at times fraught process during which its authors overcame disputation, frustrations and various conundrums.

I would point out that this report is an initial experiment in how to develop a new form of cooperation. Not surprisingly it has numerous limitations that require the further dedicated collaboration of researchers on both sides.

I sincerely hope that in a year that marks the fortieth anniversary of the normalization of diplomatic relations between China and Australia, this report will be a positive contribution to the development of the relationship between our two countries.

[Signature]
法，力图展现“一个真实的中澳关系”。尤其是，报告在对两国内外环境进行总体评估的基础上，展望中澳关系未来并提出原则性建议。客观地说，报告是专业、冷静、务实的，而这份报告的产生，则是双方研究人员以热忱、信心、真诚和灵活性，克服争论、困惑和各种困难的艰辛过程。同时，也必须指出，这份报告是探索中澳发展新型合作关系的初步尝试，仍然有很多不足之处，需要双方继续进行更深入的合作研究。今年是中澳建交40周年，我真诚希望这份报告能成为诸多推动中澳关系良性发展的积极因素之一。
Australia and China
A Joint Report on the Bilateral Relationship
Given the long histories of both countries, the story of relations between Australia and China is relatively short. Despite the possibility of early contact between the two peoples, ongoing contact was only established after European settlement of Australia in the 18th century.

The story of this relationship is rich. It goes beyond trade and state-to-state relations. In the early years in particular, the story is about individuals, families and communities and the flow of people, ideas and capital that have bound the two nations.

The first significant interaction between the two peoples occurred during the Australian Gold Rush in the 19th century. More than 40,000 Chinese miners arrived on Australia’s gold fields. Many returned to China after some time in Australia while others decided to stay. Despite the prevailing prejudices and cultural attitudes of the time, many Chinese were successful in building lives for themselves in Australia. In doing so they became the first real link between the two countries.

The Chinese community in Australia consolidated itself over time and developed the early trade relationship. In the late-19th century the first relatively wealthy Chinese Australians established themselves through banana plantations and trade. The first exports of wheat from Australia to China began in the early years of the 20th century. This was followed by the establishment in 1917 of the first large Chinese Australian enterprise in Australia, the China-Australia Mail Steamship Line. But, following the advent of the White Australia Policy, new Chinese arrivals fell dramatically.

A number of Chinese Australians used their experience and success in Australia to establish business operations in China. Australian Chinese established the first major department stores in China, including in Hong Kong and Shanghai. In this move-
与中澳两国悠久的历史相比，两国交往的时间相对较短。尽管两国民众可能早期就有接触，但直到18世纪欧洲人殖民澳大利亚才开始持续往来。

有关双边关系的故事十分丰富，它超越了贸易和国与国的关系。尤其在早期，双边关系是围绕个人、家庭、团体以及人员、思想和资本的流动展开的，以此为纽带两国关系不断加深。

中澳民众第一次重要的交往是在19世纪澳大利亚淘金潮时期。4万多名中国矿工抵达澳大利亚金矿区，一段时间后，许多人回到了中国，其他人则决定留下。尽管在那段时间，澳大利亚普遍对华人存有偏见和文化歧视，但仍有许多华人成功地在澳大利亚开始了自己的生活，他们也因而成为两国之间第一个真正的纽带。

随着时间的推移，澳大利亚华人社会地位日趋稳固，并开启了早期的双边贸易往来。19世纪晚期，第一批相对富裕的在澳华人通过香蕉种植和贸易奠定了自己的地位。20世纪初，第一批小麦由澳大利亚出口到中国。1917年，澳籍华人成立了第一家大型企业——中澳邮轮公司。但是随后的“白澳政策”，使得新的中国移民数量锐减。
ment of capital to China, those with long experience in Australia also took with them modern ideas and practices. Men like Ma Ying Piu (馬應彪/馬應彪) and the Gock brothers, James Gockleo (郭樂/郭乐) and Philip Gockchin (郭泉), were the exemplars of this successful group of Chinese Australians. Ma came to Australia in the 1880s to look for gold but later moved into the world of business and worked under the guidance of the famous retailer David Jones. Ma later opened department stores in Hong Kong, Canton and Shanghai.

Just as Chinese came to Australia in the 19th century, Australians also travelled to China. The first Australian to study in China was William Mayers from Tasmania, who arrived in China in 1859. Mayers played a key role in negotiations to bring the first railway and steam engine to China. James Bruce was a missionary who travelled to China in the 1890s and died there in 1902. Gladstone Porteous, inspired by Bruce, spent 40 years in China’s Yunnan province studying the Yi people and built the first modern hospital in that region.

Influential Australian journalists in the 19th and early 20th centuries brought news of events in the Qing Empire (China) to the English-speaking world. George Morrison and William Donald are two well-known figures in this regard. Morrison lived in China for more than 20 years and wrote for The Times in London. His reports of the Boxer Rebellion were read around the world. Both Morrison and Donald did more than report events; they became influential figures in the Chinese politics of the day. Donald played a role in crafting the Declaration of China’s first Provisional President, Sun Yat-sen (孫中山/孙中山) and in drafting the Republic of China’s Provisional Constitution. For his part Morrison served as an adviser to the short-lived President of the Republic, Yuan Shikai. Following in this tradition, Harold Temperley, an Australian journalist, broke the news of the Nanking massacre to the world in 1937. C.P. Fitzgerald, who made his home in Australia, became an international authority on China in the decades following his first visit in 1923.

The flow also went the other way. The prominent Chinese late-imperial reformer, Liang Qichao (梁啟超/梁启超), visited Australia in 1900-1901 to garner support for the campaign to reform and modernise China. His six-month visit coincided with the creation of the Federation of Australia.
some Australian Chinese凭借在澳大利亚的经验和成就到中国开展商务。他们在香港、上海等城市建立了第一批大型百货商店。在资本流向中国的过程中，他们也将现代理念和实践传到了中国。马应彪、郭氏兄弟——郭乐和郭泉等，就是澳籍华人的成功代表。马应彪19世纪80年代赴澳淘金，随后转战商场，在著名百货业者大卫·琼斯的指点下开展工作，后在香港、广州和上海开办了百货商店。

19世纪澳大利亚人也来到了中国。第一位来中国学习的澳大利亚人是塔斯马尼亚州的梅辉立（William Mayers）。他于1859年到达中国，在中国引进第一条铁路和蒸汽机的谈判中发挥了重要作用。詹姆斯·布鲁斯（James Bruce）是19世纪90年代到达中国的传教士，于1902年在华逝世。张尔昌（Gladstone Porteous）则受布鲁斯激励，在中国云南从事彝族研究40年，并在当地建立了第一所现代医院。

19世纪末和20世纪早期，有影响力的澳大利亚记者开始向英语世界介绍中国。乔治·莫里循（George Morrison）和端纳（William Donald）是该领域的两位名人。莫里循在华生活近20年，并为伦敦《泰晤士报》撰稿。他的有关义和团运动的报道广传世界。除新闻报道外，莫里循和端纳也对当时的中国政治产生了重要影响。端纳曾帮助中华民国第一位临时大总统孙中山起草对外宣言以及《中华民国临时约法》，莫里循则为短命的中华民国总统袁世凯的顾问。此后，澳大利亚记者田伯烈（Harold
There were also early examples of official contact. The first Chinese diplomatic official to come to Australia was a Consul-General, Liang Lan Hsun (梁瀾勳) who arrived in Melbourne in 1909. The President of the National Government of China, Dr Lin Sen (林森), visited Australia in the 1930s, and was given a seat on the floor of the House of Representatives – an important symbolic gesture of respect for a visiting national leader. Australia’s first diplomatic official to China, Frederic Eggleston was appointed in 1941, although a trade commissioner had been in China briefly in 1921-22. Another important milestone had been the visit to China of the Mission to the Far East in 1934. This mission, led by the Deputy Prime Minister, J.G. Latham, was Australia’s first attempt at direct political engagement with the region, although it was also seeking trading opportunities.

In 1941, a representative from the Government of the Republic of China was sent to Australia. When the People’s Republic of China was founded in 1949, Australia withheld recognition and maintained diplomatic relations with the authority on Taiwan. However, Australia’s first embassy in Taipei was only established and the first Ambassador sent in 1966.

In 1950, the Korean War broke out. Australian forces fought with the United Nations forces. Chinese troops fought in support of North Korea. Australian and Chinese troops were engaged in direct combat, including at the Battle of Kapyong in April 1951.

Between 1949 and 1972, Australia had no formal diplomatic relations with the People’s Republic of China. However, links continued through other channels. A number of Australians were sympathetic to Communism and visited China in that context. Trade also continued and was in significant volume. Australian wheat exports to China during the 1960s helped to reduce the impact of food shortages. At the time, wheat exports accounted for most of Australia’s trade with China.

In 1971, Gough Whitlam, the leader of the Australian Labor Party, became the first Australian political leader to visit the People’s Republic of China. At the time, unbeknownst to the Australian Government, the United States was moving towards a dramatic opening of its relations with China.
Timperley) 向世界披露了1937年南京大屠杀的内幕。移居澳大利亚的费子智 (C.P. Fitzgerald) 曾于1923年首访中国，几十年后成为国际汉学界泰斗。

人员流动还有另外一种方式。中国杰出的清末改革家梁启超于1900-1901年访问澳大利亚，为其力主的中国改革和现代化寻求支持。他在澳大利亚停留了6个月，恰逢澳大利亚联邦成立。

两国官方早期也有接触。第一位到访澳大利亚的中国外交官是总领事梁澜勋，他于1909年到达墨尔本。20世纪30年代，中华民国国民政府主席林森访澳，并获邀进入澳大利亚众议院议席，这是澳大利亚对到访的国家领导人表示尊重的重要象征。

澳大利亚虽曾于1921-1922年向中国派遣贸易专员，但真正派驻到中国的第一位外交官是艾弗雷 (Frederic Eggleston)，他于1941年到任。1934年副总理莱瑟姆 (J. G. Latham) 率领远东使团访华，成为中澳关系史上的又一重要里程碑。该使团虽然也是为寻求贸易机会，但这又是澳大利亚与远东地区直接进行政治接触的第一次尝试。1

1941年中华民国政府向澳大利亚派驻代表。1949年中华人民共和国成立，澳大利亚未予承认，而是继续与台湾当局保持外交关系，但是直到1966年才在台北派驻大使、设立使馆。

1950年朝鲜战争爆发，澳大利亚加入联合国军，中国则与北朝鲜并肩作战，中国人民志愿军与澳大利亚军队因而卷入直接对抗，如1951年4月的加平战役。
Relations between Australia and China were normalised in the period between 1972 and 1980. In the context of US strategic adjustment in Asia in the early 1970s and the opening of relations between China and the United States, the mutual desire to restrain Soviet expansionism became the foundation of cooperation between Australia and China. Given this background, Australia and China made adjustments to their foreign policies.

A new chapter in bilateral relations was opened on 21 December 1972 when Australia and the People’s Republic of China formally announced the establishment of diplomatic relations. In 1973, Gough Whitlam became the first Australian Prime Minister to visit China, thereby opening the door for high-level visits and setting in motion future cooperation in a range of fields including science, education, sports, arts and health care. Military-to-military relations were initiated in 1978 with the first exchange of military attachés occurring in 1982. In 1978, China adopted the national policy of ‘reform and opening up’, further facilitating the development of bilateral relations.

From 1981 to 1989, relations between Australia and China developed rapidly. With the end of the Cold War, peace and development became the dominant themes of our time. Australia paid increasing attention to Asia and the Pacific because of its rising economic and strategic importance. Under the Hawke Government, Australia sought greater regional engagement, through, for example, advocating the establishment of the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) forum. China, meanwhile, focused on economic development and national construction, adopting a new-era independent and peaceful approach to foreign affairs. Bilateral relations developed with unprecedented speed as a result of the two countries’ shared emphasis on engagement and cooperation. Reciprocal high-level visits became frequent and there was increased cooperation and consultation on a range of regional issues, including Cambodia, the Korean peninsula, disarmament and non-proliferation and economic cooperation in Asia and the Pacific. After the upheaval of events surrounding 4 June 1989, the development of the relationship between Australia and China was on hold. High-level visits ceased and economic cooperation was postponed.
1949-1972年间，澳大利亚与中华人民共和国并无正式的外交关系，却一直通过其他渠道保持联系。在当时的背景下，仍有一些澳大利亚人相对认同共产主义并访问中国。贸易依旧持续，并保持较大规模。20世纪60年代，澳大利亚对华贸易主要是小麦出口，较好地帮助中国缓解了粮食短缺的影响。1971年工党领袖惠特拉姆（Gough Whitlam）成为澳大利亚第一位访华的政治领袖。当时澳大利亚政府并不知道美国正戏剧性地打开与中国关系的大门。


1981-1989年，中澳关系步入迅速发展期。冷战进入最后阶段，和平与发展成为时代主题。亚太地区的经济与战略意义凸显，促使澳大利亚更加关注亚太。霍克政府加大对亚太地区的投入，如倡议成立亚太经济合作组织（APEC）等；中国则将政策重心转向经济发展，确立了新时期独立自主的和平外交政策。
From 1990 to the present, Australia-China relations have developed pragmatically, and increasingly towards maturity. The Cold War ended with the collapse of the Soviet Union and Eastern European Communist regimes. The basic international relations setting became one superpower with a number of great powers. Economic factors became increasingly important in international relations. Australia continued its policy of close engagement with Asia and the Pacific. It supported and played an important role in the establishment of more effective regional mechanisms and institutions such as APEC and the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF). China’s focus has been on improving its external environment by developing political and economic relations with countries in Asia and the Pacific. It has also experimented with participating in regional institutions created by Australia and other countries, including APEC.

Australia removed its sanctions against China in 1991. Relations between the two countries have developed pragmatically since that time. Strong economic complementarity drove the rapid development of bilateral economic relations. Australia became a major energy supplier for China; in 2005 the two countries started Free Trade Agreement (FTA) negotiations; and, in 2007, China became Australia’s biggest trading partner. With economics and trade as the foundation, the relationship between Australia and China has developed in a healthy, balanced and comprehensive manner.
集中力量搞国内建设。对和平与发展的共同重视，使这一时期的中澳关系发展速度前所未有。两国高层互访频繁，在亚太地区的合作日益增多，如就柬埔寨、朝鲜半岛、裁军和军控、亚太经济合作等问题展开积极磋商等。1989年“六四风波”后，中澳关系出现短暂停滞，高层往来、经济合作等推迟。

1990年至今，中澳关系务实发展，走向成熟。苏东剧变，冷战结束，“一超多强”成为国际关系基本格局，经济因素日益重要。澳大利亚继续推行与亚太紧密接触政策，支持更富成效的地区机制建设，对亚太经济合作组织（APEC）、东盟地区论坛（ARF）等地区机制的建设发挥了重要作用。中国则致力于改善外部环境，重视发展与亚太国家的政治经济关系，并尝试参与由澳大利亚等国发起的亚太地区经济合作。

1991年澳大利亚取消对华制裁后，中澳关系得以务实推进。强大的经济互补性带动两国经贸关系迅速发展。澳大利亚成为中国主要能源资源供应方，2005年两国开启双边自贸谈判，2007年底中国成为澳大利亚最大贸易伙伴。中澳关系以经贸为依托，实现了健康平稳、全面深入的发展。
The global and regional context of the relationship between Australia and China is vastly different from that of four decades ago when diplomatic relations were established in 1972. The stable regional environment has provided the external conditions to develop the relationship between Australia and China.

The Cold War has ended. The global centre of economic and geopolitical weight is shifting to Asia and the Pacific. Globally, the rapid development of technology has resulted in a dramatic fall in the cost of moving people, capital, goods and especially ideas around the world. Today the economies of the world are more closely intertwined than at any stage in human history. The effect of this, combined with the policy decisions of individual nations that have driven domestic economic reform, has been to lift global prosperity to new levels.

Within this globalised world, the United States remains by a substantial margin the largest economy and the most powerful military and political force. Europe's ongoing evolution of a new supranational government makes it the world's largest economy when taken as a whole. The major emerging economies, including those of China and India, are driving economic growth as the world recovers from the global financial crisis of 2008-09. Demand for energy and natural resources is growing strongly as emerging economies seek inputs for their growth. But the threat of climate change is influencing government policies on energy and there is increasing awareness of the need for nations to adopt sustainable development strategies for both economic and environmental reasons.

Economic development in Asia and the Pacific following World War Two was led first by Japan, and later by the four Asian Tigers – South Korea, Singapore, Taiwan and Hong Kong. The current phase of development builds on those achievements. The current growth is cementing the region's central role in the glob-
当前中澳关系所处的全球和地区环境与40年前建交时相比已经发生巨大变化。稳定的地区环境为中澳关系发展提供了外部机遇。冷战结束后，全球经济和战略中心向亚太转移，科技高速发展大大降低了人员、资本、商品尤其是思想在全世界流动的成本，世界经济体前所未有地紧密相联。由此带来的影响与各国经济改革政策一起，推动全球繁荣到了新的水平。

在全球化世界，美国以显著优势保持着最大经济体、最强军事和政治力量的地位。欧洲继续向新的超国家政府演变，当作为一个整体时，它是世界上最大的经济体。中国、印度等主要新兴国家成为世界从2008-2009年全球金融危机中逐步恢复的重要驱动力。新兴国家寻求自身经济增长的过程加剧了对能源的需求。与此同时，气候变化的威胁正影响着政府的能源政策，并使政府逐渐意识到，无论出于经济还是环境原因，国家都需要选择可持续的发展战略。

二战后亚太地区经济的发展最初是日本，随后是亚洲“四小龙”（新加坡、韩国、中国香港、中国台湾）。现阶段的发展基于当时的成就。当前的经济增长巩固了亚太地区在
al economy. This, in turn, is raising the profile of Asia and the Pacific in international affairs. Australia and China share with the other nations of the region an interest in ongoing stability – it is one prerequisite for economic development to continue.

China’s re-emergence is the greatest single factor influencing the course of political and economic changes in the region. China’s growth is altering patterns of economic activity as well as foreign policy considerations of governments, although Japan remains a major economic power and political force. Australia’s role as a reliable supplier of natural resources has become more important as demand for the resources it supplies to an increasing range of nations has grown. Strong economic complementarity has helped to develop cooperation between Australia and China in a range of fields.

**Economics**

The boom in trade and investment is the highest profile component of the present relationship between Australia and China. Changes in China’s economic structure are the driving force behind this boom. China’s development, particularly its ongoing urbanisation, is the main factor behind the growth in demand for Australian resources, the biggest single dimension of the trading relationship. Trade with China is an increasingly important part of Australia’s economy – it has reached historically unprecedented levels.

![Australia's merchandise exports and imports as a percentage of totals 1901-2010](chart1)
全球经济中的中心地位，进而提升了亚太地区在国际事务中的影响力。中国、澳大利亚以及其他亚太国家都希望保持地区稳定，因为这是经济持续发展的先决条件。

中国崛起成为影响地区政治和经济变革进程的最大单一因素，尽管日本依旧是一支主要的政治经济力量，但中国发展正改变着地区经济活动的形态以及他国的外交考虑。资源需求日益上升，澳大利亚作为可靠资源供应方的地位愈发重要。强大的经济互补性带动了中澳全面合作的展开。

经济

当前中澳关系最鲜明的特征是贸易和投资的繁荣，中国经济结构的变化是繁荣背后的驱动力。中国的发展，尤其是城市化进程，不断推高对澳资源需求，资源贸易成为两国经贸中最突出的维度。目前中澳贸易额已达历史最高水平，对推动澳大利亚经济发展发挥着重要作用。
Moreover, China is Australia’s largest export market for goods and services, the largest source for imports, and the largest two-way trading partner. In 2010, China took 22.6% ($64.4 billion) of Australia’s total exports and accounted for 15.3% ($41.0 billion) of its imports. Total two-way trade in goods and services was worth $105.4 billion, accounting for 19.1% of Australia total trade. In 2009, Australia was China’s eleventh-largest export destination and the seventh-largest source of imports.

The Australian and Chinese Governments have been seeking to further encourage trade links as well as to address investment concerns of the business communities in both countries. As noted above, they have been negotiating a Free Trade Agreement since 2005.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Top Merchandise Trade Items in 2010 (A$m)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Australia to China</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iron ore &amp; concentrates 34,681</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coal 5,191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other ore &amp; concentrates 2,074</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crude petroleum 1,668</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wool &amp; other animal hair 1,621</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>China to Australia</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clothing 4,164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Computers 3,960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telecom Equipment &amp; parts 3,854</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prams, toys, games &amp; sporting goods 1,870</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Furniture, mattresses &amp; cushions 1,605</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Chart data from DFAT and the Australian Bureau of Statistics*

Since the first major Chinese investments in Australia in the 1980s – the Channar iron-ore mine and the Portland aluminium project – two-way investment has grown from a low level to become an increasingly important element of the relationship. In
中国目前是澳大利亚最大的商品和服务出口市场、最大的进口来源国以及最大的双向贸易伙伴。2010年，对中国出口占澳大利亚出口总额的22.6%（644亿澳元），从中国进口占澳大利亚进口总额的15.3%（410亿澳元），商品和服务的双向贸易总额为1054亿澳元，占澳大利亚总贸易额的19.1%。2009年，澳大利亚则为中国第十大出口目的地、第七大进口来源国。3

中澳两国政府致力于进一步推进双边贸易往来、解决两国企业的投资疑虑，并于2005年启动了双边自贸谈判。

### 2010年商品贸易最多的项目（百万澳元）

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>澳大利亚出口到中国</th>
<th>中国出口到澳大利亚</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>铁矿石与精矿</td>
<td>34,681</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>煤</td>
<td>5,191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>其他矿石和精矿</td>
<td>2,074</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>原油</td>
<td>1,668</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>羊毛和其他动物毛</td>
<td>1,621</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>服装</td>
<td>4,164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>电脑</td>
<td>3,960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>电信设备及部件</td>
<td>3,854</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>婴儿车、玩具、游戏和体育用品</td>
<td>1,870</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>家具、床垫和坐垫</td>
<td>1,605</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**数据来源：** 澳大利亚外交贸易部及澳大利亚统计局

自20世纪80年代中国在澳大利亚第一笔大规模投资—恰那铁矿和波特兰铝矿项目以来，双向投资从低水平逐渐发展成为
2000-2001, the value of approved Chinese investment proposals in Australia totalled $311 million. In 2008-09, applications to invest in Australia from China soared to a record high of $26.6 billion, of which nearly three-quarters was from a single proposal. In 2009-10, Chinese-approved applications for foreign investment in Australia totalled $16.3 billion or 11.7% of the overall proposed foreign investment for the year. This placed China only third behind the United States and the United Kingdom. Three-quarters of the investment proposals originating in China were directed towards the mineral exploration and development sector. By comparison Australia’s investment in China is much smaller and is focused on the financial, manufacturing and services sectors.

At the end of December 2009, the value of the stock of realised Chinese investment in Australia was $16,637 million, including $9,167 million of direct investment. This is much lower than Australia’s top foreign investors, the United States and the United Kingdom, both of which had total investment levels of around $500,000 million. Also in December 2009, the value of realised Australian investment in China was $6,327 million, including $2,347 million of direct investment. Nonetheless, Chinese investment in Australia is playing a crucial role in expanding the activities of the resources sector. Australian investment in China is helping Chinese firms gain access to world-leading practices, services and technology.

2009年12月底，中国在澳大利亚投资总额达166.37亿澳元，其中直接投资91.67亿澳元，仍远低于澳大利亚最大的外来投资方美国和英国（投资总规模均在5000亿澳元左右）。同期，澳大利亚实现在华投资为63.27亿澳元，其中直接投资23.47亿澳元。

中国投资对澳大利亚拓展资源行业至关重要，澳大利亚在华投资则有助于中国公司引进世界领先的实践、服务和技术。
As previously noted, since the establishment of diplomatic relations between Australia and China in 1972 reciprocal high-level visits have become an important element of bilateral relations. In recent years, the interaction between officials of different levels in the two countries has been further institutionalised. During the September 2007 APEC Summit in Sydney, China’s President Hu Jintao visited Australia. Moreover, a number of Permanent Members of the Chinese Communist Party’s Politburo, including Vice Premier Li Keqiang, and Vice President Xi Jinping have also visited Australia. After assuming office, the then Prime Minister Kevin Rudd chose China as one of his first overseas destinations in April 2008. The current Prime Minister, Julia Gillard, has met with President Hu and Premier Wen at a number of international forums. More recently, in April 2011, Prime Minister Gillard made her first official visit to China as Prime Minister. During that visit, both sides reaffirmed that good Australia-China relations served the interests of both countries, as well as regional and global stability and prosperity.

The interaction between ministerial-level officials is even more frequent than meetings between political leaders. To date, Australia and China have established nearly 20 dialogue mechanisms at the vice-ministerial level or above. These are based on the principles of mutual respect, equality and mutual benefit. They are used by both sides to discuss issues of mutual interest in a range of areas such as political relations, trade and commerce, security, science and technology, human rights and cul-
自中澳1972年建交以来，高层互访成为双边关系的重要组成部分。近年来两国更实现了高规格、多层次的频繁互动。2007年9月，胡锦涛主席参加悉尼APEC峰会期间访澳。李克强副总理、习近平副主席等中国多名政治局常委也先后访澳。2008年4月，时任总理的陆克文选择中国作为其首次海外出访的国家之一。现任总理吉拉德亦在多个国际场合与胡锦涛主席、温家宝总理会晤。2011年4月，吉拉德作为总理首次访华，两国领导人再次重申中澳关系符合两国的共同利益，对地区和全球稳定繁荣具有重要意义。

两国部级官员间的互动更是频繁。迄今，中澳本着相互尊重、平等互利、合作共赢的原则，就共同关心的议题已建立近20个部级以上以上的对话与交流机制，涉及政治、经贸、军事、科技、人文等各个领域。如中澳年度战略对话机制、中澳议会定期交流机制、中澳外交部官员政治磋商机制、
tural exchange. These mechanisms include: the Australia-China Strategic Dialogue; periodic exchanges between the National People’s Congress and the Australian Parliament; political consultation between foreign affairs officials; the Annual Australia-China Defence Strategic Dialogue; the Australia-China Ministerial Dialogue on Climate Change; the Australia-China High-Level Economic Cooperation Dialogue; and, the Australia-China Human Rights Dialogue. Both Australia and China recognise the need to develop and maintain stable and sustainable relations. For many years now, the major political parties in Australia and the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) have sought to develop friendly and enduring relations and deepen their interaction. For example, in 2009, the CCP and the Australian Labor Party (ALP) strengthened their ties through enhanced exchange and dialogue between young politicians.

Moreover, the two Governments have worked through government agencies, such as the Australian Agency for International Development (AusAID) and its Chinese counterpart, the Ministry of Commerce’s Department of Aid to Foreign Countries, to promote practical, on-the-ground cooperation on foreign assistance projects, including those related to environment protection, health and governance. Other levels of government in both countries are now also important in promoting bilateral relations. Currently, there are about 80 sister-city or sister-state/province partnerships that have served to enhance links and understanding between Australians and Chinese.

**People-to-people links**

The extensive people-to-people links between Australia and China are a significant element of the contemporary relationship, but their importance is often underappreciated.

The flow of students, academics, professionals, artists and cultural figures of all kind, as well as sportspeople and tourists, between the two countries has increased dramatically. The number of Chinese citizens visiting Australia for study, professional activities, business and leisure increased from 120,000 in 2000 to over 450,000 in 2010 – an increase of over 10% per annum over that period and an increase of nearly 24% over the previous year. Chinese tourists are travelling to Australia in greater numbers and staying longer than they have in the past.
中澳防务战略磋商机制、中澳气候变化部长级对话机制、中澳高层经济合作对话机制、中澳人权对话机制等。发展持续稳定的中澳关系成为两国共识。多年来，澳各主要政党都与中国共产党建立了较为深入的友好关系，党际交流密切，如2009年中国共产党与澳大利亚工党建立青年政治家互访机制等。

此外，两国政府还通过澳大利亚国际发展署（AusAID）、中国商务部对外援助司等机构务实推动在环境、卫生、治理等领域的援助合作与交流。各级地方政府也为推进两国关系做出了重要贡献，建成约80对姐妹城市和姐妹省州，增进了两国民间交往和友谊。

**民间往来**
中澳之间广泛的民间往来是当前双边关系的重要组成部分，但其重要性未被充分认识。

近年来，中澳两国学生、学者、专家、艺术家、运动员以及游客之间的流动显著增加。因学习、职业活动、商务和休闲等原因访澳的中国公民从2000年的12万人次增加到2010年的逾45万人次。平均每年递增超过10%，2010年更是环比增长了近24%。与过去相比，中国访澳的游客数量更多，停留的时间也更长。

2010年中国成为澳大利亚最大的海外留学生来源地。中澳两国大学之间的研究与合作日益增多，领域不断拓展。
In 2010, China became Australia’s largest source country of foreign students. Research and collaborative links between universities in Australia and China have grown and diversified into a wide range of fields.

Australia’s Chinese community and the Australian expatriate community in China are also key points of contact between the two countries. According to the 2006 Australian Census, there are more than 670,000 Australians of Chinese descent. In Australian households, Chinese dialects are the most spoken languages besides English. In the 1980s, only a small fraction of Australian migrants came from China; in 2010, China became the second-largest source of permanent migrants for Australia, surpassed only by New Zealand. The Australian Chinese community, with its long history in Australia, continues to play an important role in Australia’s social, political and economic life, contributing to Australia’s multicultural heritage.

The Australian expatriate community in China, although much smaller, is also growing rapidly as a result of increased commercial ties and opportunities. This group includes a growing number of young professionals who see spending time in China as an important part of their career development.

Government support plays an important role in the expansion of people-to-people links, including through the Australia-China Council. The Australian and Chinese governments are sponsoring major cultural programs in each other’s country through 2010, 2011 and 2012. These programs include a wide range of events covering music, film, the visual arts, theatre, dance and other areas. Such programs help to establish links between groups that can further develop cooperation.

**Education**

As has been noted above, increasing numbers of Chinese students are choosing to study in Australia. They choose Australia because of its high-quality education system, multicultural society and its attractiveness as a possible immigration destination. In 2010, more than 130,000 Chinese students studied in Australia, about a quarter of the total foreign student population. The Chinese student population has brought significant economic benefits to Australia, but equally important, it facilitates people-
澳大利亚的华人社会以及中国的澳大利亚人社会是两国的重要纽带。20世纪80年代，只有一小部分移民来自中国。2010年中国成为澳大利亚永久移民的第二大来源地，仅次于新西兰。据澳大利亚2006年人口统计，澳籍华人的数量超过67万。汉语成为澳大利亚家庭中除英语以外使用最多的语言。有着悠久历史的华人社会将继续在澳大利亚社会、政治和经济生活中发挥重要作用，促进澳大利亚的多元文化发展。

尽管在中国的澳大利亚移民数量要小许多，但伴随不断增长的双边商务往来及机遇，其规模也在迅速壮大。有越来越多的年轻从业者将中国经历视作职业发展的重要组成部分。

政府的支持对于扩大民间往来至关重要，如澳中理事会等。2010-2012年，中澳政府对在两国举行的大型文化项目予以资助，这些项目囊括了音乐、电影、视觉艺术、戏剧、舞蹈及其他文化活动，将推动不同团体之间建立联系，增进合作。

教育

澳大利亚因拥有多元的文化、高水平的教育体系，并作为可能的移民地，吸引着越来越多的中国留学生。目前，中国为澳大利亚最大的海外留学生来源地，2010年超过13万人，占澳大利亚海外留学生总数的1/4强。庞大的学生群体给澳大利亚带来不小经济效益，也促进了两国间民间交流与理解。尽管受澳元升值、私立学院倒闭、就学签证相对收紧、技术移
to-people exchanges and understanding. Australia remains one of the top overseas destinations for Chinese students despite a higher Australian Dollar, the collapse of a number of private vocational training centres, the recent tightening of visa requirements for prospective international students and changes to Australia’s skilled migration regime.

In recent years, China has paid increasing attention to Australian Studies and research. There are more than 30 Australian Studies Centres in China’s tertiary education institutions and think tanks – the Chinese Australian Studies research community is continuously growing. Furthermore, there is a trend towards the diversification of Australian Studies in China, from a more traditional focus on Australian history, literature and culture to the economics, politics, society and policies of Australia. In April 2011, during her visit to Beijing, Prime Minister Gillard announced the establishment of a Chair of Australian Studies at Peking University.

China, with its rapid economic growth and rich cultural history, is also attracting increasing numbers of Australian students. In recent years, under the Australian Government’s objective of making Australia “the most Asia-literate country in the Western world”, the number of students studying Chinese has continuously increased. It is estimated that there are approximately 84,000 students in Australia studying Mandarin. Tertiary educational institutions, such as The Australian National University (ANU) and the University of Sydney, have established dedicated China research centres to promote a comprehensive understanding of China and its role in the world. The number of researchers working on China and China-related issues in Australia is estimated to be more than 400 and growing. The increased interaction between educational institutions is providing more opportunities for Australian students to study in China. According to the Chinese Ministry of Education, in 2010 alone more than one thousand Australian students studied in China.

Funded by the Chinese Government, Confucius Institutes are playing an increasingly prominent role in promoting Chinese language and culture and exchange. Currently, there are seven such institutions in Australia.
民政策调整等因素影响，赴澳留学增速放缓，但澳大利亚目前仍为中国留学生理想的目的地之一。

近年来，中国正在逐步加强对澳大利亚的研究，迄今在高等院校、智库中已建成近30所澳大利亚研究中心，研究队伍不断壮大，研究内容也由以往的历史、文化、文学向经济、政治、社会、政策等领域拓展。吉拉德总理2011年4月访华时，宣布在北京大学设立“澳大利亚研究讲席教授席位”，以此促进中国对澳大利亚的研究。

中国也凭借悠久的历史文化、快速增长的经济吸引着越来越多的澳大利亚人。近年来，在澳大利亚要做“最了解亚洲的西方国家”的政策指引下，学习汉语的澳大利亚学生不断增加，据估计，全澳约有8400名。高等院校除原设的汉语专业外，也加大了对“中国研究中心”的建设，旨在全面了解中国及其在世界中的作用，如澳大利亚国立大学、悉尼大学等。专门从事中国研究的专家高达400多名，并且数量还在增加。两国大、中、小学之间的校际往来和交流也给更多的澳大利亚学生留学中国提供了便利。据中国教育部统计，2010年澳大利亚在华留学生已超过千人。

由中国政府资助的孔子学院也日渐成为促进中国语言文化传播与交流的新桥梁，目前在澳大利亚已有7家。
**Science and technology**

Cooperation between Australia and China in the field of science and technology has grown substantially since the signing of the Australia-China Science and Technology Cooperation Agreement in 1980. Effective mechanisms and models for cooperation in this field have been established. Today, China is Australia's third largest partner in research and development behind only the United States and the United Kingdom. Bilateral cooperation is continuously deepening, especially in biotechnology, communication technology, energy, environment, new materials and other emerging industries. Indeed, since 1991 the Australian and Chinese Governments have worked through the Australia-China Joint Science and Technology Commission to promote bilateral collaboration in science and technology and to coordinate policy support.

The Australian and Chinese Governments have also jointly funded cooperative projects. For example, under the Australia-China Special Fund for Science and Technology Cooperation established in 2001, five joint research centres have so far been established. The centres work in areas including light metal alloys, stem cell science, immunology and phenomics, functional molecular material and wireless communication technology. The annual Australia-China Academies Symposium series, organised jointly by the Chinese Academy of Sciences, Australian Academy of Science and Australian Academy of Technological Sciences and Engineering, began in 2004 and has brought together researchers from the two countries to exchange ideas and explore possible collaborative research projects. In 2006, the Australia-China Young Scientist Exchange Program was established to encourage the formulation of research networks and collaborative research projects between young Australian and Chinese Scientists. In the 2011-2012 Federal Budget, the Australian Government announced that it will provide $9 million over three years to establish the Australia-China Science and Research Fund to assist and support collaborations between Australian and Chinese scientists and research institutions.

Cooperation and exchange also occurs between scientific research organisations and tertiary education institutions and takes various forms including mutual visits, academic conferences and the establishment of joint laboratories. Cooperation covers a wide range of fields including agriculture, communi-
自1980年签署《中澳科学技术合作协定》以来，双边科研关系取得长足进展，形成了良好的机制与合作模式。目前中国已成为仅次于美、英的澳大利亚第三大研发合作伙伴，特别是在生物技术、信息通讯、能源、环境和新材料等新兴领域合作不断深化。早在1991年，中澳两国政府共同启动了副部级的“中澳科技合作联委会”机制。在该机制下，双边科技界高层管理人员定期会晤，商讨两国重点合作领域，并予以政策支持。

目前，双边科技合作项目主要有：

政府间项目。如：2001年成立“中澳科技合作特别基金”，在其资助下，先后成立了轻合金、干细胞、基因表型组学、无线通讯、功能分子材料等五个联合研究中心；2004年以来，中国科学院与澳大利亚科学院、澳大利亚技术科学与工程院共同策划实施年度中澳科技专题研讨会；2006年启动“中澳青年科学家交流项目”，以促进中澳青年科学家之间建立研究网络及联合研究等。在澳大利亚最新发布的2011-2012联邦预算中，政府宣布未来3年将拨款900万澳元建立“澳中科学与研究基金”，以帮助并支持澳中科学家和研究机构的合作。

科研机构、高校之间的交流与合作。主要通过互访、学术研讨会、联合实验室等方式进行，内容涉及农业、信息通讯、气候变化、能源、生物技术、环境、矿业及先进材料等前
cations technology, climate change science, energy, biotechnology, environmental science, mining and high-tech materials. The Chinese Academy of Sciences, CSIRO, the Chinese Academy of Engineering, the Australian Academy of Technological sciences and Engineering and the Australian Academy of Science have all been active in driving scientific cooperation between Australia and China.

Moreover, companies are also driving scientific cooperation. For example, in 2007, Chalco and Australia’s Monash University jointly established the Australia-China International Centre for Light Alloys Research. Huawei and Vividwireless have also entered into a strategic partnership to develop Fourth Generation wireless technology.

**Energy, the environment and climate change**

In addition to supplying China the iron ore it needs to fuel its economic development, Australia is also an important energy supplier for China. According to China Customs, in 2010 two-thirds of China’s coking coal and 10% of China’s imports of LNG came from Australia. Australia has the richest uranium reserves in the world, and its natural gas reserves are among the largest in Asia and the Pacific. In the process of China’s development of clean energy, Australia is assuming an increasingly important role.

As the biggest coal exporting and importing countries respectively, Australia and China share a common focus on climate change. Driven by both governments, the two countries have started close and practical cooperation on projects including those on clean energy and low-carbon technology.

Under the Australia-China Climate Change Partnership Project, the Chinese Academy of Sciences, the State Grid Corporation of China and BP Solar jointly have conducted a feasibility study on the proposal to develop the city of Weihai in Shandong province into the largest solar energy city in the world. The Chinese Academy of Forestry, CSIRO and ANU have launched the Australia National Carbon Accounting System pilot project. Under the Asia-Pacific Partnership on Clean Development and Climate (APP), Australia and China have funded the establishment of the APP Cement Task Force Centre of Excellence.
沿领域。中国科学院、中国工程院、澳大利亚联邦科学与工业研究组织、澳大利亚技术科学与工程院、澳大利亚科学院等在推进两国科研合作上发挥了积极作用。

企业推动的科技合作。如2007年中国铝业股份有限公司与澳大利亚莫纳什大学联合建立“中澳国际轻合金研究中心”;华为公司与澳大利亚无线网络公司开展第四代通信技术战略合作等。

能源、环境和气候变化

澳大利亚能源资源储备丰富，除提供中国经济发展所需的铁矿石等资源外，还是中国重要的能源供应方。据中国海关总署统计，2010年中国进口能源中，约2/3的炼焦煤、10%的液化石油气来自澳大利亚。澳大利亚还是全球铀矿储量最丰富的国家，天然气储量也位居亚太地区前列，在中国大力发展清洁能源的过程中，扮演着日益重要的角色。

中国、澳大利亚作为全球最大的煤炭进口国和出口国，共同关注气候变化。在双边政府合作项目的推动下，两国围绕清洁能源、低碳技术等展开了密切而又务实的合作。“中澳气候变化合作伙伴项目”。中国科学院、国家电网与BP太阳能公司等联合对将山东威海开发为世界上最大的太阳能城市进行可行性研究；中国林业科学院与澳大利亚科学与工业研究组织、澳大利亚国立大学等合作开展澳大利亚国家碳计量系统试点项目等。“亚太清洁发展和气候变化合作伙伴计划”(APP)。中澳共同出资建立了“水泥最佳范例中心”等。
The Australia-China Joint Coordination Group on Clean Coal Technology (JCG) was established in January 2007. Under the auspices of this group, China’s Huaneng Group and CSIRO initiated its first carbon capture and storage project in Beijing. Within the Australia China Environment Development Partnership, the Australian Government announced $2 million in funding for experimental monitoring of the Yellow River, the Pearl River basin and the Dalinghe River using an Australian river health and monitoring system. In January 2009, China’s Ministry of Environment and AusAID initiated joint research on cross-border water pollution management.

In April 2008, during the visit to China of then Prime Minister Kevin Rudd, Australia and China issued a Joint Statement on Closer Cooperation on Climate Change, announcing the establishment of the Australia-China Ministerial Dialogue on Climate Change to facilitate closer cooperation on climate change issues.

Moreover, companies from the two countries have also contributed to cooperation in the field of clean energy and sustainable environment. For example, China’s Shenhua Guohua Energy Investment Co., Ltd and Hydro Tasmania have worked together to develop wind energy.

On both regional and international levels, despite differences on individual issues, China and Australia are key players in climate change negotiations and they have developed and maintained effective policy dialogues and consultation mechanisms.

**Australia and China in regional and global affairs**

Australia and China are both active participants in regional and global affairs. Both have an extensive network of bilateral relationships and are members of a wide range of regional and global mechanisms and bodies. Through international engagement they pursue their respective national interests.

The Australian Government defines its foreign policy approach as consisting of three pillars: the alliance with the United States; a comprehensive engagement with Asia and the Pacific; and, an active role in the United Nations. The Australian Government frequently describes Australia as a middle power with regional and global interests.
中澳关系现状

在中澳关系的不断发展中，两国在清洁能源、环保、气候变化等领域展开了一系列合作。中澳清洁煤技术联合协调小组”是在该框架下，中国华能集团与澳大利亚联邦科学与工业研究组织在北京启动了第一个碳捕捉示范项目。

“中澳环境发展项目”(ACEDP)。澳大利亚政府宣布拨款200万澳元在中国黄河、珠江盆地和大凌河开展应用澳大利亚河流健康监测系统实验；2009年1月，中国环境保护部与澳大利亚国际发展署开始联合研究“跨界水污染管理”等。

“中澳气候变化部长级对话机制”。2008年4月，陆克文总理访华期间，两国发表《关于进一步密切在气候变化方面合作的联合声明》，宣布建立该对话机制，以促进更紧密的气候变化合作。

此外，两国企业也开始到清洁能源等领域的合作中来，如中国神华集团国华能源投资公司与澳大利亚瑞丰可再生能源公司合作开发风能等。

在地区及国际层面上，中国和澳大利亚均为气候变化谈判的关键参与者。尽管两国在个别问题上立场有所不同，但却始终保持着良好的政策对话与协商。

地区和全球事务中的中澳两国

中澳均是地区和全球事务的积极参与者，拥有庞大的双边关系网络，也是许多地区和全球机制、机构的成员，通过国际参与实现各自的国家利益。

澳大利亚政府将自己的外交定义为三大支柱：美澳同盟、全面融入亚太、在联合国发挥积极作用，并经常将澳大
The Chinese Government maintains it pursues an independent foreign policy under the banner of “peace, development and cooperation”. That is, maintaining the steady development of relations with major powers, deepening good-neighbourly relations with neighbouring countries, enhancing the traditional friendship and cooperation with developing countries, and taking an active part in international cooperation.

At the global level, Australia and China share a commitment to the effective functioning of the United Nations and of the five permanent members of the Security Council. China is now the largest contributor of forces to UN peacekeeping operations. Australia itself has a long history of participating in such operations. Both countries are engaged in the UN’s major bodies dealing with global challenges such as arms control and disarmament, climate change and poverty reduction.

Within the G20, Australia and China work closely together to shape the response to the global financial crisis and to lay the foundations for stable economic growth into the future. Following China’s accession to the World Trade Organisation (WTO) in 2001, the two countries have been actively involved in WTO affairs, including the Doha Round of trade talks.

At the regional level, Australia and China are both engaged in key organisations such as APEC, the East Asia Summit and a range of ASEAN-led mechanisms. Through these organisations, Australia and China work with regional partners to contribute to regional stability and to greater economic integration. China describes its approach to regional cooperation as “ASEAN+1 (the ten ASEAN nations and China) as the foundation, ASEAN+3 (the ten ASEAN nations, China, Japan and Korea) as the main vehicle [for regional cooperation], and the East Asia Summit as an important complement”. Australia is seeking to support the development of regional organisations that bring together all of the key countries in Asia and the Pacific as well as Australia.

For both Australia and China, relations with the United States are of crucial importance. For Australia, the alliance with the United States has been described as the “bedrock” of Australia’s foreign and security policy. The Australian Government speaks of the enduring value of the Australia-US Alliance and its adaptability in meeting contemporary and evolving strategic chal-
利亚描述为“拥有地区和全球利益的中等强国”。中国政府则以“和平、发展、合作”为旗帜，表示奉行独立自主的和平外交政策，促进同大国关系稳定发展、深化同周边国家睦邻友好、增进同发展中国家传统友谊，积极开展国际合作。

在全球层面上，中澳都致力于联合国的有效运作。中国目前是安理会“五常”中在联合国维和行动中贡献最大的国家，澳大利亚则长期参与维和行动。两国都是联合国主要机构的成员，联合应对军控和裁军、气候变化、减贫等全球性挑战。在二十国集团中，两国紧密合作应对全球金融危机，为未来经济稳步增长奠定基础。中国2001年加入世界贸易组织(WTO)后，两国积极参与WTO事务，包括多哈回合贸易谈判。

在地区层面上，中澳均为地区重要组织成员，如亚太经济合作组织(APEC)、东亚峰会(EAS)以及一系列东盟主导的机制。通过这些组织，中澳与其他地区伙伴一道推进地区稳定与经济一体化。中国将自己对地区合作的立场描述为“10+1”（东盟+中国、东盟+韩国、东盟+日本）是基础，“10+3”（东盟+中、日、韩）是主渠道，东亚峰会是重要补充。澳也大力支持发展那些囊括所有亚太主要国家，包括澳大利亚的地区组织。

无论对中国还是澳大利亚，与美国发展关系都至关重要。对澳大利亚来说，澳美同盟是外交和安全政策的“基石”。澳大利亚政府认为，澳美同盟具有永久价值，能够适应当前
lenges. For China, no relationship is more important than that with the United States, and both countries are committed to working together for a positive, cooperative and comprehensive relationship for the 21st century. This will not always be easy.

China has a strong foreign policy focus on its immediate neighbourhood. For Australia and China, this means a shared focus on Southeast Asia and North Asia. But China has a stronger focus on Central Asia than Australia does while, for Australia, relations with the Pacific island countries and their sustainable development is a priority. China is paying increasing attention to developing relations in the Pacific.

In some areas Australia and China have different policy goals or have differently nuanced policies. For example, both agree on the need for stability on the Korean Peninsula and denuclearisation, but they have different views on how to encourage better behaviour from Pyongyang.

**Public perceptions**

Public opinion in Australia and China shows that Australians and Chinese have a generally positive view of each other despite some anxieties about individual issues. Based on the results of research conducted in 2010 by the Lowy Institute for International Policy it is apparent that in Australia there is widespread appreciation of the positive impact of China’s economic growth on Australia. But there is also some concern about the rapid increase in Chinese investment in Australia and China’s growing military power.

A separate Lowy survey conducted in China in 2009 shows similar anxieties. More than half of the Chinese respondents to the survey said they found Australian values attractive as they did its political system. They said they saw Australia as a good holiday destination, a reliable supplier of resources and an Asian country that played an important role in regional organisations. However, slightly less than half of those surveyed were of the view that Australians did not trust China. They also saw Australia’s alliance with the United States as a negative factor in relations between the two countries.
不断变化的战略挑战。对于中国，中美关系也是最重要的，两国致力于共同建设面向21世纪的积极合作全面的中美关系。当然，这并不会总是易如反掌。

中国外交高度重视周边邻国，这意味着东南亚和东北亚为中澳两国共同关注。此外，相对而言，中国更重视中亚，澳大利亚则更重视太平洋岛国及其可持续发展。不过，中国对发展与太平洋岛国关系的关注度也越来越高。

在一些领域，中澳之间目标不同，或政策稍有差异。比如，两国都认为朝鲜半岛需要稳定和去核化，但对于如何促使朝鲜采取更加得当的行动，两国观点有所不同。

**公众认知**

中澳两国民众对彼此的认知总体上持积极态度，但在个别问题上也存有疑虑。澳大利亚洛伊国际政策研究所2010年民调显示，7 澳大利亚民众普遍认为中国经济增长对澳大利亚有利，但又有些担忧中国日益增长的军力、在澳大利亚迅速增加的投资等。

洛伊研究所2009年在中国进行的民调与此结果类似。8 过半中国人认为澳大利亚具备有吸引力的价值观和良好的政治体制，是一个好的旅游目的地和可靠的资源供应国，并且同时认同澳大利亚是一个亚洲国家，在地区组织中扮演着重要角色。但也有小半数人认为澳大利亚不信任中国，并视澳美同盟为影响中澳关系的不利因素。
Despite the different environments in Australia and China, the media in both countries play an important role in shaping public opinion. During 2009, issues that caused friction in the political relationship received widespread media coverage. Extensive commentary in the media on both sides concentrating on these frictions reflected the high level of public interest in the relationship. However, this also contributed to perceived tensions, even though trade grew unabated and a wide range of other contacts continued as before.

Importantly, digital media such as blogs and social networking websites provide new avenues for the circulation and exchange of information between Australian and Chinese people that can then also feed into public opinion.

The state of the contemporary relationship

In summary, we would conclude that over the long term, Australia-China relations have benefited both countries and have developed in a relatively stable fashion. There is great potential in the future of the relationship. This conclusion is straightforward, but it also has deep significance: it is based on an appreciation of the overall complementarity between the two countries, their mutual commitment to advance the relationship, and to find new models of growth to help achieve sustainable development. Both sides are committed to building mutual trust and increase understanding on the basis of their different political systems, developmental models and cultural values. Australia and China’s respective strategic profiles in Asia and the Pacific are rising. With shared goals both sides can cooperate to promote regional stability and prosperity. It can be said that while the relationship between Australia and China does not have the decisive significance of the relationship between China and the United States, clearly its importance and constructiveness should not be underestimated.
中澳两国环境虽有不同，但两国媒体在影响民意上都发挥着重要作用。2009年中澳摩擦被媒体广泛报道，反映了媒体对双边关系的高度关注，但也给人以双边关系紧张的印象，而事实上双边贸易依旧持续，其他联系也未阻断。

值得一提的是，博客、社交网络等数字媒体已成为两国民众交流的新渠道，同时也会对民意产生影响。

关系现状

综上所述，我们可以对中澳关系的长期发展历程得出这样的结论：彼此受益，稳定发展，潜力巨大。这个结论简单清晰，但意义深刻：基于彼此间全方位的互补性，双方致力于开拓进取，创新增长模式，实现可持续发展。基于彼此间政治制度、发展模式和价值观的差异，双方致力于增强互信，增进理解。基于彼此在亚太地区日益上升的重要战略地位，双方致力于通过合作实现地区稳定与繁荣。可以这样说，在亚太地区，中澳关系虽然不像中美关系那样具有决定性和全局意义，但其重要性和建设性显然不能被低估。
Possible Trajectories

The international system is undergoing change; concomitantly, economic and political power structures of recent decades are shifting and the world is becoming more multipolar than before. The Global Financial Crisis accelerated this process from 2009. The relationship between Australia and China is one element of an increasingly complex and interconnected international system – and it will continue to evolve within the environment of broader international trends, just as its growth will influence those trends.

Domestic developments in both nations invariably influence the evolution of the relationship. Economic, education, health, immigration, defence and other policy settings in both countries will have uneven impacts on different facets of the relationship. In some cases, these policies are designed in part to influence the direction of the relationship; in others they may (even unexpectedly) impinge upon it.

The future relationship between Australia and China will be the result of the complex interaction between these factors – the international environment, domestic policy, popular opinion, and conscious foreign policy choices. Beyond these there will also be the impact of the unexpected and unpredictable, be these factors of a regional or global nature, or the result of environmental changes.

We are not foolhardy enough to attempt to predict the future. International affairs are subject to unforeseen and unforeseeable developments, as well as shocks. The evolution of economic ties will depend on many factors that defy prediction. Emergent areas of community engagement will invariably unfold in response to social changes. Public perceptions will ebb and flow depending on a range of issues and in the context of actions taken on both sides, happenstance and what else fills the front pages of newspapers and preoccupies bloggers.
未来趋势

国际体系正经历变革。几十年来的经济和政治权力结构正在发生变化，世界呈现出前所未有的多极化。2009年的全球金融危机加速了这一进程。中澳关系正是这一日益复杂而又相互交织的国际体系的一部分——它在更广阔的全球大趋势下发展，又反过来影响全球及地区发展趋势。

中澳两国国内的发展变化也会影响双边关系的演变。经济、教育、卫生、移民、国防以及其他政策均会对双边关系的走向产生不同影响。在某些情况下，这些政策设计旨在引导双边关系的走向，但有时也可能(甚至是意外地)对双边关系构成冲击。

未来中澳双边关系将是许多因素复杂互动的结果，如国际环境、国内政策、民意以及有意识的外交选择等。此外，还受一些不可预测的因素影响。

我们还没有自不量力到企图预测未来的程度，因为我们知道，国际事务的发展及可能受到的冲击均无法预料；经济关系的发展取决于许多不可预测的因素；社会变革将引起新兴领域的群体交往；公众认知则会因一系列事件、双方所采取的行动、突发的偶然情况以及其他充斥于报纸头版、博客头条的事件有所波动。
We believe that there are four broad trends that underpin the future of the relationship between Australia and China:

- First, the relationship will be an important element in regional and global politics and it will help shape our shared economic and political environments;
- Second, the depth and frequency of political interactions between the two countries will grow over the next 20 years. Governments in both countries will continue to share an interest in making policy choices that promote mature and sustainable relations;
- Third, over the following two decades Australia and China will see a closer integration of our two economies, something that is consistent with the ongoing trend of globalisation; and,
- Fourth, this increased interaction will benefit both countries, but it will also highlight differences as well as increase the possibility of political, social and economic friction.

Below, we outline possible futures in the two decades ahead in regard to the most important dimensions of the relationship between Australia and China.

**Trade and investment**

Diversification beyond existing economic complementarities will be a characteristic of the future relationship. Driven by urbanisation and increasing domestic consumption China’s economic growth will continue. Its demand for energy and mineral resources from Australia will remain high. But at the same time, international society is accelerating its shift towards an era of green economies and high technology. Countries including China and Australia have accelerated the process of economic structural adjustment and the shift to higher-level industries. In the future, economic cooperation between the two countries will diversify beyond minerals and resources into emerging fields. There will be clear economic complementarity between the two countries in the green economics of the future. In addition, China’s economic development will create more opportunities for Australia to export agricultural products and education, tourism and other services.
但是，我们相信未来中澳关系的发展将体现为以下四大趋势：

一是中澳关系将是地区和全球政治中的重要组成部分，有助于形成我们共有的经济和政治环境；

二是中澳政治交往的深度和频率未来20年将持续增长，两国政府将继续致力于制定政策，促进成熟、可持续的双边关系。

三是与当前持续全球化的趋势相一致，未来20年中澳经贸将更趋一体化。

四是密切往来对两国都有利，但同时也会凸显分歧，增加产生政治和经济摩擦的可能。

以下，我们将概述未来20年中澳双边关系中几个最重要的发展趋势：

**贸易与投资**

经济互补性更加多元。未来中国经济在城市化和内需驱动下仍将保持增长态势，对澳大利亚的资源能源需求旺盛。与此同时，国际社会加快步入绿色经济和高技术时代，世界各国加紧经济结构调整、产业升级的步伐。除资源能源外，两国在新兴领域的合作将更加多元，绿色经济互补性凸显。此外，中国经济的发展也迫切需要澳大利亚提供更多粮食、教育、旅游和其他服务。
There are good prospects for cooperation in the area of emerging industries. The Chinese Government is focusing on new energy, energy efficiency and environmental protection, biotechnology and new materials as the strategic emerging industries that must be robustly developed, advocating the deepening of international cooperation in those areas to lift China closer towards the international level. Australia is a leading country in these fields. It has the particular geographic advantage required to develop wind and solar technology and has one of the largest reserves of uranium in the world. Australia possesses technology and energy resources while China has the market and capital – in the future clean energy will potentially be an area of increasing cooperation.

Bilateral investment will continue to increase. On the one hand, Australia’s mining boom will continue beyond the short term, Chinese investment in Australia will expand beyond the mining sector into investments in basic infrastructures such as ports and railways. Although Australia has the expertise to develop emerging industries, it will also need a range of supporting industries. This will create opportunities for Chinese capital and manufacturers to enter the Australia market. Moreover, China’s demand for Australia’s agricultural products and services, such as tourism, will induce Chinese investment into many other sectors in Australia. On the other hand, Australian companies in emerging fields will leverage their advanced technology to enter the Chinese market. As the reform and opening up of China’s financial sector gathers speed, China will become a major overseas expansion destination for Australian financial companies.

Along with the diversification and deepening of the bilateral trade relationship, differences and friction between the two countries will become more apparent, especially when it comes to commodity products of economic and strategic importance – investment will still be somewhat sensitive. Enterprises from the two countries will grow in an arduous environment and investment modes will be more dynamic and diverse. Indeed, companies will have to understand and adapt to the political, economic, social and regulatory environment of their investment destination and to direct their attention increasingly towards corporate social responsibility.
新兴产业合作前景广阔。中国政府将新能源、节能环保、生物技术、新材料等列为未来重点发展的战略性新兴产业，力主在这些领域深化国际合作，提高国际化水平。澳大利亚在上述新兴产业的技术居于世界前沿，发展风能、太阳能有着得天独厚的地理优势，铀矿资源储量更是全球第一。澳大利亚有技术，有能源，中国则有市场、有资金，未来在清洁能源等领域的合作将成为新的增长点。

双向投资继续增加。一方面，澳大利亚矿业繁荣仍将持续较长时间，中国在澳投资将由矿业向港口、铁路等基础设施领域扩展。与此同时，澳大利亚虽有技术，但发展新兴产业仍需大量配套产业支撑，这将为中国资金及制造业进入澳大利亚市场提供更多机会。中国对粮食、旅游等的需求，也将促使其在澳大利亚投资更多行业。另一方面，将有更多澳大利亚新兴产业凭借先进技术进入中国市场。随着中国金融改革和开放步伐加快，中国也将成为澳大利亚金融业拓展海外业务的主要目的地之一。

伴随经贸关系多领域、深层次的展开，两国分歧或摩擦也将变得更加明显，尤其在战略安全与经济利益相互交织的大宗商品领域，投资仍将具有敏感性。两国企业将在挫折中成长，投资形式更加灵活多样，更加重视了解和融入当地环境，更加关注和推进企业的社会责任。
Politics and international cooperation

Over recent decades Australia and China have both benefitted from the relative stability of Asia and the Pacific and the operation of the open global trading system. Both countries are more prosperous and their economies more intertwined with other economies than they would otherwise have been. Through close engagement in Asia and the Pacific, the United States has played a crucial role in underwriting the present regional and global order and this is likely to continue since the United States has signalled a clear commitment to reinvigorating its regional engagement. But the foundations of the present global and regional order, which were established in the wake of the Second World War, are being reconsidered in light of the emergence of China and India and the gravitational shift of the global centre of economic and strategic importance towards Asia.

Some academics are of the view that the rise of new powers must invariably lead to the overturning of the existing international order. Others argue that institutions must be built to prevent discord. Yet others still reason that economic ties will ensure that there will be no significant conflicts even as changes in great power relations unfold.

We simply do not know the future shape of the global or the regional system. But the changes in the region will bring new responsibilities for both countries. The interests of great powers will be most closely engaged in Asia and the Pacific. In the absence of a conscious effort on the part of all, ours could become a more strategically contested region. We can assert that both Australia and China will maintain an ongoing interest in stability, and that political cooperation will serve the needs of both countries. Unlike other aspects of the relationship, political relations and international cooperation are areas that are most clearly dominated by the two governments. In the international political arena the extent and nature of cooperation between Australia and China will be determined on a political level. Overall, both governments are highly likely to continue to seek to develop a deeper, sustainable and increasingly mature relationship. But on occasion different views and different interests will come into sharp contrast.
政治与国际合作

近几十年来，得益于相对稳定的亚太地区环境以及开放的全球贸易体系，中澳两国愈发繁荣，与其他经济体的联系也从未像现在这样紧密。通过与亚太紧密接触，美国对维护现有的地区和全球秩序发挥了关键作用。当前美国明确表示要重振地区参与，其影响力将会持续。但是，伴随中国和印度崛起以及全球经济和战略重心向亚太转移，二战后形成的现有全球和地区秩序正在被重估。

一些学者认为，新兴国家的崛起必然会颠覆现有国际秩序。一些学者认为，必须建立避免失序发生的机制。但也有学者认为，经济联系将确保即使大国关系发生变化也不会发生冲突。

虽难预测未来全球或地区体系，但地区变化将赋予两国新的责任。亚太地区主要大国利益交织最为紧密，如果不有意识地努力，战略竞争将更加激烈。

我们坚信，稳定仍将是中澳两国的共同利益，政治合作有助于此。与双边关系的其他领域不同，政治联系和国际合作很明显是政府主导最多的领域。两国政府将在政治层面上决定国际舞台上中澳合作的范围和性质。总的来说，两国政府很可能继续致力于发展更加深入、可持续并且越来越成熟的双边关系，但有时不同的观点和利益也会凸显。
As China’s global economic footprint grows, its profile in international affairs will rise concomitantly. There will be ongoing debate about the implications of China’s increasing economic and military power. Some will watch China’s rise with concern, if not alarm. Over time, China as an emerging great power will be expected to become further engaged in and take substantive positions on an ever-widening range of regional and global issues. By the same token, it will be expected to take on responsibilities commensurate with its influence. Australia, reflecting the size of its economy and the contributions it has made to international affairs, will continue to be an important partner for many nations and it will remain committed to playing an active role in international affairs as what has been called “a creative middle power”.

Australia and China will not always share the same views or interests. Situations will arise in which one government pursues a policy aim that is inconsistent with the interests of the other, or at least one that is perceived to be so. If the differences are considerable and the issue at stake is of great importance to one or both countries, in some case there will be the potential for friction and discord. In that situation, both governments will need to do more than simply acknowledge differences.

China has long recognised the salience of alliances with the United States for a number of regional countries – countries that are also increasingly intermeshed with China economically. In light of this, tension between China and the United States could create major foreign policy challenges for Australia. Both Australia and China will have a strong interest in each other’s relationships with the United States and in sound trilateral relations. Similarly, the important ties both countries have with other major regional states and groupings have the potential to contribute both to bilateral cooperation and, at times, disagreements.

A key challenge for both governments will be to make all reasonable efforts to prevent the emergence or exacerbation of friction, and to develop ways in which to manage frictions that do arise so as to minimise the impact they might have on the broader relationship. Continuous exchanges and a range of consultation mechanisms will not remove differences of view, but they can help both sides to assess and respond to changes in the state of the relationship, as well as to mitigate the chances of minor or serious breakdowns occurring.
伴随中国全球经济影响力的增长，其在国际事务中的地位也将不断提升。人们将持续争论中国日益增长的经济和军事实力的含意。一些人即使对中国崛起没有感到惊慌，也会表示担忧。随着时间推移，中国作为新兴大国将被期待进一步参与不断扩展的地区和全球性问题，并在其中发挥重要作用。同样，也会被期待承担与其影响力相匹配的责任。与澳大利亚的经济规模及对国际事务的贡献相匹配，澳大利亚将继续作为许多国家的重要伙伴，并致力于在国际事务中发挥所谓的“创造性的中等强国”影响力。中国和澳大利亚并不总是拥有相同的观点或利益。有时会出现一国政府追求的政策目标与另一国的利益不一致，或者至少被认为不一致的情况。当分歧非常大，所涉及的问题又对一国或两国都很重要时，就可能产生摩擦与冲突。因此，两国政府需要做的不仅仅只是简单地承认分歧。中国早已认识到许多地区国家高度重视与美国的盟友关系，在经济上则与中国联系日益紧密。正因如此，中美之间的紧张关系可能会对澳大利亚的外交构成重大挑战。中、澳分别与发展友好关系，以及健康的中澳美三边关系符合中澳两国的共同利益。同理，两国与地区其他大国、组织的重要关系也有助于促进中澳双边合作，当然也可能导致分歧。中澳两国政府面临的主要挑战将是尽可能的避免摩擦发生或恶化，改进方式管理已经发生的摩擦，以使其对双边关系的
Another challenge is for the two governments to identify areas where greater cooperation might be possible in regional and global affairs. Australia and China will have a shared interest in acting in concert when dealing with challenges beyond the capability of any single state. This includes issues such as climate change, the prevention of the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, and terrorism. There will be many opportunities for greater cooperation if the two governments decide to pursue them.

People-to-people links

Close economic and trade interaction as well as strong government support have driven wide-ranging, multi-dimensional and multi-channelled exchanges and cooperation. Today, there is closer contact between the citizens of both countries including people from different occupations and backgrounds – tourists and foreign student numbers have increased. In the future, more and more people will become “China Hands” or “Australia Hands” and they will play an increasingly important role.

Growing economic and trade ties will continue to drive exchanges between the two societies. Academic exchange will continue to drive ahead, areas of joint research will expand and deepen, and interaction between students and researchers from the two countries will become more frequent. Exchange and contact between sporting organisations will also increase through international competition and training. In the future, even more private art groups and artists will become involved in cultural contacts and exchanges between both countries (and more broadly cross-regionally) and performances. Chinese tourists visiting and students studying in Australia have increased, as have Australian tourists and students visiting China. The numbers of people travelling in both directions will continue to increase and, because of Australia’s much smaller population, the impact of this increase will most likely be more evident in Australia.

The Chinese communities in Australia will continue to play a unique role in exchanges between the two countries through business, charity and cultural endeavours. The size of these communities will increase, as will the number of Australians in China, with more Australians of various backgrounds deciding to work and live there as they take up opportunities offered by China’s economic
影响降到最低。持续的沟通和一系列协商机制虽不会消除歧见，但有助于评估双边关系状态的变化并予以应对，降低关系破裂的可能。

另一挑战是识别地区和全球事务中哪些领域可能有更广的合作空间。合作应对那些单靠一个国家的力量难以应对的挑战，符合中澳两国的共同利益，如气候变化、大规模杀伤性武器扩散、恐怖主义等。如果两国政府决定在这些方面扩大合作，将有很多机会。

民间往来

密切的经贸往来以及政府的大力支持，将带动两国实现宽领域、多层次、广渠道的交流与合作。各职业、各层次的人员交往密切，旅游、留学的人数增多，未来将有越来越多的人成为“中国通”、“澳大利亚通”，并发挥越来越重要的作用。

持续增长的经贸联系将继续带动两国民间交往；学术交流持续推进，联合研究领域拓展并深化，两国学生与研究人员交流与互动增加；运动团体通过参加国际比赛及训练等，交流与接触增多；未来将有更多的民间艺术团体或个人加入到两国乃至更广范围的跨地区的文化交流与传播中来；中澳两国到访彼此的游客及学生也将持续增多，但因澳大利亚人口规模相对较小，对其影响会更为明显。

澳大利亚华人社会仍将不断壮大，并通过商业、慈善、文化等形式对两国民间往来继续发挥不可替代的作用。
growth. The two broad groups will play an active role in expanding and deepening contact between the two countries.

At the same time, the fact that Australia and China have different social values and political systems means that as the interactions between individuals and groups proliferate, there may well be unavoidable frictions, especially in the realm of sensitive issues such as human rights and mutual perceptions.

Public opinion

Public opinion will be an important factor in the development of the bilateral relationship. It can and does directly influence government policy. It also reflects and influences business and other non-government interests. Public opinion about other countries is shaped by a number of disparate factors, including direct experience, education and the mass media. Public opinion can hardly be expected to remain static; indeed, it may prove to be more fluid and volatile than the common interests that bring us together. It will invariably fluctuate in response to developments in the relationship, to domestic developments in Australia and China and to events internationally. At the most basic level, public opinion will recognize the increased importance that Australia and China have for each other. Greater direct contact between people of various backgrounds and organisations on the basis of business or other dealings will increase the basic level of awareness of each country, as well as contribute in various ways to deeper mutual awareness and understanding. This will develop generally on the basis of existing mutual good will.

The further development of relations between Australia and China will lead to greater media attention on and scrutiny of the relationship. Various media will naturally focus on newsworthy aspects of the relationship, and this will in many cases lead to an emphasis on areas of difference. Trade disputes, differences on political questions and values debates will, not surprisingly, attract media attention. This could at various times and in various ways incline public opinion towards a less positive view of particular aspects or even the overall relationship. International events and global concerns about issues beyond the confines of Australia-China relations will also have a direct impact on local opinion, particularly if Australia and China are perceived to be pursuing different policies.
用。在华澳大利亚社会受商业机遇等驱动也将不断增长，
会有更多的澳大利亚人选择长期在华生活，为两国更广、
更深层次的交往发挥积极作用。

与此同时，因社会价值观、政治体制等不同，两国民
众在密切的互动中不可避免地产生交流与碰撞，围绕人权
等敏感问题的争论恐将增多。民众了解与认知在互动与摩
擦中螺旋式上升。

民意
民意是双边关系发展的重要因素，它直接影响政府决策，
反映并影响两国间的商业及其他非政府利益。直接体验、
教育及大众传媒等形成了民众对其他国家的看法。民意很
难如期望的那样保持稳定，与将我们联系在一起的共同利
益相比，它可能更加灵活多变。会因双边关系的发展、国
内形势的变化以及国际事件等产生相应的波动。在最基本
的层面，民意承认中澳两国对彼此越来越重要。商业及其
他往来将带动不同背景的民众和组织间的直接接触，进而
增进彼此的基本认知，促进基于现有良好意愿的更深层次
的相互认知与理解。

中澳关系的发展将会引起更多媒体的关注与审视。媒
体自然会关注于双边关系中有新闻价值的方面，许多情况
下这将导致过分强调分歧。贸易争端、政治分歧以及价值
观争论等毫无疑问会吸引媒体的注意，并在不同情况下以
Differences in values and political systems will not disappear and there will continue to be a wide range of diverse views in both Australia and China on bilateral relations. In Australia, a liberal media environment provides the space for groups with different interests, including those with a strong focus on human rights and those anxious about the rise of China, to articulate and pursue their views. Some of these views will not be welcomed by the Chinese government. In China, the marketisation of the media sector means that a diverse range of opinion is increasingly prominent in the context of continued guidance and oversight of the mass media by the Chinese government. Similarly, the Australian government will not welcome some of the views expressed.

Past experience indicates that frictions over particular issues in the bilateral relationship can lead to a rapid escalation of rhetoric. This can easily generate “echo chambers” on both sides and a short-term focus on only negative aspects of the relationship.

Public opinion is becoming increasingly dynamic in both countries. New media platforms, including social media and microblogs, will continue to proliferate and will allow information, be it accurate or inaccurate, to be disseminated more rapidly than ever before. This means that the public will be constantly engaging in discussions and debates about the bilateral relationship and China’s global presence. Public opinion may shift quickly. Sentiments about one particular issue could intensify swiftly and spread into the broader relationship. Policy makers may be compelled to respond to these atmospheric changes rapidly.
不同的方式使民众对特定方面甚至是整个双边关系产生不
大积极的看法。超出中澳关系范围的国际事件和全球关注
也会直接影响民意，尤其是当认为两国奉行不同政策时。

中澳价值观和政治体制的差异不会消失，因此，对于双
边关系仍会存在许多不同观点。在澳大利亚，宽松的媒
体环境为拥有不同利益的群体提供了发表言论的空间，包
括强烈关注人权的团体、担忧中国崛起的群体等，中国政
府可能不会欢迎这样的一些言论。在中国，媒体市场化也
意味着，在政府继续给予指导和监督的舆论环境下，将听
到越来越多不同的声音，澳政府同样也会对其中的某些声
音感到不悦。

过去的经验表明，对双边关系中特定问题的摩擦会导
致争论迅速升级，并很容易在两国产生“回音室”效应，
使民众短期内仅仅关注于双边关系中不好的一面。

两国民意将愈发多变。社交媒体、微博等新媒体平台
持续激增，无论是准确的还是不准确的信息，其传播速度
都前所未有。这意味着，公众将经常参与到有关双边关系
和中国全球影响力的讨论与争辩中来。民意可能会迅速变
化，对某一特定问题的情绪也可能会迅速增强，并扩散至
更广的双边关系。政策制定者可能要被迫对这些环境的变
化做出快速反应。
The Way Forward

Some Suggested Principles

The common view of the authors of this report is that both Australia and China have a shared interest in the continued development of a strong bilateral relationship. By building on our shared history and our contemporary engagement in all fields, and continuing to foster our ties and contacts, we believe that the relationship will continue to develop. It is one that will help underwrite the prosperity of both nations at the same time as making a positive contribution to regional and global stability.

Below, we offer in brief some principles that we believe can help guide the development of the relationship, enhance shared opportunities and contribute to overcoming possible challenges. These are not specific policy recommendations. They are a suggested approach for all parties to adopt in contributing to the furtherance of the relationship.

1. **The first principle is that a stronger bilateral relationship will require deeper links in all areas and an expansion of the relationship into new areas. All those involved in the relationship should seek new opportunities for engagement.**

Government-to-government relations are a critical element of the relationship. Governments will need to utilise fully existing consultative mechanisms to expand cooperation in a wide range of areas, including through efforts to remove trade barriers and to promote cooperation in new and emergent fields. However, the relationship does not just belong to governments – it is the sum of all of the engagements between Australia and China across a wide range of sectors. Each sector that is involved in the relationship has an interest in its ongoing development. Much of the growth will be driven by economic incentives. But there is still great scope and a need for those involved on both sides to seek to expand their engagement, including through cooperation between and across different sectors and groups in both countries.
无论是中国还是澳大利亚，都希望继续发展强劲的双边关系，这是本报告作者们的共识。基于中澳两国共同的历史、当前各领域的接触，以及持续增进的双边联系与交往，我们相信未来双边关系将继续发展。中澳双边关系的继续发展，将有助于确保两国繁荣，并对地区和全球稳定做出积极贡献。

以下简要列出我们认为有助于指引双边关系发展、发掘共同机遇并帮助克服可能挑战的一些原则。这些原则不是具体的政策建议，而是适用于各方的、旨在推进双边关系的建议。

第一条原则：更加强劲的双边关系需要深化现有各领域联系并拓展新领域。双边关系中的各方都应当寻求新的交往机会。

政府间交往是双边关系中至关重要的组成部分。政府需要充分利用现有的协商机制拓展更广领域的合作，如努力消除贸易壁垒、促进新兴领域的合作等。但双边关系并不仅限于政府，它是中澳各行业交往的总和。双边关系涉及的每一行业都希望两国关系持续发展。经贸将很大程度上推进双边关系的发展，但相关各方仍有其他广阔空间，需要通过不同行业、群体间的合作予以拓展。
2. The second principle is that all sectors in both countries that have a stake in the relationship should play an active part in supporting serious, mature discussion of the relationship as a way to add greater depth and resilience to it.

It is our shared view that a wide-ranging, serious and mature discussion about the future of the relationship that identifies the depth and breadth of interests we share will add greater depth to the relationship and make it more resilient. All those with an interest in the relationship should be encouraged to engage in the discussion and to articulate clearly their views of and avenues for support for the development of a stronger relationship. A well-informed public is essential for the development of a healthy and sustainable relationship between Australia and China.

2a. Contributions to this discussion about the relationship between Australia and China need to reflect the complexity and depth of the relationship. Articulating a clear vision for the long-term future of the relationship is an important element of the discussion.

The interests at stake in this relationship are substantial for both countries. A strong relationship between Australia and China will underwrite future prosperity for both countries and make a crucial contribution to the stability of our region and indeed the world.

Within and between Australia and China, a serious and mature discussion about the relationship would assist in developing a more sustainable foundation for the future. A discussion that reflects the realities of the complexity of the relationship and its ongoing evolution will inform people in both countries.

National leaders in all sectors have a key role to play in showing the way by articulating a vision of the bilateral relationship that is sophisticated and nuanced, as well as being one that is grounded in current realities. Such a vision should focus not simply on the short-term benefits, but also on what is needed to sustain and nurture long-term engagement in light of the possible trajectories for both nations. The vision needs to reach beyond the next transaction. Engaging a broad section of the population through a range of media will help to promote these messages.
2. 第二条原则：两国所有与双边关系有关的行业都应积极支持有关两国关系的认真而成熟的讨论，以增进双边关系的深度与弹性。

我们普遍认为，就两国关系的未来进行广泛、认真而成熟的讨论，识别两国共同利益的深度和广度，有助于增进双边关系的深度与弹性。应当鼓励所有希望增进双边关系的人都参与到讨论中来，清晰地表达他们对发展更加强劲的双边关系的看法及建议。

公众充分了解情况对发展健康、可持续的中澳关系十分重要。

2a. 中澳双边关系的讨论需反映双边关系的复杂性和深入性，阐明双边关系长期发展的愿景是其非常重要的一部分。

双边关系利益攸关，对两国都十分重要。强劲的中澳关系将确保两国未来的繁荣，也将对我们所处的地区及世界的稳定做出重要贡献。

中澳国内以及两国间有关双边关系的认真、成熟的讨论，有助于为未来双边关系的发展奠定更加坚实的基础。反映两国关系的复杂性及其持续演变的讨论应让两国民众知晓。

各行业的领军人物将在这方面发挥重要作用。当前中澳关系复杂而微妙，他们可以清晰地向民众阐述对双边关系未来的看法。展望未来不应只是简单地关注于交往的短期获益，还要考虑到两国可能的发展趋势，关注那些支撑并维系两国长期交往的需要，而不应短视，只关注于当下。通过媒体实现广泛的民众互动有助于传递这些信息。
Australia and China should further develop mutual understanding. This means greater business, government and non-government sector investment in developing and sharing knowledge and scholarship. It also means regular face-to-face contact at all levels.

A serious and mature discussion about the relationship needs to be based on a strong understanding of each country.

Over the course of the next two decades, Australia and China will become more important to each other. The potential benefits of this closer relationship are immense. The potential costs of problems in the relationship will also grow.

Both Australia and China bring their own perspectives and histories to the relationship. Our interests are best served by avoiding unnecessary friction. But we also need to recognize that at times we will have different views on specific issues and we may have different interests at stake.

Our view is that the best way to minimize the chances of unnecessary friction is to encourage ever greater contact between a wide range of people in both countries with the specific aim of increasing mutual awareness and building levels of trust. This principle applies across all sectors – business, government, and non-government. Joint projects in all fields that are based on practical cooperation that serves the interests of both parties are seen to be particularly beneficial in this regard. Projects to increase understanding of fundamental political and legal regimes in both countries could be an important element of this approach.

Another way to promote understanding and to build the personal-level ties that together make up the fabric of the overall relationship is to increase the frequency of direct contact. Other forms of communication remain important. But regular face-to-face contact is the best way to signal commitment to building a stronger relationship, and to enable individuals to gain deeper insights into mutual positions. These kinds of contacts already exist to a large extent in some sectors, but a further development in this regard would be highly positive. On both sides businesses should aim for regular visits. Political leaders and government agencies should aim for regular and increased contact.
中国和澳大利亚应进一步增进了解，这需要商业、政府和非政府部门在发现与共享信息、专业知识等方面投入更多，也需要各层次民众经常进行面对面的接触。

对双边关系认真而成熟的讨论需要建立在深刻了解彼此的基础上。

未来20年，中国和澳大利亚将对彼此更加重要。更加紧密的双边关系将带来巨大的潜在收益，其存在问题的潜在成本也会增加。

中澳两国都将自己的观点和历史带入到双边关系中。避免不必要的冲突最符合我们共同的利益，但也要承认我们在特定问题上将持不同观点，拥有不同的利益。

我们认为，使不必要的冲突最小化的最佳方法是鼓励两国广大民众怀着增进了解、建立互信的明确目标进行更广泛的接触。这一原则适用于商业、政府、非政府等所有部门。应鼓励在所有符合双方共同利益的务实合作领域开展联合项目，其中有助于了解两国重要的政治和法律制度的项目将是重要体现。

另一种增进了解、建立个人层面联系（它们合起来组成整个双边关系网络）的方法是增加面对面的接触。其他形式的交流固然重要，但经常进行面对面的交流是表明双方致力于建立更加强劲的双边关系的最佳方式，也有助于彼此深入了解。一些行业面对面的接触已经广泛存在，但仍需进一步加强。商业部门应力争经常访问；政治领导人和政府部门应力争经常联
nity and other groups should endeavour to include direct contact with counterparts in the other country as part of their regular activities. Governments can facilitate these kinds of contact through policies that simplify travel procedures and encourage more direct transport links. Support for nurturing and training upcoming generations of scholars in both countries is of great importance.

2c. Discussion and engagement should be based on mutual respect.

Increased knowledge will provide a stronger base for discussion of the relationship and its development. It will be important for those engaged in this process of discussion to approach each other in a spirit of mutual respect. It will also be important to ensure wide acceptance of the principle that stakeholders in both countries approach each other as equals. Relations between the two countries in all sectors will ideally be based on the notion of reciprocity.

3. The third principle is that we need to recognize that Australia and China will have different views and interests on some issues. It is important to acknowledge these differences and manage them carefully, and not to allow differences in one area, as a matter of course, to cast a pall over the entire relationship.

Currently and into the future we will see different sectors in Australia or China maintaining different interests and different views about the relationship or regional or global issues. At times friction may develop in relation to these differences.

A mature discussion between Australia and China needs to recognize the existence of these differing views and interests. It is important that disagreements in one area of the relationship do not automatically spread to the entire relationship and call fundamental, long-term and positive ties into question.

The challenge for stakeholders is to make all reasonable efforts to prevent the emergence of friction, and to manage pragmatically any friction that does arise so as to minimize the impact it has on the broader relationship.
系；社团和其他群体应努力将直接接触列入经常性活动。政府可以通过简化旅游程序、鼓励更多的直航等政策为这样的接触提供便利。此外，培养并支持两国新生代学者的发展也很重要。

**2C. 讨论与接触应基于相互尊重。**

增进了解将为讨论并发展双边关系提供更加坚实的基础。参与讨论的人彼此接触时，秉持相互尊重的态度十分重要。两国利益相关方普遍接受平等相待的原则也很重要。理想的状况是两国所有行业的往来都基于相互性这一理念。

**3. 第三条原则：我们需要承认中澳在一些问题上将存有歧见和不同利益。承认这些分歧并小心管理十分重要，不应让某一领域分歧理所当然地给整个双边关系投下阴影。**

当前以及将来，我们会看到两国不同的部门拥有不同的利益，对双边关系、地区或全球性问题也持有不同观点，这些分歧可能会不时引发摩擦。

中澳之间成熟的讨论需要承认歧见和不同利益。重要的是，不要将双边关系中一个领域的分歧自动扩大到整个双边关系，进而对基本的、长期而积极的双边关系提出质疑。

对利益相关方的挑战是，要尽一切合理的努力防止摩擦产生，务实管理好任何一个已经发生的摩擦，以使其对更宽范围的双边关系的影响降到最低。
4. The fourth principle is that we need to recognize the broader international context in which the relationship will evolve and that, while we have a shared interest in pursuing stability and prosperity, we will at times have differing views on how this is best achieved.

The discussion about the relationship has to recognize the broader international context in which it takes place. Global and regional developments in economics, politics and strategic affairs will impact on the relationship between Australia and China. Conversely, the relationship between Australia and China will be an important factor that shapes developments in our region and beyond.

Both the Australian and Chinese governments want stability and prosperity for their nations. They recognize that these goals can only be achieved in an environment of regional and global stability. However, our short-term responses to specific international events may well differ. The long-term strategies we employ to guarantee our own stability and prosperity will be different.

Both countries have enduring economic, cultural and political and military ties with a wide range of nations. The relationship between Australia and China cannot develop independently of these, yet we both have an interest in seeing each other develop strong and positive relations with a wide range of regional and global partners that contribute to global stability.

Governments in both countries should be encouraged to increase contact and dialogue on regional and global challenges.

5. The fifth principle is that domestic developments in each country will have an impact on the relationship. This needs to be acknowledged and addressed as a part of the overall discussion of the relationship.

Each country’s approach to the relationship will be influenced by domestic developments. If either country’s overall approach to the world changes, then so, too, will its approach to the bilateral relationship. If either country’s economic development strategy changes radically, it will have an impact on the economic engagement between the two countries. The discussion about
第四条原则：我们需要认识到双边关系处于更广阔的国际环境之中。尽管我们希望追求稳定和繁荣，但有时也会对实现这一目标的最佳途径持有不同意见。

讨论双边关系需要认识到双边关系在更广阔的国际环境中发生。全球和地区经济、政治以及战略事务的发展变化将影响中澳关系。反过来，中澳关系也是引起地区内、外发展变化的重要因素。

中澳两国政府都希望自己的国家稳定繁荣，并认识到这些目标只有在稳定的地区和全球环境中才能实现。但我们对特定国际事件的短期反应很可能不同，实施的用于确保我们自身稳定和繁荣的长期战略也会有不同。

中澳两国与其他许多国家都拥有长期的经济、文化、政治和军事往来。中澳关系不能脱离于此独立发展。两国都希望看到彼此与那些有助于全球稳定的地区和全球性伙伴发展强劲、积极的关系。

此外，应继续鼓励两国政府在地区和全球性挑战上增加接触与对话。

第五条原则：两国国内的发展将影响双边关系。我们需要将其作为双边关系整体讨论的一部分，予以承认并加以论述。

彼此处理双边关系时都会受到国内发展的影响。如果一国对待世界的方式发生改变，那么它对待双边关系的方式也会发生变化。
relations between Australia and China must include consideration of how domestic events and policies in each country might influence the relationship.

6. *The sixth principle is that simple slogans and formulas for discussing the relationship must be avoided.*

The complexity and nuances of the relationship cannot be captured by simplified dichotomies. The relationship is too important for public discussions to be based on such simple ideas. Hence, in recent years some Australian political leaders and scholars have spoken of the importance of the frank expression of views and opinions in the context of the Chinese term *zheng-you* (roughly translated as ‘principled friend’). The Chinese side has expressed the need to view and develop bilateral relations from a strategic and long-term point of view and not to allow momentary disturbances to stand in the way of positive development in overall relations between the two countries.

Neither the interests of Australia nor of China are well served by shallow analyses that look at one isolated element of the relationship. In the media, in public debate, in politics, in academic discussions and in business, it is crucial that we avoid resorting to simple slogans and formulas in discussing the relationship, its potential and its challenges. This applies equally to attempts to characterise the closeness of our partnership or the differences between us.
第六条原则：讨论双边关系时必须避免简单的口号和套路。

简单的“二分法”不能体现双边关系的复杂性和微妙之处。对于公开讨论而言，中澳关系非常重要，不能简单判定。因此，在过去的几年里澳大利亚的一些政治家和学者多次提及“诤友”，强调要坦诚表达观点和意见。中方法亦表示，要从战略高度和长远角度看待和发展两国关系，不因一时一事偏离两国关系向前发展的主流。

肤浅地分析双边关系，只看其中的一个因素，不符合中国和澳大利亚的利益。在媒体、公众辩论、政治、学术讨论以及商业活动中，需要避免使用简单的口号和套路来讨论双边关系、双边关系的前景及其面临的挑战。这同样适用于那些试图刻画我们的伙伴关系是如何亲密或者我们之间的分歧如何大的情况。
Conclusion and Next Steps

To foster a mutually beneficial and sustainable relationship between Australia and China, we need to analyse the history of the relationship, and engage in a comprehensive understanding of it, its current state and its possible trajectories. We also need to build better channels of communication and contact so as to encourage and enhance mature and frank discussions. The cooperation between CIW and CICIR is emblematic of this goal, and both parties are committed to it.

This joint report, on the future of Australia-China relations represents the culmination of a long process of frank exchange, debate, research. In the future, the two institutes hope to continue this process with each other, the general public and academic and policy communities in both Australia and China.

In the next phase, our two institutions aim to produce in-depth research reports on more specific aspects of the Australia-China relationship, provide opportunities for academics and researchers to develop contacts and deepen understanding through long-term visits, and crucially, to continue to promote public discussion on Australia-China relations.
为进一步推进互利共赢、可持续的中澳关系，我们需要综合了解、评估两国关系的过去、现状和未来，需要建立良好的沟通和联系渠道，以更成熟的方式坦诚对话。中国现代国际关系研究院 (CICIR) 与澳大利亚国立大学中华全球中心 (CIW) 的合作即是这一目标的重要体现，并继续致力于此。本报告由双方共同完成，围绕中澳关系可能的未来双方进行了长时间的坦诚交流、研究与争辩。未来，两机构将继续与彼此以及两国的民众、学术界和政策界一道推动此进程。

接下来，两机构将会就中澳关系的具体领域推出更翔实的研究报告；为两机构的学者和研究人员提供较长时间的访问机会，以加深联络和了解；并将继续致力于推进有关中澳关系的讨论。


6 Wei Zhong-Ao Hezuo Zhuru Xinde Dongli – Jia Qinglin kaocha Ao qiye he keyan jigou jishi, Xinhua Newsagency, 11/9/2011

