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Editorial

In the last few years, significant changes have taken place in the fields of humanities, diplomatic relations, economic and cultural exchanges in the Asia Pacific region. Both theoretical and practical studies are demanded to address the changes.

This issue is devoted to address some of the current themes in the Asian Pacific region with a focus on China and Australia. Both theoretical and practical approaches are reflected in the studies. The issue is organized around three parts: the diplomatic relations between Australia and major Asian countries; Australian literature and its influence in China; social and legal problems in Australia.

In the first part of the issue, three papers are included which study China Australia and Japan Australia relations. The topics include understating the growing negativity in Australian media coverage on China; the anti-Chinese view by associating Chinese with leprosy in the 19th century Australia; and Australia-Japan relations today from the perspective of the ‘Indo-Pacific Strategy’. These studies reflect both a micro and a macro approach.

The second part is on Australia literature. The first paper studies river writing and ecocriticism in Richard Flanagan’s *Death of a River Guide*. The second paper uses Lacan’s concept of the constitution of the subject in the field of the other to explain the difficulty in the heroes’ search for identity in J. M. Coetzee’s *The Childhood of Jesus*. The third paper focuses on the dissemination of Australian literature among China’s primary and middle school students since 1979.

The third part of the issue contains two papers. The first paper is on the dilemma of legal care for overseas Chinese students in Australia. The second paper discusses the basic principles of Free Workers Movement and its practice in Australia.

All the papers in this issue address some of the current challenges in the field of humanities in the Asia Pacific region theoretically and practically. I hope you enjoy reading this issue. Thank you.

Editor-in-chief,

Associate Professor Hu Xiaohan

Understanding the Growing Negativity in Australian Media Coverage on China

—A sectoral analysis

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Abstract

This paper intends to unravel a distinct growing negativity in China coverage by Australian media, which has been duly perceived, constantly criticised but yet to be analysed by observers on both sides. It first challenges two widespread notions in the earlier debate that 1) this negativity is a recent trend; and 2) such negativity features China reports alone. While recognising growing tension between the two countries, shifts in Australia's political landscape, among others, contributing to a rising negativity, the authors focus on changes and implications within Australia's media sector to offer a sectoral analysis. It is argued that the rising negativity that has been clearly perceived can be partly attributed to heightened competition, restructuring and pressure felt in the media sector. The pressure explicitly or implicitly felt by media workers, in particular after the media reform, acquisition of Fairfax by Nine and ensuing restructuring, layoffs and redundancies, has led to a more sensational and negative approach to coverage on China. This sectoral element, in fact, may further apply to media reports in general in Australia, which has witnessed a common trend of negativity, as well as China reports beyond Australia, e.g. the US, where similar competition, media reform and restructuring has been happening.

Keywords: *Australia, media coverage, China, negativity*

1 INTRODUCTION

When the Melbourne-based tabloid *Herald Sun* termed the then newly emerged novel coronavirus as “Chinese Virus” which caused “Pandamonium” in the illustration for its headline story on 29 Jan. 2020, it instantly sparked protest in the Chinese Australian community. Within ten days, 74,000 people signed a petition, demanding the newspaper to apologise for this “downright offensive and unacceptable race discrimination”¹. This would serve as another example of “[Australia's] skewed position from its media” as having been argued by some papers and commentaries by now. A commentary on

¹ Wong, W. (2020, January). Strongly Require the Apologies from Herald Sun and Daily Telegraph. *Herald Sun*. https://www.change.org/p/herald-sun-strongly-require-the-apologies-from-sydney-herald-sun-and-telegraph?utm_content=cl_sharecopy_20160557_en-AU%3Av5&recruiter=583082939&recruited_by_id=89c244f0-5c53-11e6-b951-f317f1310db0&utm_source=share_petition&utm_medium=copylink&utm_campaign=psf_combo_share_abi&utm_term=tap_basic_share&share_bandit_exp=abi-20160557-en-AU&share_bandit_var=v0

The Diplomat in Dec. 2019, for example, observed that “In 2019, China’s image in Australian media outlets took a noticeable turn for the worse”².

This paper intends to explore behind the evidently growing negativity in China-related reportage in Australia, in particular from an analysis of Australia’s media sector: the disruptive changes and fierce competition in the industry, the ensuing media reform and corporate acquisition enabled by it, and palpable impact on editors and journalists from these sectoral shifts. The authors argue that negativity about China in Australia’s media reports is nothing new, rather a constant occurrence in the near history as a result of rising tension or anxiety in Australia towards the rising global power. For the most recent wave (which arguably started long before 2019), such strategic uneasiness got tangled up with unprecedented competition and disruption in Australia’s media sector, which together resulted in a heightened negativity like no other in its China reports, or indeed coverage of all topics.

2 GROWING NEGATIVITY: NOT A RECENT TREND

Negativity is commonly adopted to describe media’s practice or tendency of selecting a more negative aspect, approach or choice of words in their report. It has been repeatedly shown by studies that negative information is more likely to attract more intense and emotional responses than positive or neutral ones (and thus more sales), through the traditional means of media like print, TV and radio to the more modern ones like digital media³. Therefore, it can be even argued that media have an intrinsic desire of representing negativity, particularly when fuelled by the right external factors.

In the same sense, it is first important to note that growing negativity in China-related coverage by Australian media was not something new: it started long before 2019, with several conspicuous worst months when controversy over a China-related matter was getting traction. Take Chinese investment in Australia as an example: it has remained one of the most controversial aspects of economic relations between the two countries, with a consistent majority (over 50%) of Australian poll respondents recording they feel “too much Chinese investment is allowed” since the question was first asked ten years ago⁴.

Negative sentiment was alive in media reports when Chinese investment in Australia started to become substantial and heavily concentrated in its prized mining sector since 2005, whose interest later shifted to sectors of no less importance, such as agricultural land and infrastructure like ports and power grid. Alleged ill intentions of ownership and therefore control of Australia’s economic and security assets frequently made headlines.

When Chinalco worked with Alcoa, a US-based aluminium company, to sweep up 9% of stake in Rio Tinto in early 2008, media headlines all portrayed the deal in highly negative terms, even though Chinalco showed good will by volunteering to apply to Australia’s foreign investment screening authorities Foreign Investment Review Board, which was not required under rules then. *Australian Financial Review*, for example,

² Jiang, Y. (2019, December 25). What Australian Media Gets Wrong about China. *The Diplomat*. <https://thediplomat.com/2019/12/what-australian-media-gets-wrong-about-china/>.

³ Park, C. S. (2015) Applying ‘Negativity Bias’ to Twitter: Negative News on Twitter, Emotions, and Political Learning. *Journal of Information Technology & Politics*, 12(4), 342-59. <https://doi.org/10.1080/19331681.2015.1100225>

⁴ Kassam, N. (2019, June 26). Lowy Institute Poll 2019. *Lowy Institute*. <https://www.lowyinstitute.org/publications/lowy-institute-poll-2019>.

used “invader” to describe Chinese investment⁵, and *Sydney Morning Herald* described it as “China Raids Rio” in its title⁶. A similar move by a western company might very well be depicted with at least a hint of admiration for such a “feat”.

Then, in the failed Kidman proposal 2015-2016 which would involve a significant size of the country’s agricultural land, *Australian Financial Review* claimed “China’s hunger for Australian agricultural land only the beginning”⁷, and editors in *Sydney Morning Herald* warned and advocated that “more thought must be given to foreign investment”⁸.

When Chinese investment later came into the more sensitive infrastructure industry, Australia’s media did not even try to tone down its anxiety, caution and fear. In the case of proposed leasing of Port of Darwin, *Sky News* bluntly called it “a very bad decision”⁹, and there were “sufficient security concerns” to “break” this deal¹⁰. *Australian Financial Review* tried hard to link the dots all the way to “China’s troubled shadow banking industry”¹¹.

Since then, Chinese companies, state-owned or private, have, to say the best, largely been depicted as a vehicle of the government. Any corporate move would instantly be interpreted against an alleged “grand strategy” to “control Australia’s assets”. For instance, in the Ausgrid proposal, Australia’s most popular news website—*News.Com.Au*—claimed it was “a big mistake”¹² and *Sydney Morning Herald* chose headlines such as “Australia Insults China with Ausgrid Rejection”¹³. It culminated in a FIRB confirmation that there was “no such thing as a private company in China”¹⁴.

It was from around 2014 that such suspicion and anxiety was no longer restricted to business pages and became relevant to everyone. Chinese nationals have been constantly blamed for pushing up the property price to record high by snapping up houses in

⁵ Taylor, L. (2008, February 9). Hard to See Your Invaders in the Fog. *Australian Financial Review*. <https://www.afr.com/policy/hard-to-see-your-invaders-in-the-fog-20080209-jd11v>.

⁶ Fitzgerald, B. (2008, February 1). China Raids Rio. *The Sydney Morning Herald*. <https://www.smh.com.au/business/china-raids-rio-20080201-1plk.html>.

⁷ Cranston, M. & Murray L. (2016, April 25). China’s Hunger for Australian Agricultural Land Only the Beginning. *Australian Financial Review*. <https://www.afr.com/property/chinas-hunger-for-australian-agricultural-land-only-the-beginning-20160421-gobh2t>.

⁸ Canberra Times. (2015, November 19). More Thought must be Given to Foreign Investment. *The Sydney Morning Herald*. <https://www.smh.com.au/national/act/more-thought-must-be-given-to-foreign-investment-20151119-gl2t9t.html>.

⁹ *Sky News Australia*. (2019, August 7). Leasing Darwin Port to Chinese Company a ‘Very Bad Decision’. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fdGYbLwKoHs>.

¹⁰ *Sky News Australia*. (2020, May 19). Security Concerns Sufficient to ‘Break China’s Lease on the Port of Darwin’. https://www.skynews.com.au/details/_6157662178001.

¹¹ Smith, M. (2020, July 19). Darwin Port Owner Linked to China’s Troubled Shadow Banking Industry. *Australian Financial Review*. <https://www.afr.com/world/asia/darwin-port-owner-linked-to-china-s-troubled-shadow-banking-industry-20200715-p55cf2>.

¹² Young, M. (2016, August 8). Government, Public Concern over Sale of Ausgrid to China. *News.com.au*. <https://www.news.com.au/finance/economy/australian-economy/government-public-concern-over-sale-of-ausgrid-to-china/news-story/73884b90bd877767985e4f10ac309259>.

¹³ Pascoe, M. (2016, August 30). Australia Insults China with Ausgrid Rejection. *The Sydney Morning Herald*. <https://www.smh.com.au/business/the-economy/australia-insults-china-with-ausgrid-rejection-20160815-gqsegx.html>.

¹⁴ Grigg, A. (2019, January 16). No Such Thing as a Private Company in China: FIRB. *Australian Financial Review*. <https://www.afr.com/policy/foreign-affairs/no-such-thing-as-a-private-company-in-china-firb-20190116-h1a4ut>.

Australia. *ABC News* discussed “Chinese buyers [were] driving up Australia’s housing prices”¹⁵, *Business Insider Australia* warned that “Chinese buyers [were] getting ready to flock back into Australia’s ‘cheap’ property market”¹⁶. In fact, this scapegoating (there has been ample study to prove otherwise) fuelled by media was acknowledged as the main driver behind recent mounting concern over Chinese investment in Australia in Lowy Institute’s annual polling. The proportion of respondents agreeing that the Australian government is “allowing too much investment from China” surged from a consistent 56-57% between 2010-2014 to 72% in 2018. The pollster reached conclusion after analysis that the spiking opposition was a result of media coverage on Chinese buying up real property in Australia¹⁷, which would again show how relevancy matters in polling. Interestingly, the purchasing activities of Chinese buyers of real property in Australia rose significantly during 2013-2016¹⁸. It wasn’t represented as an issue and then reflected in polling until media reports soared during 2014-2017. The poll result, therefore, is best evidence how media coverage would impact public sentiment.

3 THIS ROUND OF DOWNTURN: FROM LATE 2017 BUT DRASTIC INCREASE IN MID-2019

Foreign capital inflow indeed only constitutes one of the concerns felt in the country down under. With the latest round, for example, geopolitical and strategic tensions might play the most important part. However, this latest round of downturn didn’t start in 2019, as some have argued, but arguably in late 2017 when topics of controversy moved to South China Sea, Belt and Road Initiative, Australia’s strategic choice in the face of two super powers (or not having to choose at all, as some strategists have argued) and alleged Chinese interference into Australian politics.

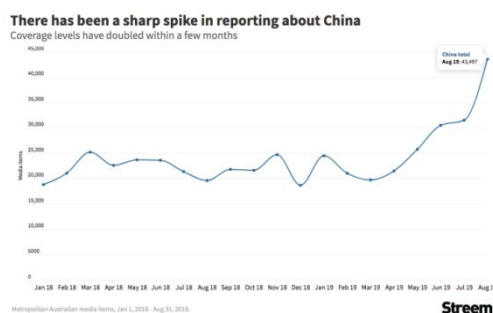


FIG. 1 A SHARP SPIKE IN REPORTING ABOUT CHINA

2019 would stand out, however, for a drastic increase in the number of reports on China. Media monitoring company Stroom published in late September last year, for example, that “there has been a sharp spike in reporting about China” during the examined period

¹⁵ Chau, D. (2017, October 6). Are Chinese Buyers Driving up Australia’s Housing Prices? *ABC News*. <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2017-10-06/impact-of-chinese-buyers-on-australian-house-prices/9021938>.
¹⁶ Derwin, J. (2019, September 26). Chinese Buyers are getting Ready to Flock back into Australia’s ‘Cheap’ Property Market—with One City Emerging as their Clear Favorite. *Business Insider Australia*. <https://www.businessinsider.com.au/chinese-buyers-are-getting-ready-to-flock-back-into-australias-cheap-property-market-with-one-city-emerging-as-their-clear-favourite-2019-9>.
¹⁷ Kassam, N. (2019, June 26). Lowy Institute Poll 2019. *Lowy Institute*. <https://www.lowyinstitute.org/publications/lowy-institute-poll-2019>.
¹⁸ Foreign Investment Review Board of Australian Government. (2017). 2016-17 Annual Report. <https://firb.gov.au/about-firb/publications/2016-17-annual-report>.

between Jan. 2018 and August 2019¹⁹. In particular, June-to-August 2019 witnessed a record high, with August 2019 saw a year-on-year doubling.

For the twelve months examined, 1 July 2018 to 30 June 2019, the 28 major Australian media outlets from whom data were compiled turned out over 300,000 stories mentioning China, with most discussed themes including trade, Donald Trump, security, Hong Kong and trade war²⁰.

Of these top twenty themes, the majority would regularly feature a negative approach, aspect or read, for example, security, Hong Kong, trade war, universities, resources, military, defence, Xi Jinping, Huawei, espionage, education, South China Sea, human rights, hacking, Uyghur, and Belt and Road, with the remaining four topics of trade, Donald Trump, trade partner and tourism may be represented in a mixed or neutral approach, rather than overwhelmingly negative. It would not even take serious media analysis, just a common media reader, to conclude as above.

While “trade war” and “Hong Kong” largely contributed to the surge²¹, a trend which perhaps would be observed in other countries as well, Australian media’s heightened interest in China across a longer time span is certainly evidence for the growing integration of the two economies, much of which now involves people-to-people exchange like wine and dairy trade, overseas study and tourism. The increasing negativity of China-related stories, on the other hand, reflects growing dissent between the two countries in issues of importance and Australia’s growing anxiety and debate over its policy choice in the current world affairs.

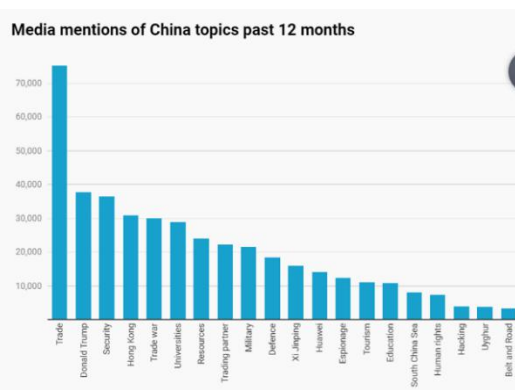


FIG. 2 MEDIA MENTIONS OF CHINA TOPIC

4 GROWING NEGATIVITY IN AUSTRALIA’S MEDIA COVERAGE: A GENERAL TREND ON ALL TOPICS

It would run the risk of an over-simplistic analysis, however, if only strategic differences with China are to be counted in factoring of more one-sided China reports, as most notably, for several years now growing negativity has been observed in media coverage of other topics as well, including and perhaps particularly domestic issues.

¹⁹ Stroom. (2019, September 27). China Coverage Soars as Australia Wrestles with Relationship. <https://www.stroom.com.au/2019/09/27/china-coverage-soars-as-australia-wrestles-with-relationship.html>.

²⁰ Zhao, I. (2019, September 27). Australian Media’s Coverage of China Soars in Last Year, Led by Hong Kong and US-China Trade War. *ABC News*. <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2019-09-27/australian-medias-coverage-of-china-hong-kong-trump-trade/11538770>.

²¹ Zhao, I. (2019, September 27). Australian Media’s Coverage of China Soars in Last Year, Led by Hong Kong and US-China Trade War. *ABC News*. <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2019-09-27/australian-medias-coverage-of-china-hong-kong-trump-trade/11538770>.

The turn of 2017 and 2018 witnessed a significant shift towards negativity in Australian media coverage, with academics making this observation starting to emerge later in 2018. The annual tracking survey of Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism at University of Oxford *Reuters Institute Digital News Report* confirms this: negativity was never raised as an issue in any of its reports prior to 2019, but the annual survey conducted in early 2019 raised it for the first time and found that 44% of respondents in Australia believed the news media is “often too negative”, significantly higher than the 38-country average—39% and ranking the second highest among advanced economies, behind the UK (47%)²².

Negative news coverage in Australia over the recent time has been characterised by a more sensational and thus in many cases negative choice of stories, perspectives, titles and presentations and less meticulous fact-checking. Respondents to the *Reuters Institute Digital News Report 2019*, for example, said that while the news media were better at keeping them informed about current affairs, “topic selection was often too negative” and “views on the events were too negative”. Interestingly, news consumers were more likely to hold this view among right-wing groups (53%) than left-wing viewpoint holders (41%), news payers (51%) than non-payers (43%), and older news consumers (45% of respondents aged 73+) than younger ones (37% of Generation Z)²³.

With growing negativity increasingly observed by Australian news consumers, their trust in news has leaned likewise. According to the *Reuters Institute Digital News Report 2020*, the proportion of respondents who said they “trust the news media most of the time” further decreased from 44% in 2019 to 38% in 2020, and trust in news generally has fallen across all platforms of news: trust of the print newspapers and magazines audience has dropped the most, by almost 20% from 58% in 2018 to a low of 39% in 2020’s survey²⁴.

Media scholars in Australia have come to a similar conclusion. As early as in 2018, University of Technology Sydney pointed to “a trust issue” between Australians and journalists, with a qualitative study to understand Australians’ viewpoints about news media. Complaints about Australia’s news media exceed compliments and a majority of respondents identified flaws in Australia’s media’s as “too much sensationalism and rubbish being touted as news” and “often very biased blatantly misleading, dishonest and prejudice”²⁵.

In addition to scholarly observations, news created by these news people themselves constantly remind us this most recent trend of negativity in Australian media. For some of the worst cases, behaviour of journalists and editors even borders on violation of journalism ethics.

²² Newman, N., Fletcher, R., Kalogeropoulos, A., & Nielsen, R. K. (2019, June 12). Digital News Report 2019. *Reuters Institute*. https://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/sites/default/files/inline-files/DNR_2019_FINAL.pdf.

²³ Newman, N., Fletcher, R., Kalogeropoulos, A., & Nielsen, R. K. (2019, June 12). Digital News Report 2019. *Reuters Institute*. https://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/sites/default/files/inline-files/DNR_2019_FINAL.pdf.

²⁴ Newman, N., Fletcher, R., Kalogeropoulos, A., & Nielsen, R. K. (2019, June 12). Digital News Report 2019. *Reuters Institute*. https://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/sites/default/files/inline-files/DNR_2019_FINAL.pdf.

²⁵ Molitorisz, S. (2018, September 21). Trust and News Media in Australia: A Qualitative Study. *University of Technology Sydney*. <https://www.uts.edu.au/node/247996/projects-and-research/trust-journalism-falling-love-again/trust-and-news-media-australia-qualitative-study>.

BuzzFeed (Australia) was sued for defamation for allegedly “slut shaming” a federal MP after it published in mid-2018 a “salacious” article²⁶ which described the MP as a “slut” and “sexually perverted”, without contacting her for response²⁷. The MP said “she was defamed” in the article posted by BuzzFeed, which included “misconduct allegations” against her²⁸. The ensuing legal battle came to an end with an “out-of-court settlement” in 2019 “with an apology from BuzzFeed and the journalist to the MP” and compensation money “for the collapse of her political career”, which was considered as a “big whack for the media”²⁹.

Following what Paul Kelly, an eminent Australian Journalist and commentator, slammed as “calculated media assaults on Pell”³⁰, in early 2019 more than 20 publications and 19 journalists, covering Australia’s major outlets, were summoned to appear before court for their reporting of the conviction of Cardinal George Pell on child sex abuse charges (and thus alleged breaches of suppression order).³¹ In order to keep the “proper administration of justice” for Cardinal George Pell’s case, the county court chief judge enforced “the suppression order over the trial”, but many media companies “throughout Australia and overseas” made the verdict known to the public and some of them did not attend the trial³².

5 AUSTRALIA’S MEDIA SECTOR: SITUATIONAL CHANGES BY NEW DIGITAL MEDIA, MEDIA REFORM, THE NEW BIG TWO, LAYOFFS AND RESTRUCTURING

Given growing negativity has been a common feature of news coverage in Australia, or even arguably beyond Australia in many parts of the world, factors beyond the rise of China and tensions in China-Australia relations deserve a serious examination. The authors would attempt to attest to this correlation by outlining the disruptive changes and heightened competition in the media sector, ensuing media reform since late 2017 and major mergers and acquisitions in 2018, which further fuelled pressure on editors

²⁶ White, N. (2018, December 21). Judge Slams ‘Salacious’ BuzzFeed for ‘SLUT SHAMING’. *Daily Mail*. <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-6518573/Judge-slams-salacious-BuzzFeed-slut-shaming-MP-Emma-Husar.html>.

²⁷ McGowan, M. (2019, July 30). BuzzFeed Apologises to Emma Husar for Distress Caused by ‘Slut-shaming’ Article. *The Guardian*. <https://www.theguardian.com/media/2019/jul/30/buzzfeed-apologises-to-emma-husar-for-distress-caused-by-slut-shaming-article>.

²⁸ McGowan, M. (2019, July 29). Emma Husar Settles BuzzFeed Defamation Case out of Court. *The Guardian*. <https://www.theguardian.com/media/2019/jul/29/emma-husar-settles-buzzfeed-defamation-case-out-of-court>.

²⁹ ABC News. (2019, August 5). BuzzFeed Says Sorry. <https://www.abc.net.au/mediawatch/episodes/buzzfeed/11385096>.

³⁰ Kelly, P. (2019, March 1). Pell’s Conviction and Fall from High Public Esteem Is a Question of Judgement. *The Australian*. <https://www.theaustralian.com.au/news/inquirer/pells-conviction-and-fall-from-high-public-esteem-is-a-question-of-judgment/news-story/c39523ba4447c7659d6b3823581f03b7>.

³¹ Meade, A. (2019, March 26). Cardinal George Pell Suppression Order: 36 Journalists and Companies to Appear in Court. *The Guardian*. <https://www.theguardian.com/media/2019/mar/26/cardinal-george-pell-suppression-order-36-journalists-and-companies-to-appear-in-court>

³² Davey, M. (2020, May 26). George Pell Contempt Case: Charges over Media that Allegedly Breached Suppression Orders Will Go to Trial. *The Guardian*. <https://www.theguardian.com/media/2020/may/26/cardinal-george-pell-contempt-case-charges-over-media-that-allegedly-breached-suppression-orders-will-go-to-trial>

and journalists who would now, deliberately or not, turn to more negative and sensational take of news to secure their career.

5.1 Situational Changes by New Digital Media

For a long time, Australia's media industry was under a cross-ownership restriction (the “two out of three” rule) and dominated by two major groups: Fairfax and the News Corp. Yet as online news and social media gain ground in Australia’s news consumption, like in many other countries, both found that, in addition to fierce competition in between, they now had to fend off social media moguls like Facebook and Google who have benefited considerably from digital advertising, as well as public-funded outlets like the Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC).

Shifting habits of news consumption among the public are best depicted by the annual *Reuters Institute Digital News Report*. While Australian respondents to the 2018 report would still rate offline news as their main source, by a small margin of 53% v. 47%, it was also recognised by the report that “the overall consumption of news via online platforms in Australia has surpassed the consumption via offline platforms”³³³⁴. In fact, early 2018 already saw a 3% increase in the proportion of respondents recording online sources, from 44% in 2017. The 2019 report witnessed the number shrinking to 43% but recovered to 48% in the most recent 2020 report³⁵.

Losing ground in readership amongst shifting landscape of news consumption, traditional media, in particular print media, have also come to realise the competitive advantage digital media, like Facebook and Google, enjoy against them. Therefore, they have pushed for a public inquiry led by the Australian Competition & Consumer Commission into “the impact of digital platforms on competition in media and advertising services markets, in particular in relation to the supply of news and journalistic content”, which was launched in December 2017 and issued preliminary report twelve months later³⁶, and at the same time advocated for an overdue reform in Australia’s media sector.

5.2 Media Reform

It was against this backdrop that the hard-lobbied *Broadcasting Legislation Amendment Act 2017* was finally adopted by the then Turnbull government in late 2017. It repealed two strict rules about media control and ownership: the “two out of three” rule and the “seventy-five per cent audience reach rule”, established new media content requirements for regional media, and abolished high media license charges by levying a new transmitter tax.

The main driver to the 2017 media reform was, as presented above, the ever larger disadvantage of traditional media as opposed to their digital competitors in an era of

³³ The question that year was phrased as below: “You say you’ve used these sources of news in the last week, which would you say is your MAIN source of news?”

³⁴ Newman, N., Fletcher, R., Kalogeropoulos, A., Levy, D. A. L., & Nielsen, R. K. (2018, June 13). *Digital News Report 2018*. Reuters Institute. <https://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/sites/default/files/digital-news-report-2018.pdf>

³⁵ Newman, N., Fletcher, R., Schulz, A., Andi, S., & Nielsen, R. K. (2020, June 18). *Digital News Report 2020*. Reuters Institute. https://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/sites/default/files/2020-06/DNR_2020_FINAL.pdf.

³⁶ Australian Competition & Consumer Commission. (2018, December 10). *ACCC Releases Preliminary Report into Google, Facebook and Australian News and Advertising*. <https://www.accc.gov.au/media-release/accc-releases-preliminary-report-into-google-facebook-and-australian-news-and-advertising>

digital news consumption, resulted from the three-decade long ownership restrictions on cross-media platforms. Traditional media, they argued, “must rely on economies of scale to fend off competition”³⁷. In late 2017 the then Turnbull Government finally lifted Australia’s cross-media ownership restriction, which had prohibited any company from owning more than two of the three platforms—television, newspaper and radio—in the same market, which in turn enabled merges and acquisitions in the media sector.

In spite of passage of the *Broadcasting Legislation Amendment Act 2017*, the battle between traditional media and digital media (Facebook and Google in the case of Australia) showed no sign of an end, which again indicates how long-lasting and fundamental this driver is when understanding the sectoral changes. Six months after the preliminary report, the Australian Competition & Consumer Commission submitted its final report to government in mid 2019 which found that competition between traditional media and social media, such as Google and Facebook, has further intensified³⁸. News Corp stated that Google is using its dominant position in both the search service and advertising technology markets to jeopardize the interests of consumers, advertisers, and news publishers³⁹. It is suggested that by the report that Google sell off its search business, or just keep the research business and spin off the rest to a third party⁴⁰.

5.3 The New Big Two, Layoffs and Restructuring

The long-awaited media reform in late 2017 opened way to acquisition and consolidation and subsequently reshuffling, reorganisation and downsizing in Australia’s media sector, similar to what has happened in the US after the FCC eliminated cross-ownership ban.

Australian private media businesses saw a complete restructuring and reshuffling in the following 2018 and 2019. Once multi-platform operation was made possible, Nine Entertainment completed its acquisition of 177-year-old media conglomerate Fairfax in late 2018 and thus replaced it as one of the new big two, alongside with Murdoch’s News Corp. Although Nine Entertainment committed to the editorial independence for the three newly acquired major media outlets, *The Sydney Morning Herald*, *The Age*, and *Australian Financial Review* after its acquisition of Fairfax, the line and major sources of income it would pursue would be drastically different from old-time Fairfax. As had been argued, traditional media can only survive on multi-platform economy of scale. One of the prized assets in the acquisition is in fact Domain, a property business Fairfax owned majority stakes. Nine Entertainment retained the three major newspapers, selling all of Fairfax’s 160 regional titles to Antony Catalano.

Driven by what had already been a difficult time in Australia’s media sector and this emergency need for traditional media businesses to survive, the sector has been particularly hard hit by post-merger restructuring, layoffs and redundancies. Naturally, this real pressure to survive has been forwarded to the editorial and journalistic teams, who would now, even understandably, yield to “eyeballs” and “attention” to secure their job.

³⁷ McDuling, J. (2018, December 7). What does the Nine-Fairfax merger mean? *The Sydney Morning Herald*. <https://www.smh.com.au/business/companies/what-does-the-nine-fairfax-merger-mean-20181204-p50k1o.html>

³⁸ McDuling, J. (2018, December 7). What does the Nine-Fairfax merger mean? *The Sydney Morning Herald*. <https://www.smh.com.au/business/companies/what-does-the-nine-fairfax-merger-mean-20181204-p50k1o.html>

³⁹ McDuling, J. (2018, December 7). What does the Nine-Fairfax merger mean? *The Sydney Morning Herald*. <https://www.smh.com.au/business/companies/what-does-the-nine-fairfax-merger-mean-20181204-p50k1o.html>

⁴⁰ McDuling, J. (2018, December 7). What does the Nine-Fairfax merger mean? *The Sydney Morning Herald*. <https://www.smh.com.au/business/companies/what-does-the-nine-fairfax-merger-mean-20181204-p50k1o.html>

As a result, the three major newspapers under Nine had laid off as many as 92 staffs in 2018⁴¹, News Corp laid off more than 60 staffs in 2018, and foreign media companies such as BuzzFeed has been also cutting staff members in Australia too⁴². Even public-funded ABC, amid criticism from the Liberal Coalition government, saw its funding slashed, which would continue to leave job losses a real danger. This is highly disruptive for a media market of Australia's size. As the 2019 *Digital News Report* acknowledged, "The Australian media landscape has been through 12 months [ending Jan. 2019] of upheaval marked by takeovers, closures, job losses..."⁴³.

5.4 Negative and Sensational: Editors' and Journalists' Solution?

The tendency towards negativity in news reporting has a long history, with some scholars arguing that media coverage is inherently negative and the nature of news itself leads to a high degree of negativity. By definition, news should be about things that people do not know about or that are surprising or shocking, if possible. For both journalists and news consumers, positive stories are often seen as less urgent and in turn less likely to be published.

But the past three years, since around the adoption of the *Broadcasting Legislation Amendment Act 2017*, has pointed to a growing negativity like no other in the near history. And the trend has been common across all topics. This would drive the authors to dig into the sector itself: what has been wrong sector-wise?

It is widely acknowledged among scholarly debates and discussions that the content of news has indeed deteriorated from 2018 onwards, arguably the worst during 2018 and 2019, which would again coincide with restructuring in the sector after the reform. Such a deterioration not just features ever more negative and sensational choice of stories, perspectives and interpretations, but also shrinking space for more serious, balanced and nuanced coverage. Journalists and editors alike have complained such. Another outstanding feature, especially among China-related stories, is an obsession to fit whatever story that comes to their view into a prescribed sensational framework, with most commonly seen ones like suppression, cover-up, espionage, etc. The obsession goes so far that not rarely one-sided hearsay is relied on, often journalistic rigour is compromised.

Negativity may temporarily draw people's attention but in the long term it has the unintended effect of pushing readers away from media. Media monitoring company Stream, for example, reported in 2019 that the growing negativity from Australia's media has been turning off Australian new audiences⁴⁴. Meanwhile, *The Guardian* quotes and agrees with the points presented in *Digital News Report* that the Australians' avoiding news consumption should be attributed to the negativity presented by the Australia's media⁴⁵. The world-renowned editor, Ulrik Haagerup, claimed that the trust

⁴¹ Meade, A. (2018, December 11). Nine Guts Fairfax Websites after Merger, with Dozens laid off. *The Guardian*. <https://www.theguardian.com/media/2018/dec/11/nine-guts-fairfax-websites-after-merger-with-dozens-laid-off>

⁴² Toh, M. (2020, May 38). Rupert Murdoch's News Corp is Cutting Jobs and Shutting Down Dozens of Newspapers in Australia. *CNN*. <https://edition.cnn.com/2020/05/28/media/news-corp-australia-intl-hnk/index.html>

⁴³ Newman, N., Fletcher, R., Kalogeropoulos, A., & Nielsen, R. K. (2019, June 12). Digital News Report 2019. *Reuters Institute*. https://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/sites/default/files/inline-files/DNR_2019_FINAL.pdf.

⁴⁴ Stream. (2019, August 14). Distrust and Negativity Turning off Australian News Audiences. <https://www.stream.com.au/2019/08/14/distrust-and-negativity-turning-off-australian-news-audiences.html>

⁴⁵ Murphy, K. (2019, June 12). Australians Are Avoiding the News and Think It's Too Negative, Survey Finds. *The Guardian*.

from the audience has been cost by the negativity bias shown persistently in Australian media, and he further explained that negativity is a global journalistic phenomenon which makes audience anxious and disinterested in the news⁴⁶. Commentators also criticized Australia's media for overlooking the positive news and regurgitating negativity of the society⁴⁷.

This dangerous trend has also been acutely felt by the consumers. As *Reuters Institute Digital News Report* shows, the Australian public has come across a paradoxical situation where, on the one hand, they can't help being attracted to negative news, and on the other hand, at least half of them have expressed discontent and concerns about the negativity⁴⁸. The number of Australians with high interest in news has fallen, news avoidance has risen and trust in news has declined⁴⁹.

6 Conclusion

This paper by no means tries to deny other factors at play, e.g. an intrinsic desire by media to publish negative news to attract readers, growing tension between China and Australia, which seems to have influenced reporting in both countries, a more conservatism-led domestic debate in Australia and rising anxiety among a population that has constantly been struggling against the dilemma of economic dependence and strategic-and-ideological differences, among others. However, it would argue that the fundamental shifts and their implications in the media sector itself has largely been overlooked or, intentionally or unintentionally, seen as separate from the sector's output. An intrinsic difficulty with research on this topic is it would ideally take interviews and survey to quantify and represent such impact, which in turn may be readily denied by media workers when approached with the question. A proper methodology towards this would need to be explored.

While debate over Australia's media reform always tends to focus on diversity of voices, little attention has been given to the pressure felt by journalists, columnists, editors and producers amid this huge uncertainty of career prospect. It is this urgent need to survive in a bad time which has pressurised the journalists and editors to opt for more sensational stories and titles to attract eyeballs. In fact, this negativity seen in Australian media's coverage on China may have already become a loud and defining feature across the world. That is why Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, which has been conducting annual survey across the world since 2012, first posed the negativity question in its recent survey in early 2019, feeling the need to capture what may have been a universal shift.

To end on a positive note, such pressure seems to ease off gradually since later 2019, when media workers would confirm to researchers that it will improve. For traditional

<https://www.theguardian.com/media/2019/jun/12/australians-are-avoiding-the-news-and-think-its-too-negative-survey-finds>

⁴⁶ Stroom. (2020, March 12). Relentless Negativity Is Undermining the Media's Credibility, Editors Told. <https://www.stroom.com.au/2020/03/12/relentless-negativity-is-undermining-the-medias-credibility.html>

⁴⁷ Ryder, T. (2020, April 6). Media Is Overlooking the Positive and Regurgitating Negativity: Hotspotting's Terry Ryder. *Property Observer*. <https://www.propertyobserver.com.au/terry-ryder/112360-media-is-overlooking-the-positive-and-regurgitating-negativity-terry-ryder.html>

⁴⁸ Newman, N., Fletcher, R., Kalogeropoulos, A., & Nielsen, R. K. (2019, June 12). Digital News Report 2019. *Reuters Institute*. https://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/sites/default/files/inline-files/DNR_2019_FINAL.pdf.

⁴⁹ Newman, N., Fletcher, R., Kalogeropoulos, A., & Nielsen, R. K. (2019, June 12). Digital News Report 2019. *Reuters Institute*. https://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/sites/default/files/inline-files/DNR_2019_FINAL.pdf.

media companies too, after two years and half of hard battle, ACCC released a draft mandatory code in July 2020 to “enable Australian media to bargain with Google and Facebook to quickly secure fair payment for news content”⁵⁰. This legislative move was intended to address the “acute bargaining power imbalances between Australian news businesses and Google and Facebook”⁵¹. Given what Google and Facebook has been made to face by the Australian regulators, it can be reasonably anticipated that government intervention would improve the environment for traditional media businesses in the future. To what extent that will alleviate the pressure on media workers are yet to be seen.

⁵⁰ Australian Competition & Consumer Commission. (2020, August 30). Australian News Media to Negotiate Payment with Major Digital Platforms. <https://www.accc.gov.au/media-release/australian-news-media-to-negotiate-payment-with-major-digital-platforms>

⁵¹ Australian Competition & Consumer Commission. (2020, July 31). Australian News Media to Negotiate Payment with Major Digital Platforms. <https://www.accc.gov.au/media-release/australian-news-media-to-negotiate-payment-with-major-digital-platforms>

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Chinese and Leprosy in 19th Century Australia

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Abstract

There has always been a saying in Australia that the Chinese are the source of leprosy because they believe that it was Chinese who first brought the Leprosy bacillus into Australian territory. However, this gratuitous statement is purely based on racial discrimination against the Chinese rather than scientific evidence. In 1880, the anti-Chinese movement broke out in various states of Australia, and its prejudice against leprosy from the Chinese became the primary reason for anti-Chinese racism. Leprosy is considered a disease of inferior races. Therefore, the Australian authorities were worried that the pure white country would be contaminated by Chinese leprosy, so they implemented a mandatory quarantine policy to exclude Chinese by immigration restrictions. The study of Chinese leprosy patients in Australia not only demonstrates Australia's early control measures against infectious diseases, but also illustrates the complex connotations of leprosy in the colonial context. This article reveals the close connection between leprosy and racial exclusion in Australia. To a certain extent, it shows the difficult life of early Chinese immigrants in Australia.

Keywords: Australia , Chinese, Leprosy

INTRODUCTION

China is believed to have played a critical role in the global leprosy pandemic that began in the mid-19th century, because it is considered that China is the main exporter of leprosy. These allegations of racial resentment are particularly evident in Australia. In Australia, leprosy is a relatively unfamiliar disease. They regard the arrival of a lepomatous immigrant as a cause for the leprosy epidemic. There is a one-sided stereotype of early Chinese immigrant groups in Australian history. With this knowledge and belief in the theory that leprosy is inherited, "a lepomatous immigrant" is often considered to be a Chinese worker. As the contagion of leprosy was confirmed, the rumor became more convincing. Chinese leprosy patients are regarded as the most dangerous and least welcome group in Australia. This fear was caused by the ethnic consciousness and degenerate ideology of the time, and the mystery of leprosy led to the exaggeration of the infectiousness of leprosy. In order to protect the white community from infection, the Australian authorities have adopted mandatory management measures. The issue of Chinese in Australia has always been a hot research topic. The problem of Chinese leprosy is scattered in disease research in Australia, and there are

very few thematic narrations of Chinese leprosy patients.⁵² This article introduces the role of the Chinese in the leprosy epidemic in Australia and the discrimination that the Chinese have suffered in the leprosy control policy in Australia. The study of leprosy in Australia in the 19th century and its prevention and treatment measures can provide a glimpse into the understanding of the disease at the time and a more comprehensive understanding of the living conditions of Chinese immigrants.

“THE ORIGIN OF THE LEPROSY IS CHINESE”

The notion that The Chinese are the origin of leprosy is not unique to Australia, and even China was considered a global “reservoir” of the disease that spread it to the Pacific at a time when leprosy was sweeping the world (Bashford, 2004). In the early 1870s, American public opinion began to condemn Chinese immigrants for bringing leprosy to the United States. In 1871, a Chinese leper was diagnosed and regarded as the beginning of American “invasion” (Shah, 2001, pp.99-100). San Francisco authorities sent him to a smallpox hospital, where he was detained with other patients suffering from a malignant infectious disease. A few years later, Chinese leprosy patients at the hospital were segregated from whites, and the authorities even extradited some to Hong Kong. In Hawaii, leprosy is also known as “Ma ‘i pake”, or “Chinese disease”. It is believed that leprosy did not exist in Hawaii before the arrival of Chinese immigrants. Later, the accusations against Chinese people in the United States and Hawaii were proved to be groundless. Wright (1889) conducted a comprehensive study on the history and geographic environment of leprosy, pointing out that the North American disease originated in Europe. It is worth noting that during the early stages of European migration to North America, cases of leprosy were introduced by Scandinavian, Spanish, British and French immigrants from all parts of the European continent. Then Dr. Denny (1927, pp.391-398) published an objective account of the situation in the United States. In 1916, Dr. Mouritz (1916, pp.20-30) published a well-documented article on the history of leprosy in Hawaii, showing that American missionaries had already noticed the existence of leprosy in Hawaii as early as the 1820s.

However, in Australia, the rumor that the Chinese are the source of leprosy seems to be the default answer. In many works on Australian leprosy, no experts have analyzed and studied the authenticity and scientificity of this conclusion, but it is directly assumed that the Australian leprosy was brought in by the Chinese. Suzanne Parry, an expert on the history of leprosy in Australia, said:

It is generally agreed that leprosy was brought to northern Australia by Chinese immigrants, and that the first person in the Northern Territory known to have leprosy was a Chinese man whose illness was reported in 1882 (Parry, 2003, p.2).

Cecil Cook (1927, p.37), the chief medical officer of the Northern Territory, asserted that “Chinese indentured labour, brought to the Territory in 1874, was responsible for the introduction of leprosy”; Bashford, an Australian historian and academic, wrote in her book:

⁵² See e.g. Rod Edmond. (2006). *Leprosy and Empire*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.; Gordon Briscoe.(2003). *Counting, Health and Identity, A history of Aboriginal health and demography in Western Australia and Queensland, 1900-1940*, Aboriginal Studies Press.; Bashford Alison. (2004). *Imperial Hygiene: A Critical History of Colonialism, Nationalism and Public Health*. Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

The disease was initially associated with the Chinese population, as well as with South Pacific Islanders in northern New South Wales and Queensland, many of whom had come to Australia as indentured labourers(Bashford & Maria Nugent,2001, p.110).

At that time, the accusation that the Chinese were the root cause of leprosy in Australia was mainly based on two points: first, in the early stage of leprosy, Chinese patients accounted for the majority. From the statistics of leprosy patients in Australia , in Table 1(as cited in Bashford, 2004, p.95), it can be seen that during the period from 1860 to 1900, leprosy patients came mainly from China and Chinese patients up to half of the total number. Moreover, in most places, the first cases of leprosy are usually Chinese.

TABLE 1 NATIONALITY OF RECORDED CASES OF LEPROSY IN AUSTRALIA

	Chinese	Kanakas	Aboriginals	Other colored aliens	Americans or other whites	Australians	Total
1850-60	unknown	-	-	1	-	-	1
1860-70	30+	-	-	-	4	1	35
1870-75	15	-	-	-	-	3	18
1875-80	11	-	-	-	3	2	16
1880-85	18	-	-	-	2	2	22
1885-90	31	1	-	2	4	5	43
1890-95	27	10	7	3	5	19	71
1895-1900	27	41	13	1	18	8	108
1900-05	15	43	7	5	14	19	103
1905-10	14	39	35	5	8	8	122
1910-15	6	14	22	4	10	19	73
1915-20	4	5	31	1	7	21	75
1920-25	3	5	54	-	9	17	93
Total	210	158	20	22	84	146	780

The second reason is that before the arrival of European settlers in Australia, the indigenous people of Australia did not carry the disease. J.A .Thompson(1897), Chief Medical Officer of New South Wales, is also a leprosy specialist. He investigated the situation of leprosy in various regions of Australia from the first leprosy to all cases before 1897. In his report, the source and the issue of transmission were explored, he pointed out that before the arrival of Europeans, there were no cases of leprosy among

the native Australian. But there is no evidence to prove leprosy did not exist in Australia before the Chinese arrived.

We can find in the travel diaries of early Australian adventurers. They suspected cases of leprosy appeared many times before the 1850s, but they were not sure it is whether leprosy or a similar skin disease. Samuel Kittle has documented:

Colds and fevers are among their (the aboriginals of Port Jackson) ordinary complaints, and some of them are troubled with a disorder greatly resembling the itch. They call it Djee-ball. It is sometimes very virulent, and renders those afflicted with it extremely loathsome (Kittle,1815, p.212;as cited in Thompson, M.D. & D.P.H.,1897, p.25).

Charles Sturt also mentions in the records of his expedition that he discovered a terrible disease among the indigenous tribes, and explicitly uses the expression “leprosy”:

The most loathsome diseases prevailed among them. Several were disabled by leprosy, or some similar disorder, and two or three had entirely lost their sight... Leprosy of the most loathsome description, the most violent cutaneous eruptions, and glandular affections, absolutely raged through the whole of them (Sturt,2001, p.226).

It is obviously inaccurate to say that the Chinese are the source of leprosy according to these documents and records. From Australia's early infection data, it can be seen that the Chinese are indeed the main infected population. Therefore, it is true that the Chinese have contributed to the spread of leprosy in Australia to a certain extent, but this does not mean that the Chinese are responsible for the introduction of leprosy bacilli. Moreover, the available documents does not make it clear that leprosy did not occur in Australia before the arrival of the Chinese. And, strangely, no scholars has studied the possibility that European immigrants brought leprosy to Australia before the 19th century, as they did in Americas. Thus, Australian seems to naturally associate the Chinese with the spread of leprosy.

Australians' highly contagious and incurable fear of leprosy, coupled with the incitement of racists at the time, led to a strong rejection and fear of the Chinese eventually. People are increasingly convinced that the Chinese are the origin of leprosy in Australia. This statement caused Australian panic against Chinese people and intensified discrimination and prejudice against people of color, especially Chinese people in Australian society. This was consistent with the overall atmosphere of Australia's anti-Chinese movement at that time.

Anti-China racists can receive benefit from this atmosphere, and the spread of leprosy has become the cornerstone of their incitement to public opinion. Terrorist public opinion about this disease is usually launched by the working class. In the 1850s, after the discovery of gold mines in Australia, a large number of Chinese gold prospectors flooded in. The number of Chinese in the Victoria Gold Mine alone rose from 2,341 in 1854 to 42,000 in 1858(Zhang,1998, p.74), which aroused the concerns of white Australians. Cheap and hardworking Chinese quickly occupied the local labor market, squeezing the living space of white people. The increasing differences and frictions between whites and Chinese have led to the tragedy of whites using violence to drive Chinese away. By the 1880s, particularly in Queensland, strong anti-Chinese sentiment was concentrated on labor issues.

It is not accidental that the accusations against the Chinese and the actions to exclude the Chinese were carried out simultaneously. Thousands of Chinese workers came to

Australia during the gold rush made a huge contribution to the early development of the Australian colonial area, which obviously alleviated the shortage of labor in Australia. It also created huge material wealth and provided an important source of fiscal revenue for the colonial government. However, in the late period of the gold rush, in the 1860s and 1870s, the gold mining industry gradually withered away and the supply of labor exceeded the demand. The decrease of gold production and the decrease of labor price caused the fear and hatred of Chinese workers among the white immigrants in the mining area. A segment of the white working class felt their interests were threatened. In the *Pilot*, an Australian colonist states the Chinese question in that country said:

the yellow man has invaded Australia in thousands: he competes with the white man in almost every industry...The Australian is fully convinced that the issue is one of life or death, and that where the Chinese are, there Europeans will, sooner or later, cease to be.(the Pilot, 2 August 1879)

And they blamed the Chinese for hygiene problem and complained that they polluted the river. Then they abused the Chinese for their addiction to opium. Of course, the disgusting leprosy is the main reason they discriminate against the Chinese. These radical views are widely spread in newspapers and magazines. Leprosy is imagined as a ghost whose image is portrayed as a grotesque Chinese with his hands hanging above his head like a skeleton, and underneath him stands a childlike, gentle but cunning Chinese fruit vendor holding out the symbol of both temptation and infection — the apple(Taylor, 23 October 1901, p.1425;as cited in Raymond Evans, Kay Saunders & Kathryn Cronin,1993, p.292). According to William Lane, “if the influx of inferior races continued for the next fifty years then Australia will be the most leprous country in the world” (The Worker, 14 December 1895 ; as cited in Raymond Evans, Kay Saunders & Kathryn Cronin,1993, p.303).

In fact, the concensus of opinion on the race issue was so marked throughout this entire period, it would appear that “. . . the characteristics of racism were in some way implicit in the whole structure of the society's thought, and it affects people's thinking subtly”(Rex,1970, p.156). Therefore, accusing the Chinese as the root cause of Australian leprosy comes from Australia's deep-rooted prejudice against the Chinese. They have always maintained this one-sided and stereotype of the early Chinese who came to Australia. The statement that “Chinese are the origin of leprosy” has a strong sense of racial discrimination from the beginning. In turn, this view deepened the discrimination against the Chinese. In Australia, this statement provides a seemingly legitimate reason for the anti-Chinese behavior.

METAPHOR OF LEPROSY: DISEASE OF INFERIOR RACE

Leprosy has tormented humans throughout recorded history. The earliest possible account of a disease that many scholars believe is leprosy appears in an Egyptian Papyrus document written around 1550 B.C. Around 600 B.C. Indian writings describe a disease that resembles leprosy. In Europe, leprosy first appeared in the records of ancient Greece after the army of Alexander the Great came back from India and then in Rome in 62 B.C. coinciding with the return of Pompeii's troops from Asia Minor(Li,2006, pp.2-3).

Although leprosy has a long history and has always attracted the attention of many researchers in medicine, leprosy is still the most mysterious disease. So far, the leprosy bacterium has not been isolated in vitro, and no corresponding vaccine has been produced, and its transmission mechanism remains unclear. Its history is also shrouded

in many uncertainties. In ancient Greece, leprosy was always confused with various skin diseases. The vague understanding of his name and symptoms has aroused people's infinite imagination of leprosy. For a long time, the cause of leprosy is unknown, and there is a lack of effective treatment methods. It is regarded as an incurable disease. Factors such as leprosy are inherently contagious and will cause the cured person to suffer from disability or deformity, thus promoting the formation of leprosy metaphors. In particular, it is uncertain route of transmission caused a lot of speculation, which has been given some symbolic meaning to make it more complicated. Supporters of various statements used various evidences to confirm their own speculations, which made the public particularly fearful of leprosy.

The metaphor of leprosy will have different causes and connotations according to the period and country. Exploring the metaphor of leprosy in the Western world can generally be traced back to the Bible. The "Bible • Old Testament" describes in detail the method of judging leprosy. It determines whether the patient has unclean leprosy according to the changes in symptoms, and makes a certain distinction between skin diseases such as ringworm, sores, and scabies from leprosy. In addition, it also stipulates the treatment of people and objects suffering from leprosy and records complex cleansing rituals. According to the people and things related to leprosy recorded in the Bible, the most obvious feature or image of leprosy is "unclean", and it is apparently a punishment from god. People associated with leprosy will be isolated from the group:

All the days wherein the plague shall be in him he shall be defiled; he is unclean: he shall dwell alone; without the camp shall his habitation be. [13:46]

Judging from the stories related to leprosy, God sent leprosy as a means of punishment. The people were punished for various reasons. For instance, disrespect Jehovah, greedy for money, or do illegal things regardless of their status, etc. This makes people associate leprosy with various unethical behaviors. Lepers are regarded as morally corrupt, fornication, wicked, and unclean. They are punished by justice from heaven because of their sins. The terrible external symptoms caused by leprosy, as well as the claims surrounding its mysterious channels of transmission, make leprosy one of the most popular and persistent metaphors for degeneration, pollution, and moral flaws, not only for the individual but also for the collectivity(Sontag,1988).

With the progress of society and the changes in the context of the leprosy epidemic, the metaphor of leprosy also changes. In the 19th century, when leprosy caused global panic, the metaphor of leprosy had a new content: it shifted from a moral level to a racial level, which caused more political discussions. From the end of the 19th century to the beginning of the 20th century, European medical circles had different opinions on the spread of leprosy. Before the discovery of Leprosy, genetics was the main hypotheses, which shared a belief that the disease was specific to certain races, especially the darker-skinned subspecies in hot countries. This idea was naturally in tune with the prevalent obsession of degeneration in Europe in this period. Those who believe that leprosy is hereditary are also convinced that it is racially related. Benjamin Hobson(1860, pp.558-559), of the London Missionary Society, the first British Protestant medical missionary to work in China, stated that leprosy is an inter-tropical disease that affecting the Chinese, Hindoos, Mohammedans, Africans and other people living within or on the borders of the tropics. This view was consistent with a later report by the Royal College of Physicians in 1867, which demonstrated leprosy mainly affects skin deep races in tropical region, including Chinese, Indian and half-breed.

At the same time, the disease was also seen as specific to races at a certain stage of civilization. Patrick Manson, the father of British tropical medicine, had done most of his fieldwork in southern China prior to the publication of his classic *Tropical Diseases*, in which he listed leprosy as a tropical disease and one, moreover, of semicivilization:

Savages are exempt; the highly civilized are exempt; but when the savage begins to wear clothes and lives in houses he becomes subject to the disease(Manson,1918, p.639).

They reckoned that leprosy affected people with genetic predisposition who lived in a miasma, polluted by a barbaric way of life and production. Clearly, the Chinese are considered to be one of these degenerated, semi-civilized races that live mainly in malaria-stricken areas. The claim that leprosy is a genetic disease owned by certain inferior races living in remote areas is objectionable to Chinese people. Ironically, it fits perfectly with the traditional Chinese concept of disease in the late imperial period, a notion that lasted until the Republican period (Angela ki chen leung,2013, p.166). In China, leprosy has been interpreted as a disease in the miasmas areas of the southern, spreading mainly among people who had not been nurtured by central China's civilisation, among low-moral classes, and semi-civilized lewd women. As Angela ki chen leung (2013, p.169), an expert on the history of leprosy in China, put it: "For the Chinese, southerners were the main victims; for the Westerners, all Chinese were southerners".

However, the genetic theory that leprosy will only happen to the Chinese people has not convinced Western medical scholars, thereby reducing discrimination and hostility towards the Chinese people. On the contrary, and this view is connected with Western rhetoric about racial degradation, deepening the negative meaning given to leprosy and leprosy patients. And the rumors that the Chinese polluted Australia became even more convincing.

Asiatics and kanakas are of a different civilisation to ours. We cannot blend with them, unless at the cost of degrading our race to their bestial level. They are noted for their filthy and unclean habits, being satisfied to live in a much lower hygienic plan than the lowest member of our civilisation, and their peculiar susceptibility to dirt diseases makes their presence now a danger of greater gravity than ever(The Worker ,5 May 1900;as cited in Robertson,1999, p.252).

When leprosy appeared in Australia, it also made colonial administrators aware that Chinese indentured labor was a foreign pollutant that threatened the health of the colonial people. In Australia, leprosy was a heightened "hybridising danger", for it was not only a highly stigmatised contagion, but one associated with sex and miscegenation (Bashford,2004, p.107). At the 1884 Sanitary Conference in Sydney, for example, the delegate from Western Australia confidently stated that leprosy was spread by 'the prevalence of prostitution of white women to Chinese'. And a Queensland delegate argued that 'we have never had the disease amongst the aboriginals in Queensland ... Simply because the black women will not cohabit with the Chinese' (The Australasian Sanitary Conference,1884, pp.17-25). Cook offered the theory of the sexual transmission of the disease thus:

Chinese and Pacific Islander men, infected elsewhere, entered the Australian colonies as immigrants or as indentured labourers in the nineteenth century. They had sex with Aboriginal women who later had sex with Aboriginal men and with white men(as cited in Bashford, p.108).

In 1873, Amor Hansen discovered the bacillus lepra, and since then officially determined the infectiousness of leprosy. The confirmation that leprosy was an infectious disease undoubtedly added to the public panic. What is even more frustrating is that the human immune system will not produce antibodies to this germ-in fact, separating the bacteria from the body seems like an impossible task. As a result, everyone was apparently confronted with a bacterium at large, on the rampage, invisible in its onset, not even presenting symptoms until well after it had taken hold slowly but inevitably (Robertson,1999, p.55). People uncontrollably imagine themselves in an environment full of leprosy bacteria, which is certainly frightening.

THE CONTROL OF CHINESE LEPPER IN 19TH CENTURY

With the exception of Victoria, leprosy became endemic in each of these states, reaching epidemic proportions in Queensland, Western Australia and the Northern Territory. As discovered cases of leprosy keep increasing in Table 2(as cited in Saunders,1989, p.8), white Australians fear they may be infected. They demanded immediate protection from what they considered to be a highly contagious and humiliating disease.

TABLE 2 RECORDE LEPROSY CASES IN AUSTRALIA

Year	NSW	VIC	QLD	WA	SA	TAS	NT	Total
1850-60	1	0	2	-	-	-	-	3+
1860-70	3	30+	1	-	-	-	-	34
1870-75	7	15	-	-	-	-	-	22
1875-80	-	10	2	-	-	-	-	12
1880-85	13	3	-	-	-	-	6	22
1885-90	18	4	8	2	-	-	11	43
1890-95	35	1	31	-	-	-	6	73
1895-1900	9	2	82	1	-	-	12	106
1900-05	36	3	67	2	-	-	-	108
1905-10	20	-	84	18	-	1	3	126
1910-15	11	2	56	8	-	-	2	79
1915-20	6	2	57	6	-	-	9	80
1920-25	3	-	31	17	-	-	46	97
Total	162	72	421	54	-	1	95	805

From the first case of leprosy were discovered in the states until the 1880s, people diagnosed with leprosy would be enforced to quarantine at home on their own. But it is often rejected by the nearby white community. As a result, it is common to choose a remote place with poor surroundings as a refuge for lepers. Those Chinese lepers who fell ill and were unable to work and had a difficult life were quarantined in leprosy camps. Those Chinese leprosy patients who are unable to work due to illness are quarantined in leprosy camps. Simple tents are used as shelter, food and daily necessities are distributed by friends or local police. The main source of income is donations from charities. Chinese patients live a very difficult life. Because of this disease, they are

often abandoned by family and friends and can only be isolated in tents waiting for death.

But as leprosy spread, more and more people became infected. Five regions in Australia (Western Australia, South Australia, Victoria, New South Wales, and Queensland) have all formulated compulsory notifications for leprosy patients and established leprosy station to compulsorily isolate leprosy patients within a similar period of time.

In 1885 leprosy was declared “a dangerous, contagious and infectious disease” under the South Australian Public Health Acts Amendments Act, 1884, and in 1885, under provisions of the same Act, Mud Island was gazetted as a Leper Station (Parry, 2003, pp.5-6). In Victoria, during 1888 an amending Public Health Act was passed. It contained provisions to the following effect:

The governor in council may from time to time direct that the middle quarantine station (at Point Nepean) or other suitable place be set apart for the reception and medical treatment of lepers, and may make regulations for the safe custody of lepers therein (Thompson, M.D. & D.P.H., 1897, p.129).

This Act empowered the detention of lepers for the first time. On August 19th, 1889, the Central Board of Health in issued such regulations with reference to the diseases cholera, smallpox, ...and leprosy, as follows:

Any householder who may have reason to believe that any person upon his premises is suffering from one of the diseases aforesaid shall immediately report the same to the Local Authority. Any medical officer (' of the local board for the district,' elsewhere defined as the Local Authority) or medical practitioner aware of a case of such disease shall also immediately make a similar report (Thompson, M.D. & D.P.H., 1897, p.117).

The bill also stipulates penalties for concealing cases such as fine. The fines imposed will vary by each state. In New South Wales, the fine is no more than 20 pounds, and in Western Australia is 50 pounds (Thompson, M.D. & D.P.H., 1897, p.117, 162). In fact, the legislation on leprosy in various Australian states is very similar except for the time difference. After the legislation, all leprosy patients or persons suspected of leprosy must be isolated, and those who fail to notify the leprosy will also be severely punished.

Although the mandatory segregation policy is legally applicable, it should be implemented equally for everyone in Australia, regardless of their race. However, in the actual implementation process, they are still treated differently based on race. Chinese leprosy patients are placed on remote islands far away from people's sight. They only need to meet the minimum conditions that can provide life support. At the leprosy isolation station, the medical staff did not provide the patients with appropriate treatment, and the patients were required to build their own shelters, and they even lacked necessary basic daily necessities and food. These behaviors reflect their ignorance of Chinese lepers. In their view, Chinese leprosy patients do not need what humans need—food, shelter, and care.

On the other hand, white people get more tolerance and preferential treatment. In Queensland, four months after the leprosy act was passed, a 23-year-old white man, James Quigley, was examined by four doctors and found to have leprosy. The government's initial response was to send Quigley to the Torres Strait, Daman Island, as required by legislation. But three days later, Quigley was afraid of being sent to Damien Island to stay with Chinese lepers, so he ran away with his father. He was later confined to a Brisbane hospital by police, where he was kept in a tent under police guard until

authorities decided what to do with him. A special meeting of the Central Board of Health specifically attempted to address this problem. At the meeting, the Colonial Secretary declared that :

“it would be little short of murder to send the unfortunate young man to Damien Island, and it was never contemplated sending him amongst Chinese lepers. That would be a great outrage on public feeling” (as cited in Robertson, p.166).

Colony officials in Queensland agreed that sending this unfortunate young man there would be nothing less than murder.

Apart from the quarantine policy, repatriation is another way. Chinese leper was isolated on Mud Island until repatriation could be facilitated. Repatriation was then a general solution to various problems concerning Chinese in the Territory. The repatriation of Chinese lepers continued until the turn of the 19th century and the 20th century. Because the transportation costs of repatriating Chinese was expensive and it was difficult to obtain financial support. Many shipping companies simply refused to ship lepers or required additional fee (Saunders,1989, p.21).

Leprosy can rot, numb, and ulcerate the whole body. The Chinese leper, like the effects of leprosy on the human body, corroded the construction of a purely white nation. The unique metaphor of leprosy, coupled with Australia's inherent stereotypes and unilateral impressions of the Chinese, as well as concerns about racial degradation, turned Australia's fear of leprosy infection into fear of Chinese invasion. In order to stop the Chinese invasion, Australia enacted the Immigration Restriction Act in 1901. The bill regulates the conditions of immigration:

(a) Any person who when asked to do so by an officer fails to write out at dictation and sign in the presence of the officer a passage of fifty words in length in an European language directed by the officer;

(d) any person suffering from an infectious or contagious disease of a loathsome or dangerous character ;

At that time, only a few Chinese could pass the dictation test to enter Australia. After the law came into effect, the number of Chinese coming to Australia dropped sharply. In 1901, the total number of Chinese in Australia was 29,627. In 1911 and 1921, it was reduced to 22,753 and 17,157 respectively. In 1933, it was reduced to 10,846, and in 1947, it reached the lowest number in history of 9,144. Within 50 years, the number has decreased by approximately 70%(Zhang,1998, p.138).

As can be seen from the data in Table 1 above, after 1900, the number of Chinese cases of leprosy decreased rapidly, while the number of indigenous cases of leprosy increased greatly. Various government policies restricting leprosy and the Chinese have legitimized public opinion and further deepened the already widespread fear of the Chinese. At the same time, the health of the Australian nation and the purity of the country have become racist ideals, and racial politics has been institutionalized and legalized. The isolation policy ostensibly protects Australia from this public health risk, but in reality, it shifts responsibility to Chinese groups. They blaming the Chinese for contaminated this pure land and were successfully excluded from the country through public health measures. By the 20th century, the indigenous population had become the main group of lepers. Chinese leper was no longer the focus of attention. Anxiety about leprosy in Australia shifted to the aborigines, while racialized measures to control leprosy continued to be carried out.

CONCLUSIONS

The history of the epidemiology of leprosy was a significant factor in determining the course pursued in leprosy prophylaxis in Australia. By the beginning of the twentieth century, the majority of European countries had been free of leprosy for at least a hundred years and in the colonial experience leprosy came to be viewed as a disease of the coloured races. This experience was confirmed in Australia when leprosy was first found among the Chinese. Tracing the origin of leprosy in Australia, the discovery of leprosy cases coincided with a massive influx of Chinese workers into Australia, and the first cases in most areas were usually Chinese. This discovery led to the belief that leprosy in Australia was introduced by the Chinese. Although there is no data that to prove the exact timing and origin of leprosy in Australia, the false claim that “Chinese are the origin of leprosy” is still believed. In the context of Australia, Chinese people and leprosy have rich metaphors. Racists use the idea that leprosy is a disease of inferior races to inflame public panic about leprosy and achieve the goal of repelling the Chinese. In the late 19th century, during the period of intense race-based nationalism in Australia, compulsory segregation measures to certain races were adopted. In Australia, racial health, national health and the constitution of white citizen groups are closely linked through exclusion. “White” was not only a kind of ethnic identity in this period, it also symbolized purity, hygiene and cleanliness. At that time, the pursuit of “whiteness” was a matter of public health, and immigration management was a means to achieve national purity. Quarantine measures are like a mental fence and a fortress to prevent the entry of leprosy bacteria. For those white people, they are engaged in a campaign against uncleanness. Through these means, Australia's population has been shaped and the purity of the country has been superficially protected.

By the beginning of the 20th century, aboriginal people had become a severely disadvantaged group in Australian society. By the 1920s, leprosy spread rapidly among indigenous communities. Although the subject has changed, the racialized metaphor of leprosy has not changed. And racial discrimination against colored race has made Australia adhere to an extremely rigid segregation policy. Even if other countries in the world have begun to adopt modern leprosy treatment methods, Australia still refuses to give up. Because what needs to be abandoned is not only the traditional isolation method, but also the prejudice and hostile attitude towards people of color. Moreover, this extremely rigid isolation policy has been implemented in Australia for a century, and it has been implemented for nearly 50 years even after other countries abandon the isolation policy.

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Alliance or “Tool”: Australia-Japan Relations Today from the Perspective of the “Indo-Pacific Strategy”

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Abstract

Australia and Japan, as two important allies of the US, are not only the northern and southern axes of the “Indo-Pacific Strategy”, but also the key factors in the shaping of the “Indo-Pacific” construct. Since the end of the Cold War, the balance of power among major countries has been constantly changing, and for the first-time world power has begun to tilt to the non-Western countries. The world economic centre gradually shifts to the Asia-Pacific and Indian Ocean regions. The US “Indo-Pacific Strategy”, aimed at containing China’s development and maintaining its international and regional hegemony, was born under this background. Since the beginning of the 20th century, Australia-Japan relationship has gone from hostility to “constructive partnership”, and finally to “quasi-alliance”. The US has contributed a lot to the development of Australia-Japan relationship, but it also takes advantage of these two countries to be its critical tools in the “Indo-Pacific”. However, there are divergences and discontents between Australia and Japan, even if they are further connected by the “Indo-Pacific Strategy”. In addition, Australia and Japan, which are complementary and highly dependent economically on China, need to take the China factor into consideration and rethink the “Indo-Pacific Strategy”.

Keywords: Australia-Japan relations; US; Indo-Pacific Strategy ; China

INTRODUCTION

Since the end of the Cold War, the balance of power among major countries has been constantly changing, and for the first-time world power has begun to tilt to the non-Western countries. As a large number of emerging economies and developing countries are rising in groups, the world economic centre gradually shifts to the Asia-Pacific and Indian Ocean regions. The global landscape in which Western countries dominated international politics over the past century is undergoing fundamental changes, and the development or changes of the international pattern in the Asia-Pacific and Indian Ocean regions have increasingly prominent impacts all over the world.

China, Japan, the US, Australia, and India are countries that play important roles in the Asia-Pacific and Indian Ocean regions. After World War II, the relationship between Australia and Japan began to recover and has developed rapidly in the field of politics, economy, and culture, which has a critical influence on the overall situation in the

Asia-Pacific and Indian Ocean regions. Australia is a middle power with great impact in the South Pacific region, while Japan is a highly developed economy located in Northeast Asia, actively seeking more international political power.

In the context of China's peaceful development, the US regards China as its biggest strategic rival. In order to constrain China's development on a larger scale and try to maintain the international order and regional order led by the US, the term "Indo-Pacific" has thus become one of the core concepts of US diplomacy, defence, and security strategy after Donald Trump took US presidency in 2017.

Australia and Japan are not only the two important allies of the US, but also the northern and southern axes of the "Indo-Pacific Strategy". Therefore, they are the key factors in the shaping of the "Indo-Pacific" construct. China should also take them into consideration especially in the diplomacy and peaceful development in the Asia-Pacific and Indian Ocean regions.

LITERATURE REVIEW

In recent years, Chinese academics have paid greater attention to the study of Australia's foreign relations. According to the characteristics of Australia-Japan relations in different periods, researches can be roughly divided into three stages.

The first stage focuses on the relationship between Australia and Japan before WWII. Generally speaking, there are only a limited number of studies on Australia-Japan relations before WWII in China, which can mainly be found in Zhang's *A Study of the Relationship between Australia and Asia (1940-1995)* and Wang's *A History of Australia's Foreign Relations in the 20th Century*. The studies on this aspect mainly lay emphasis on the development of Australia-Japan relations in terms of immigration and trade.

The second stage is about the study of Australia-Japan relations from WWII to the end of the Cold War. During this period, Australia and Japan signed *The Commerce Agreement between Australia and Japan* in 1957 and *The Basic Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation* in 1976 respectively. Scholars have great interest in these two agreements, and they try to explore their historical background and impacts on the bilateral economic and trade relations between Australia and Japan.

The third stage pays attention to the Australia-Japan relations after the end of the Cold War. Since *Joint Declaration on Security Cooperation* was signed in March 2007, there have been more researches on the relationship between Australia and Japan in terms of their alliance and cooperation on security, such as Zhang's *The Reason and Influence about Japan and Australia Alliance Trend from the Perspective of Alliance*, Wang's *Australia-Japan Relations: from a Constructive Partnership to a Quasi-Alliance*, and Wang's *The Analysis of new Japan's security strategy from the perspective of Australia and Japan's Joint Declaration on Security Cooperation*, etc.

It is therefore a fact that studies on the contemporary Australia-Japan relations, especially studies focusing on the development of Australia-Japan relations under the background of the US "Indo-Pacific Strategy" are scarce. In terms of geopolitics, there are also few studies on the impact of the development of Australia-Japan relations on China in the Indian Ocean and Pacific Ocean regions.

This study attempts to analyse the current development of Australia-Japan relationship from the perspective of the "Indo-Pacific Strategy", especially focusing on the China

factors in the Australia-Japan relations and its impact on China.

THE “INDO-PACIFIC STRATEGY”: ORIGIN AND CONTENT

President Trump repeatedly emphasized the “Indo-Pacific Strategy” during his trip to Asia in November 2017, which attracted much attention around the world. However, “Indo-Pacific” as a construct is not first proposed by the Trump administration. It was put forward as early as the Obama administration. However, during the Obama administration in which the Asia Pacific Rebalancing Strategy was the key part of US diplomacy in Asia, although the strategic value of the Indian subcontinent and the Indian Ocean had already been recognised, it wasn’t attached too much importance (Gu, 2020). Hillary Clinton, then the US Secretary of State, is considered to be the first person to use the construct of “Indo-Pacific” among the senior officers in the US government. Her article *America’s Pacific Century* published in October 2011 emphasized the growing connectivity between the Pacific and the Indian Ocean, and pointed out that the alliance between the US and Australia would expand from the Pacific Partnership to the Indo-Pacific Partnership (Clinton, 2020). In addition, during Obama’s second term, US government officials frequently put forward the concept of the “Indo-Pacific Economic Corridor”. Therefore, the US “Indo-Pacific Strategy” is not an invention of the Trump administration.

Internationally, the construct of “Indo-Pacific” and the “Indo-Pacific Strategy” have gone through a relatively long process before they were attached great importance.

The “Indo-Pacific” has long existed as a marine biogeographic concept, covering a wide range of fields. As a geographical construct, the “Indo-Pacific” has the characteristics of geo-economics, geopolitics, and geostrategy. In terms of geo-economics, the “Indo-Pacific” construct emphasizes the rapid economic development of Asia, especially that of China and India. The prosperous maritime trade led by these two countries on the Pacific and Indian Oceans is of great significance for these regions and the global economy. Economic factors are the basis for the rise of the concept of “Indo-Pacific”, which later came into the dimensions of geopolitics and geostrategy. In terms of geopolitics, “Indo-Pacific” actually refers to the expanded Asia-Pacific which now includes the Indian Ocean and India, previously uncovered in the concept of Asia-Pacific. In terms of the geostrategy, “Indo-Pacific” has turned into a strategic system, which means linking the western Pacific Ocean and the Indian Ocean as a single entity and regarding it as a strategic arc. And then, “Indo-Pacific” is upgraded into a strategy rather than just a construct. More importantly, it is only at the level of strategic planning does the “Indo-Pacific” construct have the existence value (Zhao, 2013).

The “Indo-Pacific Strategy” has been put forward, implemented and promoted with the slogan of “America First”. Meanwhile, India is an important part of this strategy, and Australia and Japan also play pivotal roles in it.

So far, Australia has used the concept of “Indo-Pacific” most actively, systematically and comprehensively among all relevant countries (Zhou, 2018). Australia is surrounded by the Indian Ocean and the Pacific. Therefore, it is more sensitive to the geopolitical significance of the “Indo-Pacific”. In the 1960s and 1970s, Australian scholars put forward the concept of “Indo-Pacific” from the perspective of international security and strategy, for the reason that they believed maintaining a strategic balance between the Indian Ocean and the Pacific would help ensure Australia’s national security. In the 21st century, this intention was expressly manifested in its government

text, Australia's 2013 Defence White Paper. In this White Paper, Australia officially defines the region where it locates as the Indo-Pacific. In general, Australia is very active in promoting the international use, institutionalization and operationalization of the "Indo-Pacific". The "Indo-Pacific" has also replaced the Asia-Pacific as Australia's main regional conceptual framework when it deals with international issues.

Similarly, Japan has long been concerned about the concept of the "Indo-Pacific". Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe may be the first state leader to officially mention both the Indian Ocean and Pacific in official documents. As early as 2006, Abe put forward the idea of treating the Indian Ocean and Pacific as a strategic entity. Then in 2007, Abe visited India and delivered a speech titled "Confluence of the Two Seas" at the Indian Parliament. After Abe came back to power in 2012, he launched a new round of "Indo-Pacific" promotion, envisaging Australia, India, Japan, and Hawaii of the US to form an "Asia's Democratic Security Diamond" (Zhang, 2018). At the same time, Japan also continued to strengthen bilateral relations with Australia and other countries in order to implement this strategy.

In general, the "Indo-Pacific Strategy" is a "containment strategy" constructed by countries such as Australia, Japan and India under the leadership of the US to target at China's development. This "containment strategy" is conducive to cultivating alliance relations and establishing a multi-level network with US's strategic allies and partners to prevent the emergence of a country whose national strength is as powerful as the US in the Indian Ocean and Pacific Ocean regions. Moreover, it also treats the Pacific and Indian Ocean as a unified strategic unit to reconstruct the balance of power in the Asia-Pacific with the dominance of American hegemony. In fact, the "Indo-Pacific Strategy" put forward by the Trump administration in 2017 and the measures it has carried out since 2018 are also responses to China's the Belt and Road Initiative (Zhu, 2018).

THE DEVELOPMENT OF AUSTRALIA–JAPAN RELATIONS UNDER THE “INDO–PACIFIC STRATEGY”

4.1 The Development of Australia-Japan Relations before the “Indo-Pacific Strategy” and the US's Impact on It

At the beginning of the 20th century, the Commonwealth of Australia was confederated, while Japan, whose strategy of militaristic expansion gradually took shape, began to rise. The relations between Australia and Japan at this time were mainly intertwined in racial discrimination, immigration policy, economy and trade, and national defence and security. Australia considered Japan as a threat in the north, but due to its fear of Japan's power, close economic and trade relations with this Asian country, and its compliance with the foreign policy of the UK, Australia adopted a policy of appeasement towards Japan. The outbreak of the Pacific War during which time Japan bombed the Australian city of Darwin indicated the total failure of Australia's appeasement policy, thereby bringing Australia-Japan relations a standstill.

Because of the historical grudges between Australia and Japan, and Australia's concern about the resurgence of Japanese militarism, although the nongovernment trade between them had been restored in 1947, Australia still adopted a serious discriminatory policy towards Japanese investment before the mid-1950s. After WWII, with the development of the increasingly closer Australia-US relations and Japan-US relations, and the need for economic recovery and development both in Australia and Japan, these two countries expanded their economic and trade cooperation under the

auspices of the US, and signed the *Commerce Agreement between Australia* in 1957. Since then, the economy and trade between the two countries had developed rapidly. In 1966, Japan became Australia's largest export market.

With the impact of economic and trade cooperation, the political ice between Australia and Japan gradually began to thaw, laying a sound foundation for the improvement and development of bilateral relations. In 1976, Australia and Japan signed the *Basic Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation*, which involved mutually beneficial cooperation in economy, trade and energy. This treaty established a framework for the sustained, stable and healthy development of bilateral relations and provided a basis for further development of the political relations.

After the continuous cooperation in the field of economy and trade in the 1950s and 1960s and the substantial political exchanges in the 1970s, Japan-Australia bilateral relations began to normalise. In the 1980s, the two countries actively conducted regional cooperation, closely coordinated in the construction of the Economic Zones in the Pacific Rim, and played an important role in promoting the establishment of the APEC.

In the 1990s, with the end of the Cold War, the global structure developed towards multipolarity. Both Australia and Japan hoped to gain benefits from economic cooperation and diplomatic interaction in the Asia-Pacific region. As two important allies of the US in the Asia-Pacific region, Australia and Japan rely on each other to achieve their respective strategic interests. In May 1995, they signed the *Joint Declaration* to "build an enduring and steadfast partnership" (paras. 10). Since then, Australia-Japan relationship had moved onto a new level.

In the 21st century, Japan-Australia relationship has continued to move forward steadily in the field of economy and politics. Meanwhile, the security cooperation has also been developed, and a strategic alliance has become increasingly evident. Additionally, the importance of the US in the Australia-Japan relationship is more prominent. Former US Secretary of State Colin Powell met with Australian Foreign Minister Alexander Downer during his visit to Australia in August 2001. He proposed the Trilateral Strategic Dialogue (TSD), which received positive responses from Australia and Japan. The prototype of the US-Australia-Japan trilateral alliance began to take shape. The TSD was originally convened at the senior official level in 2002, then was upgraded to the ministerial level in 2005. To implement the close cooperation between the two sides on security, Australia and Japan followed the US in fighting against terrorism and nuclear proliferation. In March 2007, the two countries signed the *Japan-Australia Joint Declaration on Security Cooperation*, and also reached an agreement on the establishment of Joint Foreign and Defence Ministerial Consultations (2+2). Australia-Japan relationship has moved towards a quasi-alliance.

Therefore, in more than one century from the beginning of the 20th century to 2007, Australia-Japan relationship has transformed from hostility to "a constructive partnership" and then to a "quasi-alliance", with progressive cooperation in economy, politics, military and national defence. The US has influenced the Australia-Japan relationship greatly, urging it to transform from bilateral relations to multilateral platforms. After 2007, with the continuous development of China and the strategic adjustment of the US, the Japan-Australia relationship is faced with new changes, and it actually become a critical instrument under the US "Indo-Pacific Strategy".

4.2 The Development of Australia-Japan Relationship under the "Indo-Pacific

Strategy” and China’s Impact on It

1) Economy and Trade

The Obama administration proposed the “Asia-Pacific Rebalancing Strategy”, which was an important measure for the US to return to the Asia-Pacific, and an important economic component of the Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement (TPP). The agreement was signed by Brunei, Chile, Singapore and New Zealand in 2005 at first. Then the US joined the discussion in 2008, followed by Japan and Australia. The TPP intended to exclude China, a critical economic engine, out of this Asia-Pacific economic cooperation structure. However, the Global Financial Crisis triggered by the subprime mortgage crisis in the US was severely affecting Western economies, while China was bucking the trend with its economy growing strongly. In 2010, China surpassed Japan to become the world’s second largest economy. This fact surprised Australia and Japan, with some people in the two countries worrying that China’s rapid economic development would result in changes of the overall order of the Asia-Pacific. Therefore, Australia and Japan were delighted to see this new free trade system with exclusiveness led by the US, and hoped to obtain greater benefits from it.

Australia and Japan are actively seeking bilateral economic cooperation. In 2002, Australia indicated its intent to negotiate for a free trade agreement with Japan, but it was rejected by the latter because Japan was very sensitive to its highly protected agricultural sector. In 2014, the former Australian Prime Minister Tony Abbott signed the *Economic Partnership Agreement* with the then Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe. Australia is the first agricultural product exporter to reach a trade agreement with Japan. After the agreement was signed, Japanese manufactured products enjoy lower tariffs, while Australian beef, dairy products, grain, energy and mineral products and other goods have much better access to the Japanese market.

The change of Japan’s attitude towards the free trade agreement with Australia has been influenced by the China factor. The economic and trade relationship between Australia and Japan is obviously complementary. For instance, Japan imports food, minerals, energy and other resources from Australia, while Australia imports industrial products from Japan. The fact that Australia and Japan are interdependent of each other not only in the geographical location, but also in the field of economy and trade, makes Japan once become Australia’s largest trading partner. However, this situation changed at the beginning of the 21st century when China joined the WTO. At that time, China’s industrial economy continued to develop, and there was an urgent need for minerals and energy. Therefore, Australia became China’s ideal trading partner. The development of China-Australia trade put Japan in a position of stressed competition. In addition, another direct factor is that China and Australia initiated negotiations on a free trade agreement in 2005, placing greater pressure on Japan. Japan had to adjust its original economic and trade policies with Australia, and strived to reach a free trade agreement with it before China to secure its imports of mineral and energy resources and the competitiveness of its export commodities in the Australian market.

As early as 2007, China surpassed Japan to become Australia’s largest trading partner for the first time, and to date has maintained this position. However, in recent years, in order to reduce the so-called over-dependence on the Chinese market and diversify its economy and trade, Australia has strengthened its economic cooperation with Japan once again.

In 2017, after Trump took office as the US President, the “Indo-Pacific Strategy”, which

had already been brewing during the Obama administration, became the US's official course of strategic action. However, Trump continues to emphasize national interests in diplomacy with his "America First" doctrine, even withdrawing from the TPP, showing a strong sense of pragmatism (Zhou, 2018). As a result, Australia and Japan have to depend on their own and adjust their economic strategies. The two countries unanimously decided to continue to promote TPP even after the US had withdrawn. With the joint efforts of Japan and Australia, the member states of the TPP except the US, signed the *Comprehensive and Progressive Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement* (CPTPP) in March 2018, further strengthening the momentum of regionalization and grouping of global economy and trade. In July 2018, US Secretary of State Mike Pompeo announced that the US would provide US\$130 million in investment to countries in the "Indo-Pacific" region for new technologies, energy and infrastructure construction. Although this move seems to show that the US is still interested in stimulating the regional economy in the "Indo-Pacific", its essential purpose is to confront and compete with China's Belt and Road Initiative. In fact, the US-led "Indo-Pacific Strategy" advocates bilateral trade agreements on a reciprocal basis, while the CPTPP seeks the development of regional trade. In addition, the US intends to contain China's economic power and influence in the "Indo-Pacific" region, but Australia and Japan have repeatedly expressed their welcome to China to join the CPTPP.

Therefore, the "Indo-Pacific Strategy" has become the glue of Australia-Japan relationship in terms of economy and trade. Although both Australia and Japan are suspicious of China's economic development, and are willing to follow the US, it cannot be denied that they pay more attention to their own economic interests. As the leaders of CPTPP, Australia and Japan intend to use CPTPP to expand the economic and trade cooperation in the Asia-Pacific to the "Indo-Pacific" region, and they are also willing to accept China's participation in CPTPP, which is in conflict with the US' "India Pacific Strategy".

2) *Politics and diplomacy*

According to the *National Security Strategy of the United States of America* issued by the White House in 2017, the political connotation of the "India Pacific Strategy" is that the US will redouble its commitment to established alliances and partnerships, and build the vision for the "Indo-Pacific" with common values (pp.46-47). As mentioned above, at the beginning of the 21st century, Australia, Japan, and the US upgraded their trilateral dialogue. On 7 August 2017, the seventh "Trilateral Strategic Dialogue" ministerial meeting was held, whose ministers reaffirmed the importance of the trilateral strategic partnership to ensure a free, open, peaceful, stable, democratic, and prosperous Indo-Pacific region, based on the rule of law.

Since 2017, Japan has actively promoted the "Free and Open Indo-Pacific Strategy", and the build-up of high-quality infrastructure has been an important part of Japan's "Indo-Pacific Strategy". In August 2018, during the US-Australia-Japan Ministerial Strategic Dialogue in Singapore, all parties agreed and started to promote the construction of high-quality infrastructure in the "Indo-Pacific" region, which intends to challenge the interconnectivity of infrastructure promoted by China's Belt and Road Initiative, and to form strategic competition in aid and investment in that region.

Apart from the trilateral alliance among Australia, Japan and the US, the strategic cooperation among the US, Japan, Australia and India is also active in the Asia-Pacific and Indian Ocean in recent years. As early as May 2007, the four countries had a strategic dialogue in Manila first, and then held a joint military manoeuvre. In fact, the

strategic dialogue among the four countries did not proceed smoothly. Its apparent intention to contain China was strongly opposed by China, which made its member states more cautious, bringing this quadrilateral dialogue to a temporary end. But in recent years, under the leadership of the US “Indo-Pacific Strategy”, the quadrilateral dialogue was restarted in 2017, and the strategic cooperation framework of the US, Japan, Australia and India has been further implemented and promoted.

Under the trilateral alliance and the quadrilateral cooperation framework, the political relations between Australia and Japan have been continuously strengthened, and political consensus has been deepened on the basis of the “quasi-alliance” relationship since 2007. Japan regards Australia as an important support for its so-called “Democratic Security Diamond” strategy. Australia also claims that Japan is Australia’s “best friend” and “strong ally” in Asia. In addition, on the issue related to the Korean Peninsula, the Diaoyu Islands dispute, and Japan’s historical outlooks, Australia has shown a clear tendency to lean towards Japan (Qu, 2014). During the Covid-19 pandemic in 2020, Australia followed the US’ blame game to make accusations of China. Furthermore, it proposed to conduct a so-called “independent inquiry” of China, to which Japan gave its support to.

All in all, the US “Indo-Pacific Strategy” has been supported and promoted by Japan and Australia. For one thing, Japan and Australia show strategic anxiety about China’s rise, intending to take advantage of this strategy to prevent the US from withdrawing from this region. For the other, the US, which has abandoned its “Asia-Pacific Rebalancing Strategy”, also needs a fresh alternative. Therefore, in politics and diplomacy, the “Indo-Pacific Strategy” has become a protective umbrella over Australia and Japan held by the US. Affected by this strategy, the development of bilateral relations between Australia and Japan has clearly shown political intentions to contain China, trying to maintain the international rules and regional order dominated by the West.

3) *Security and Defence*

China’s Belt and Road Initiative has prompted itself to further integrate into the trend of globalization, which has incurred unwarranted suspicions in countries such as the US, Australia, Japan, which claim that China’s growing power will affect the regional security. At the instigation of the US, the South China Sea dispute has persisted, rendering it not only a security flashpoint in the “Indo-Pacific”, but also a focus of attention of Australia and Japan. For Australia, the South China Sea is an important transport corridor connecting Australia with other Asian countries for maritime trade. In 2015, the then Australian Foreign Minister Julie Bishop stated that two-thirds of Australia’s trade went through the South China Sea. For Japan, a country with limited resources, with the need to import oil from the Middle East and Southeast Asia, the South China sea is its maritime “lifeblood” as all of Japan’s oil transportation has to go through this sea route. Moreover, in order to maintain and expand their influence in the Southeast Asia, Japan and Australia hype up the “China threat theory” especially on the South China Sea issue, and try to provokes confrontations between ASEAN countries and China.

In the background of the “Indo-Pacific Strategy”, the US continues to carry out military ventures under the framework of the “Asia-Pacific Rebalancing Strategy”, such as strengthening frontline forces and adjusting military deployment, so as to ensure the exchanges and integration between the US and its allies as well as partners, and to enhance security cooperation. Australia and Japan, as the two important allies of the US, have participated in the naval exercise with the US since 2007. At first, the three

countries conducted joint military exercises only in the western waters of Kyushu and the coastal waters of Okinawa. However, in 2011, they held the first military drill near the South China Sea, and did it again in 2016. In 2019, they had another manoeuvre around the South China Sea. Although the US, Japan and Australia all claimed that the exercises were not aimed at China, obviously they had hidden agenda which contradicted their rhetoric.

Since 2017, on the grounds of maintaining the so-called “freedom of navigation”, US warships have frequently sailed through the South China Sea, even into 12 nautical miles of the Chinese islands and sea features, seriously threatening China’s national sovereignty and security. As allies of the US, sometimes Australia and Japan also join the navigation. What’s more, they even accuse China of militarising the South China Sea when China builds defence facilities on its own islands and reefs. In addition, the US frequently provokes China on the Taiwan issue. For example, on 9 June 2020, a US Navy transport jet was sighted flying directly over Taiwan in the morning and was last spotted flying towards the South China Sea. It is worth noting that this jet took off from Okinawa Prefecture, Japan.

Although the US is still the largest power in the world, the US’s deployment and operations in the Middle East in the past 20 years have, to a certain extent, greatly consumed the strength of its military, and its combat readiness is not sufficient enough to support the potential conflicts with other major powers. A substantial reduction in military expenditure during recent years can also reflect the decline in the strength of this superpower (Xiao, 2020). In terms of security, Trump always stresses his “America first” doctrine, which has forced Australia and Japan to be in deep anxiety of whether the decline in US military presence and military strength will have a negative impact on their own security. Therefore, no matter under the former “Asia-Pacific Rebalancing Strategy” or the current “Indo-Pacific Strategy”, Australia and Japan try to actively deepen their bilateral security and defence cooperation based on the framework of Quadrilateral Security Dialogue and Trilateral Strategic Dialogue. The *Joint Declaration on Security Cooperation* signed in 2007 established the guiding principles and basic framework for Australia-Japan security and defence cooperation. After that, Australia and Japan reached a number of other bilateral security and defence agreements, such as *Strategy for Cooperation in the Pacific*, to strengthen their collaboration on personnel exchanges, intelligence sharing, reciprocal provision of supplies and services in the field of logistics support, aid of weapons and maintenance of sea order. In addition, the leaders of Japan and Australia have interacted frequently and designed top-level security cooperation with a conducive external environment. For example, the then Japanese Prime Minister Abe visited Australia in 2017 and emphasized that Japan and Australia should further deepen defence cooperation in areas such as joint training and exercises. In 2018, the former Australian Prime Minister Turnbull visited Japan and inspected a Japanese Self-Defence Force (SDF) base near Tokyo with Abe, and further promoted the signing of the *Visiting Forces Agreement* (VFA). Under the “2+2” mechanism, Japan and Australia can coordinate their security policies together, plan their way of cooperation, keep dealing with regional security affairs in the “Indo-Pacific”, and finally realize the framework of regional multilateral security cooperation.

The US is also happy to see the bilateral cooperation between Australia and Japan in security and defence. With Australia and Japan as its northern and southern axes, their

closer cooperation can help US maintain its current position in East Asia and exert more pressure on China.

Under the “Indo-Pacific Strategy”, Australia and Japan continue to deepen maritime security cooperation in the “Indo-Pacific”, which not only accords with the US’ interests but is also based on their own security interests. All the actions or declarations of the Quad involving the US, Japan, Australia and India, the trilateral alliance involving the US, Japan and Australia, and bilateral strategic and cooperative partners of Australia and Japan touch on issues such as maritime order and freedom of navigation, which form a semi-encircled structure girdling China, which has a great impact on China’s neighbouring maritime safety, and undoubtedly hinder the development of China’s “Maritime Silk Road”.

CONCLUSIONS

Out of the mutual suspicion and cautiousness towards China, Australia and Japan, which were once hostile to each other in WWII, become allies under US “Indo-Pacific Strategy”. First, Japan is Australia’s second largest trading partner and third largest source of investment. The bilateral economic and trade connection between them is very profound. Second, Australia and Japan, as allies of the US, share the same political systems and values, and thus the bilateral political and diplomatic connection is intimate. With the birth of the *Joint Declaration on Security Cooperation* and the signing of many bilateral agreements related to security and defence, their bilateral security and defence cooperation is solid. The goal of strengthening Australia-Japan relationship and their deepening cooperation is obviously to contain China’s peaceful development. As Australia and Japan are two “axes” in the “Indo-Pacific”, the development of contemporary Australia-Japan relationship under the “Indo-Pacific Strategy” is more of a “tool” of the US to contain and combat China than serving the national interest of both countries.

However, despite the consistent goal of the “Indo-Pacific Strategy”, there are still flaws and limitations in the development of relations between Australia and Japan. First, the historical issues of the two countries can be the inducement to instability. Although the two countries are currently in good relations, the estrangement brought about by the Pacific War still exists. For example, when the *Joint Declaration on Security Cooperation* was first published, it raised doubts in the Australia society. Therefore, whether the two countries can really put aside historical issues and achieve true strategic mutual trust is still uncertain. Second, their strategic assessment of China is also different. There is no direct security conflict or territorial dispute between Australia and China. Instead, Australia gains huge benefits in its economic relations with China. Therefore, Australia’s China policy is largely based on its Western political attributes and values. Even as Australia has some suspicions about China, in general, China is still an important opportunity for its development. Meanwhile, between China and Japan there are historical grievances and complicated nationalist sentiments. The two countries geographic proximity makes Japan regard China’s development as a potential threat. China has effectively replaced Japan’s position as the most powerful country in Asia, creating competitive pressure on Japan. As a result, Tokyo attaches great importance to the “Indo-Pacific Strategy”, which can isolate China politically, contain the Belt and Road Initiative and expand Japan’s economic influence in the “Indo-Pacific”. More importantly, it can consume China’s diplomatic and military resources so that Japan can gain an advantage in the East China Sea over China.

However, after Australia and Japan have joined the “Indo-Pacific Strategy” led by the US, and connected their own development with this anti-China chariot, they need to think carefully whether the “Indo-Pacific Strategy” produces benefits without any harm.

For Japan, in recent years, with the support and “permissiveness” from the US, it has taken substantial steps to amend the *Constitution of Japan* to formalize the legal status of the Self-Defence Forces. However, in order to achieve this goal thoroughly, is it necessary for Japan to join the “Indo-Pacific Strategy” and confront China? Politically, China is a permanent member of the United Nations’ Security Council, which has influence over Japan on its intent to participate in international affairs and elevate its international status. Economically, China is the second largest economy in the world, and is currently Japan’s second-largest export trade destination and largest import trade partner. According to statistics from the Japanese Customs, from January to September in 2019, the bilateral import and export volume of goods between Japan and China was of US\$223.31 billion, with an increase of 0.7%. Japan’s exports to China were of US\$97.47 billion, down 8.2%, and Japan’s imports from China were of US\$125.85 billion, down 0.1%. What is more, Japan’s trade deficit with China is US\$28.38 billion. It is obvious that the economic and trade links between China and Japan are close, and there are strong economic interdependence and complementarity. However, due to factors such as China-US trade frictions, the “Indo-Pacific Strategy” and COVID-19, not only the relationship between China and Japan but also the bilateral economy suffer from negative growth again. Therefore, if Japan forcibly helps the US promote the “Indo-Pacific Strategy”, it may cause negative political and economic effects to itself.

Australia as a middle power always intends to shape itself into a regional power in the world, and enhance its voice in global governance. Therefore, as an ally of the US under the “Indo-Pacific Strategy”, Australia often acts as the “vanguard” of the US, to assist the US in deterring and suppressing China in international affairs. Recently, as frictions between China and the US have upgraded, the relationship between China and Australia has dropped to the lowest point. In terms of diplomacy, Australia has been actively pro-US while anti-China. During the pandemic, Australia has followed the Trump administration closely to shift the blame on China. Economically, Australia advocates decoupling with China which would obviously damage trade relationship between the two countries. Therefore, Australia needs to weigh up whether it could afford the consequences if China-Australia relations continues to deteriorate. Australia’s tourism, education, resources, agricultural and livestock products, and many other industries are proactively related to constructive relations with China. If the decline in the political relationship between the two countries leads to deterioration in the business environment, Australia’s economy is bound to be negatively affected. In addition, Australia is a multicultural country with 1.2 million Chinese immigrants. The deterioration of China-Australia relations will inevitably lead to social disharmony.

To sum up, the “Indo-Pacific Strategy” undoubtedly contributes to the development of Australia-Japan relations, and the cooperation between Australia and Japan also promotes the implementation of the US “Indo-Pacific Strategy” in return. But in assessing the merits and risks of the “Indo-Pacific Strategy”, Australia and Japan need to be clear-minded, take a long-term view, and evaluate the impact on their national interest if they adopt policies of hostility towards China.

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“Fluid history, cyclic memories”

—River Writing and Ecocriticism in Richard Flanagan’s *Death of a River Guide*

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Abstract

Narrating human history in terms of river is a long-held tradition. In his literary debut *Death of a River Guide*, Richard Flanagan revisits the personal and familial history of a Tasmanian river guide through the magical “visions” the guide had as he lay drowning in the Franklin River. Bringing detailed analyses of river writing in the novel, I contend that the fluid and recurring qualities of rivers are metaphorically resembling the diachronic feature of human language, which makes the river writing a fitting rhetorical device for those stories that span across time, space, history and generation. Besides, the religious and ritual importance of a river endows it with healing powers for human beings, both physical and mental. As the author is also an environmental activist himself, I also attempt to explore how Flanagan, purposefully and masterfully, utilises literature to express his ecological views. Now mankind has entered a time of increased environmental and social crisis, and reconsiderations of binary issues extended from the novel, such as man and nature, city and wilderness, globalisation and aboriginality, could gain some value and merits.

Keywords: *Richard Flanagan; Death of a River Guide; River Writing; Ecocriticism*

“Stories, stories, stories. A world and a land and even a river full of the damn slippery things.”

—*Death of a River Guide* (Flanagan, 2016, p.94)

INTRODUCTION

The earliest civilisations formed on the banks of rivers. When settlers came, they built their colonies along rivers. For centuries rivers were sites of human interaction with nature, inviting idyllic songs, poems, and stories to be written and passed on. Modern and contemporary river in literature, apart from its geographic or scenic function in the narrative, often carries with it a certain degree of historical, cultural, religious and ecological implication. The Thames and River Congo, as reminded by *Heart of Darkness*, symbolised the slave trade, plunder and brutal colonialism. The Nile was Agatha Christie’s ideal choice of criminal scene where she formed a critique of human nature. The winding Mississippi River, a constant inspiration for Mark Twain and

William Faulkner, bore witness to the history and national consciousness of modern America. In Amitav Ghosh's *The Hungry Tide*, the consciousness of environmental preservation and species equality was heightened with riverine and tidal narrative.

Death of a River Guide, Richard Flanagan's literary debut, is another such riverine novel that retraces personal and ancestral memory across two centuries. Born in Tasmania, the esteemed writer Richard Flanagan spent the first 23 years on the island, then in 1984 he was granted a Rhodes Scholarship and attended Worcester College, Oxford, where he studied history in depth and earned a Master's Degree. Over two decades, Flanagan has published seven novels on distinctive genres or themes, among which his sixth novel *The Narrow Road to the Deep North* earned him the Booker Prize. Flanagan was hence better known to a global readership, and widely considered "the finest Australian novelist of his generation" (McKenna, 2020, para.1). Yet in Australia, Richard received attention not as a writer, but as an environmental activist and public intellectual. A strong advocate for the Australian Greens, Flanagan has written extensively on environmental and ecologically issues, also lobbying for child care, aboriginal and gay rights. In response to the 2019-20 bushfires and the coronavirus crisis this year, Flanagan has stood guard at *The Guardian* and *The New York Times* with his articles "Tasmania is burning", "Australia Is Committing Climate Suicide", and "Did the Coronavirus Kill Ideology in Australia?", in an attempt to criticise the failing government and raise public awareness about nature at this critical time. Flanagan believes that "honesty, truth, inclusion and respect" are the things people need to "ease the fear and growing despair gripping this country" (Flanagan, 2020).

Flanagan's literary practice, of course, does not detach from his social advocacy. Always cautious of the human-nature interactions, his ecological thoughts and arguments can be traced in many of his writings, especially in *Death of a River Guide* – a novel **of** the nature (stories are set in wilderness, and nature prevails over man), **by** the nature (Flanagan's own experience as river guide and kayaker in the nature enables him to write the novel), and **for** the nature (environmental awareness is to be raised). Defined by the American ecocritic Cheryll Glotfelty, ecocriticism refers to "a study of the relationship between literature and the physical environment" (Glotfelty and Fromm, 1996, p.xviii), pointing out that "human culture is connected to the physical world, affecting it and affected by it" (Glotfelty and Fromm, 1996, p.xix). She argues for an "earth-centred" approach to literary studies. In this sense, *Death of a River Guide* is an ecologically self-critical novel.

The stories are predominantly set in the flooded Franklin river in Tasmania, unfolding two layers of narrative: on the surface, Aljaz Cosini, the river guide and first-person narrator of *Death of a River Guide*, leads a group of city-based tourists on a 12-day rafting trip down the Franklin river, when his raft capsizes and he lies drowning. The other layer of a narrative was told in flashbacks, or "visions" experienced by Aljaz during the final moments of his life, where vivid details of his own life and that of his ancestors were relived. Upon publication, *Death of a River Guide* received considerable attention and was widely acclaimed by scholars and general readership. Positive reviews include "one of the most auspicious debuts in Australian writing" (Smith, 1997), "Uplifting and immensely rewarding" (*Australian Book Review*, n.d.), and "Superb ... a richly layered narrative ... a work of considerable originality. Flanagan's two novels rank with the finest fiction out of Australia since the heyday of Patrick White" (*Kirkus Reviews*, 2001). Australian novelist Thomas Keneally also praises the book as it "combines a rich voice, highly original, with great invention and engrossing

narrative pace. A fine work of fiction. I thought it very, very good indeed” (Keneally, n.d.). Reviews are also made regarding the novel’s fluvial qualities. Some emphasizes the overwhelming strengths the words convey: “It’s a torrent of a book - take the plunge” (*The Independent*, 2016), where “torrent” and “plunge” are in the same semantic field with the river. Others metaphorically compare its language to the flowing water: “The flow of language brilliantly stimulates Tasmania’s mighty Franklin River ... A powerful and exciting odyssey that can fairly claim to be an epic” (*The Weekend Australian*, n.d.), and “Like the river which runs through it, *Death of a River Guide* is possessed of both a fierce, seething energy and a limpid, unexpected tranquillity” (Wallace, 1997). This essay will explore how Flanagan, purposefully and masterfully, utilises river to register the history and memories of a drowning river guide, to critique the devastating influence of global capitalism and urbanisation on man and nature, and to call for a heightened awareness of environmental protection.

AESTHETICS OF FLUVIAL NARRATIVE

2.1 The Circle and the Line: The Structure

River, as a crucial element throughout the novel, is foregrounded and sometimes personified instead of serving as a silent background. In *Death of a River Guide*, formal and structural correlation with the circular water is evident. As the first draft of *Death of the River Guide* shows, the book was originally designed to be named “*The Circle*”. The “circle and line” has since become a recurring pattern in many of Flanagan’s later works, notably in his Booker-prize winning novel *The Narrow Road to the Deep North*, where the “road”, or the “Death Railway” denotes the straight line and the circle was represented by a Japanese poet’s final drawing at his deathbed. There, Flanagan writes: “Shisui’s poem rolled through Dorrigo Evans’ subconscious, a contained void, an endless mystery, lengthless breadth, the great wheel, eternal return: the circle—antithesis of the line” (Flanagan, 2013, p.27). His obsession with circle was earlier reaffirmed in an interview about *Death of a River Guide*, in which he says: “My original title was *Circle* and I was interested in the idea of eternal return. The Aborigines have always been preoccupied with circles. And there are circles within circles. I always wanted the novel to be structured in a circular way” (Flanagan, 1994, p.8). Thus, we see a clear intention that Flanagan determined to sketch his narrative structure as such, where history, memory, and consciousness are constructed in circles, just as ripples on the river. Throwing the stone into water, the first ripple starts with Aljaz Cosini as he got caught by the rocks and lay drowning. It was at this moment that he was granted a magical “vision”, a vision that allowed him to see through time and space, first vision being his own birth, then this ripple of vision spreading to the lives of his ancestors: his great-grandfather Ned Quade, a convict who died in the wilderness, his abandoned wife Eliza; his dad Harry and his Slovenian mother Sonja; his half-Aboriginal great-grandmother Ellie, and her mother Black Pearl, who was raped by a sealer in 1828. Finally the vision bounced back to the dying Aljaz himself, when he envisioned his reunion with all family members in paradise. Through twelve chapters, Aljaz’s vision travelled back and forth in time and it came back to the starting point, thus completing the circle. The narrative was accordingly following him across time and space, stretching out dozens of sub-narratives, like tributaries of a river, and finally they converged.

From what Flanagan revealed in the interview, his insistence on circularity reflects a Tasmanian’s resistance to Eurocentric traditions. Flanagan believes that the traditional

European-based narrative – exemplified by epics, Scriptures and travel notes – works in a linear direction and therefore “very much a straight line” (Flanagan, n.d., as cited in Dixon, 2018, p.4). By contrast, Flanagan grew up in Tasmania where oral culture prevails, and people tell stories and pass them on to the next generation in a more circular fashion. Chronological reference does not stand here; the references for lives, feelings, events, and images are just stories that could have happened in any time and space. This explains the jumping narrative in *Death of a River Guide*. Ecologically, the line as a symbol of speed and efficiency brought by urbanisation and accelerated pace of life, is what Flanagan and his Tasmanian folks detest:

My mother’s family were north-west coast farming people and my mother gave all her children a great abiding love for her land and its people. But it was a special and peculiar love, a love that was about being part of the earth rather than an observer of it. My mother and father couldn’t pass a tree, a hillside, a patch of bush without filling that piece of country with a story – about ancestors, friends, or acquaintances and what they had done or had done to them here or there. Highways were their enemy, proposing as they did the vainglorious and foolish notion that the purpose of travel was to get from one point to the next as quickly as possible. My parents often seemed incapable of taking a straight line anywhere and instead we seemed to circle endlessly in our journeys, slowly going up this country road and down that lane, and all of them, unlike the highways, full of stories... (Flanagan, 1997, as cited in Dixon, 2018, p.5)

The key point is that Flanagan holds that humans and nature are fundamentally inseparable and the same. Rivers, bush and hills do not only decorate their lives, they ARE their lives. The nature is the carrier of time, space, emotion and most of all, stories of people that live or had lived in it. Compared with traveling along a straight line, Flanagan tends to slowly wander around, going up and down without a purpose, just to feel that he is part of the nature.

In summary, the circular pattern between text and imaginary world in *Death of a River Guide* is explicit and prevalent. Understanding the circularity of the narrative structure helps to sympathise with Aljaz Cosini, the drowning river guide, whose visions are bound with cyclic flashbacks of himself and ancestors living amidst nature.

2.2 Fluvial Metaphors: The Lexicon

River writing is circular in essence. In the novel, circular pattern and fluvial metaphors abound. Choices of words are associated with water and riverine metaphors, and ideas are expressed in the semantic field with water. Aljaz’s unusual birth was elaborated at the very beginning. He was born in his mother’s caul and half strangled by the umbilical cord – a near-death experience at birth. Aljaz’s affinity with water was inborn, physical and mental: physical in the sense that he knew how to “swim within a milky blue sac of amniotic fluid” (Flanagan, 2016, p.1) as a newborn; mental affinity means that he observed the world and expressed himself in terms of water metaphor, as Lakoff and Johnson (1980) propose in *Metaphors We Live By*: “metaphors are pervasive in our everyday life, not only in the language but also in our thoughts and actions” (p.40). Aljaz relives the details of his birth as such “the power of each movement more powerful than the previous, like a tidal wave gathering size as it skips over new reef” (Flanagan, 2016, p.2), and “...allowing myself to be battered up against the narrow walls of the birth canal”(Flanagan, 2016, p.2) where “tidal wave” and “canal” belong to

the same semantic field with water, and “reef” is also semantically related with sea. Feelings and life experiences are also metaphorically described in terms of water: “with these extraordinary eyes, into which you felt if you dived you might never again surface”(Flanagan, 2016, p.8), “my mind ...is drifting in strange jerky motions like the air bubbles I can see above me, darting first this way, then, as if seized by some powerful magnetic current, tumbling the opposite way”(Flanagan, 2016, pp.8-9), and “beyond these moments our life seems as if it is one great voyage away from the truths we all encompass ”(Flanagan, 2016, p.9). In these instances, thoughts and actions are metaphorically understood in association with water. The prevalence of fluvial metaphors in *Death of the River Guide* demonstrates that river writing is not only the subject matter, but also a kind of rhetorical device.

RIVER AS HISTORY, RIVER AS MEMORIES

Throughout history, all rivers with human encounter are loaded with stories. In the *Death of a River Guide*, two kinds of history unfold: the Macro-history about the colonial post of Australia and Tasmania, and the Micro-history about Aljaz Cosini, his convict and Aboriginal ancestors, his half-Chinese lover, and the Franklin river. As discussed in previous chapters, Flanagan is concerned with circularity and Tasmania’s oral tradition. Thus his writing about history is never linear, but skipping from image to image, from one story to another. In such a narrative, the boundary of fact and fiction blurs, and past and present flow and circle back and around, just like river water.

In his drowning visions, Aljaz sees the history of Franklin River: “in the detail of a piece of rushing water Aljaz reads the changing visage of the entire river, hears the terrible soul history of his country, and he is frightened” (Flanagan, 2016, p.152), showing that river history is the carrier and conduit of human history. Then genealogy of Aljaz’s family was retraced in circular fashion. In remembrance of his ancestors, the true quest for Aljaz is to search for himself. His identity remains vague during his lifetime, and the lack of knowledge for his origin is what constantly saddens him. It is only at the end of his life, granted by this drowning “vision”, that Aljaz finally completed his quest to escape his past and find his true identity, therefore achieving a sense of “transcendental awareness”. In Benjamin’s term, this is a moment of “Messianic time”, and:

He rightly stresses that such an idea of simultaneity is wholly alien to our own. It views time as something close to what Benjamin calls Messianic time, a simultaneity of past and future in an instantaneous present (Anderson, 2006, p.24).

Understanding the simultaneity of present, past and future is Aljaz’s greatest epiphany. In this sense, the river is a symbol of simultaneity as well as continuity, where diachronic events occurred before, are occurring now, and will continue to recur in the future, so is history.

Submerging into the water, Aljaz sees from the river-induced visions that he was the descendent of British convict, Australian Aboriginal and Slovenian immigrant, that his entire life was in cultural hybridity. In *The Location of Culture*, Homi Bhabha writes on “hybridity” as:

For a willingness to descend into that alien territory – where I have led you – may reveal that the theoretical recognition of the split-space of enunciation may open the way to conceptualizing an international culture, based not on the

exoticism of multiculturalism or the diversity of cultures, but on the inscription and articulation of culture's hybridity. To that end we should remember that it is the 'inter' – the cutting edge of translation and negotiation, the *inbetween* space – that carries the burden of the meaning of culture. It makes it possible to begin envisaging national, anti-nationalist histories of the 'people'. And by exploring this *Third Space*, we may elude the politics of polarity and emerge as the others of our selves. (Bhabha, 1994, p.56)

For Aljaz, living in the *inbetween* space of white settlers and Aboriginal "blackfellas" is a struggle. In this "Third Space", Aljaz carries with him the weight and burden of the repressed, convict-haunted past of his forebears, as well as ambivalence about the new world which he cannot fit in. This novel displays such attempts, often failing efforts, of people on the edge of different cultures, to position themselves in the post-colonial and now multicultural Australian society.

"SYDNEY OR THE BUSH?": RETURNING TO THE WILDERNESS

As an idiom often heard in Australia, "Sydney or the Bush" means "all or nothing", or you will either strive to achieve your aspirations or don't bother and give up. In *Death of a River Guide*, in an attempt to save another tourist, Aljaz's raft capsized and he fell into water, confronted with the critical question: "Sydney or the bush. Life or death. There are no other choices" (Flanagan, 2016, p.8). Sydney, the largest city in Australia, is a symbol of "city culture", which includes industrialisation, urbanisation, material prosperity and social division – quite the opposite to the "bush culture" in the wilderness of Tasmania. What connects the two is "Eco-tourism", a kind of tourism that allows tourists, often city-dwellers, to go to exotic, often threatened, natural environments, in order to support conservation and observe wildlife. In *Death of a River Guide*, Aljaz and tourists both return from big cities to the wilderness, for obviously different reasons. Aljaz himself has always lived a sad life. After his baby daughter Jemma died, Aljaz was silently and gradually collapsed inside, and his relationship with his lover, Couta Ho, came to an end. All Aljaz wanted to do was flee "as far away as he could go" (Flanagan, 2016, p.112), and drifted off around Tasmania and then to the east coast of the mainland, "working here and there at whatever was going, driving harvesting machines on farms, serving in bottle shops, labouring on building sites. For ten years he did not return to Tasmania" (Flanagan, 2016, p.113). In big cities, Aljaz felt that:

It had become easier not belonging; he had learnt to cope with that, had made a life out of it, drifting, made a virtue of having no roots by never allowing himself to hang around one spot too long. He felt himself a nobody, an invisible nothing, told himself that was the beginning and end of it. (Flanagan, 2016, p.141)

This rootlessness and restlessness constantly defined Aljaz. Ten years later, Aljaz returned to the island, to the turbulent Franklin river where he grew up, seeing the river as a place for retrospection, reunion and healing.

The city-based tourists, on the other hand, came to the wilderness for a different reason. As accountant or nurse or merchant banker or public servant in a city, the orderliness, dullness and pretentiousness of urban life exhausted many of them, hence they turned to the wilderness for excitement or solace. Also, on holidays, their detached position from routine creates a "fake persona" to evade or forget their normal self in the everyday life:

And you don't ask any of them what they did last week. Because that's talking about work and they hate that", "...in his heart of hearts he only wants to pretend to you and everyone else that he is something other than the boring bastard he is. In his holidays he can pretend to be something he's not. (Flanagan, 2016, p.127)

In such eco-tours, clients are paying to consume the Tasmanian wild and all the marvel that wilderness provides. They would simply like to enjoy the wild as they imagine it to be: "they took photographs of streams that looked like wilderness calendars, and rocks they fancied looked like a human face or a man-made form - a boat, a machine, a house", but are reluctant to embrace the true face of wilderness: unpredictable, sometimes destructive. At the beginning of the 12-day rafting trip, everyone "takes on something of a carnival atmosphere" (Flanagan, 2016, p.24). But as the weather turned bad, tourists' fantasy about idyllic paradise were beginning to collapse, from "enchantment" to "disenchantment", when they felt "a growing unease with this weird alien environment that seems so alike yet so dissimilar to the wilderness calendars that adorn their lounge-rooms and offices" (Flanagan, 2016, p.20). The river disrupts every conception of their orderly urban life and urges them to confront the unknown, or the fear within. For the local guide Aljaz, this place that "causing them to sometimes give an anxious look over their shoulder", is home. A strong connection is established between him and the river: he knew every gorge, churn, and tributary by heart, greeted them along the journey and bid them goodbye. Juxtaposing the calmness of river guide with the fear of tourists, Flanagan presents opposite attitudes towards the same place.

Ecotourism is greeted with irony and mild condemnation. This was demonstrated by portraying the city-based clients as clumsy and ignorant, by accusing the travel industry that makes where a kayaker drowned a spot of travel highlight: "in the afternoon of the second day they stopped for a break at the side of a rapid the year before. Like other sites on the river where people had drowned it had become something of a highlight for tourists" (Flanagan, 2016, p.36) – such indifference and disrespect of human life, and by concluding the rafting trip with tragedy: a tourist died from negligence, the river guide died of shame and guilt for allowing the accident to happen.

Just as the Walden Pond a transcendental retreat for Henry David Thoreau, the Franklin River is the site of retrospection and healing for Flanagan. His early years of extensive working and kayaking on the river, once nearly drowned, endowed him with firsthand resources to write this novel. By extending a biocentric view that man and nature should coexist in harmony, Flanagan proposes a solution to the crisis of modernity – returning to the wilderness for relief and spiritual redemption. The message is quite clear: "maybe it was time to walk off the road and head back into the bush whence we came" (Flanagan, 2016, p.225).

RIVER AND ECOCRITICISM

As historian, writer and activist, Flanagan writes on fiction and non-fiction on environmental issues. In his works of non-fiction, including essay and speech collections, his urge for a heightened environmental awareness and conservative actions is loud and clear. In his fiction or literary explorations, however, such efforts are not loudly announced but masterfully interwoven with narrative plots. A sharp contrast of the past and present was drawn, to accuse the exploitation since colonial times and its destructive effects on the ecology of Tasmania as a whole:

He could not help but remember how he had explored other rivers of the west,

then watched them drown without helping them. He watched the Murchison River drown and he watched the Mackintosh River drown and he watched the Pieman River drown. He drove all the long way from Hobart all by himself to watch the rivers begin to disappear on the first day the new hydro dams began to fill. Watched them begin to fill and their great gorges disappear and die and he cried and he drove all the long way back to Hobart and he did nothing. His was a memory of defeat only, and the most he felt capable of was bearing witness.... I will remember, he thought.... But to what end? (Flanagan, 2016, p.252)

...my mind fills with a vision of when the English first arrived and the land was fat and full of trees and game. Had the loss begun at this time? When the English first saw plains so thickly speckled with emu and wallaby dung that it looked as if the heavens must have hailed sleek black turds upon this land, when they first saw the sea and the vast blue Derwent River rainbowed with the vapoury spouts of pods of whales and schools of dolphins swimming beneath. From that time on, each succeeding generation found something new they could quarry to survive. First the emu disappeared, then the tigers, then the many different fishes and seals and whales and their rainbows became rare, then the rivers were stilled under dams, then the trees, and then the scallops and the abalone and the crayfish became few and were in consequence no longer the food of the poor but the waste of the rich. (Flanagan, 2016, p.258)

Pollution, overexploitation, species extinction, loss of biodiversity, and the widening gap between the rich and poor, are a chain of adverse effects on the ecology. On top of that, the failing ecology is damaging the mentality of local dwellers, invoking a sense of defeat and torturing them with the guilt of incapability to save the worsening situation. All they can do is “bearing witness”. The above excerpts are among the few critical and political-oriented instances in the book.

CONCLUSION

Multiple plots, themes and arguments are interwoven into the river writing in Flanagan’s literary debut, *Death of a River Guide*. In this essay, I have illustrated how Flanagan employs river writing as a crucial device to state his views on history and memories, on urbanite and the wild, and his reflections of humanity. Now we are entering a time when environmental issues become problematised, also the anthropocentric position is increasingly challenged by a biocentric point of view. As Flanagan suggests, returning to the river and wilderness – a site of healing, retrospection and redemption – could gain some value and merits.

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Searching for Identity from the Others in The Childhood of Jesus

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Abstract

The Childhood of Jesus (2013) is the fourth published novel after J. M. Coetzee immigrated to Australia. By engaging with concise, plain and subdued language, relatively ordinary narrative plots, this novel represents the writing styles of Coetzee's twilight years. The heroes of this story, Simon and David arrive in a Spanish-speaking country with a determination to find David's mother; they are not familiar with their surroundings, neither language or customs. In this new journey, both of them are urged to find their own identities from the others. According to Lacanian theory, the operation of the realization of the subject depends on the other because every stage of the formation of the subject originates from others' discourse. Lacan divides the construction of subject defined by others into different phases. The subject in the mirror stage, at first is the complete and unified self, so the infant misperceives himself as being able to satisfy his own desires. Then by the effect of the other in the symbolic stage, namely, the subsequent intervention from father, the subject must learn to speak a language to master the method of communicating with others. According to this process of self-cognition, the subject expresses himself always in the context of others' discourse and desires other's desire. This paper attempts to explain the difficulty in the heroes' search for identity from the perspective of Lacan's concept of the constitution of the subject in the field of the other.

Keywords: *The Childhood of Jesus; Subject; Other; Identity*

INTRODUCTION

As a prestigious novelist who wins the Nobel Prize of literature and a twice winner of the Booker Prize, John Maxwell Coetzee (1940—) seems to have arrived at what saints call a highly virtuous state when he starts to write this book at the age of seventy. In the novel, Simon and David are new to this living environment after crossing the sea. They wear the borrowed cloth without any food to fill the stomach. They may also be the ones who have experienced separation and death in the past and come here as refugees. Simon, the old man, vows to take care of the boy, David, until the last. In this unacquainted and seemingly ideal city, Novilla, they are put into a fresh journey of life to find their own identities aiming to get rid of refugee status. Firstly, they are assigned to a new name, a new birthday. Then, Simon approaches docks for a job with diligence and spends two days to settle down. A regular tour accidentally renders David encounter his real mother as a result of a kind of familial relationship being established. Thus, in this new temporarily dwelling, Simon and David meet several people---Ana, Elena, Ines, Fidel, Alvaro. Under the influence of these people, Simon becomes both a stevedore on the docks and a financial earner, as well as a nominal father to the family

he establishes with David and Ines. David's identity is also superimposed in varying degrees. He is the son of Simon in Ana's eyes, he is a treasure for Ines and he is a good friend of Fidel, El Ray and Alvaro. However, it is precisely because of the interlaced appearance of these others that Simon and David have doubts and uncertainties about these identities. David is forced to go to a special school because of his misfit at school for refusing to play the normal role of being a student. This family chooses to leave Novilla. Previous reconstructions of Simon and David's identities remains only as the members of a restructured family and refugees escaping in a car at last.

As mentioned above, the protagonists confront with diverse people in different places to promote the formation of a variety of identities. In the novel, David and Simon, both as two subjects and others, have never had a stable and accepted identity in Novilla. Lacan (Jacques Marie Emile Lacan, 1901—1981) , a French structuralist psychoanalyst, whose work has an extraordinary influence upon many aspects of recent literary theory, makes prominent contributions to psychoanalysis and philosophy. From Lacan's point of view, the other is the locus in which is situated the chain of the signifier that governs whatever may be made present of the subject---it is the field of that living being in which the subject has to appear. It is because of the other that subject perceives his own existence and learn his identity through what others say.

Lacan's ideas are merely abstract and need to be understood by our grasping core concepts. On the one hand, Lacan analyses unconscious through the gap between the signifier references preferring to linguistics, believes that unconscious has the structure as the language. The signifier is placed in a crucial position, which can influence the signified and becomes another level of signifier to form various signifier chains. On the other hand, based on the fundamental concept of unconscious, Lacan deduces a topology intended to account for the constitution of the subject. In fact, the basic condition for the existence of a language is to have an interlocutor; when the subject speaks, he seeks a response from others. " In language our message comes to us from the Other" (Lacan, 1977, p4). Lacan believes that it is impossible to gain any sense of selfhood and identity without the relationship with other people:

before the sense of self emerges the young child exists in a realm which Lacan calls the Imaginary, in which there is no distinction between self and other and there is a kind of idealized identification with the mother. (Barry, 2009, p73)

The human being has always to learn from scratch from the other what he has to do. Children firstly yearn for contacting with their mother. Then between six and eighteen months comes what Lacan calls the mirror stage, infants begin to see themselves as a unified being, separate from the real world, notice that mother's desire points to their father. They begin to identify with their father and enter into the symbolic stage. From the stage of imaginary to the symbolic, what Lacan believes is that Oedipus complex which happens in infancy, is the trigger for the children to know themselves, the world, even others, to assist them to be clear of their standards in family. Then the subject appeals to something by language in the real, but the other may just give what he needs, which brings a minus or a lack to turn to desires in theses dialogues. The subject and the other have a reciprocal relationship:

as circular between the subject and the other---from the subject called to the other, to the subject of that which he has himself seen appear in the field of the other, from the other coming back. (Lacan, 1998, p207)

To sum up, the subject is the product of others and lives in others' construction. In the mirror stage, the subject begins to perceive the independent existence of the self as distinct from the external world; and then in the symbolic stage, the language reconstructs the universal function of the subject, shaped by the discourse of the other; the subject actually realizes himself in the real stage but this is never achieved because of the others' effect. As Lacan declares, all statements of identity in the symbolic sense of the subject indicate that "I is an other." (Ibid. p96) In the novel David and Simon lack identity and recognition of others. Therefore, in this journey, they make friends, establish families, seek jobs and find opportunities to have close contact with women, all of which are to change themselves under the influence of others in the past and become others in the new world. But do they succeed? The answer is no. They cling to the past and are not satisfied with the present, so their searching for identity must be influenced by others and must never stop their search for identity. At the end of the story they are going to leave again and continue to be the others in another world.

THE TRAUMA IMPRINTED ON THE SUBJECT BY THE OTHER IN THE PAST: THE IDENTITY OF REFUGEES

The subject is constructed by the other. In accordance with the law of speech, it is in him qua other that the subject finds his own identity in order to maintain his own being there. In the beginning of the novel, the subjects are presented as refugees carrying with the manifestations and characteristics of their identity made up of the others in the past. We hardly imagine what David and Simon experience on their journey across the ocean. But we can see the trauma in the conversation between these two people, or in some kind of identification, such as the letter that has once hung around David's neck. The trauma of the past has not been erased easily because both of them are the others for each other in the old days. The subject will always be affected by the others' discourse. Here is a dialogue between David and Simon about a nightmare of David implying some negative effects from the past:

"Have the bad dreams gone away?" "I dreamed about the boat."
"which boat?" "The big boat. Where we saw the man with the hat.
The pirate." "The pilot, not the pirate. What did you dream?" "It
sank...The fishes came." (Coetzee, 2014, p172, Subsequent
references only display pages about this novel.)

David, at about the age of five or six, has clearly entered what Lacan calls the symbolic stage. He has acquired some language skills, the ability to distinguish the outside world and communicate with others. Based on this conversation, these images told by him reflect a shipwreck when they were on the ocean---the waves overturned the boat and the pilot crushed the people like a bandit. The sinking ship symbolizes that the dead are being eaten by the coming fish. In fact, the impact from the others in the past is more than a shipwreck for him. The nightmare of this experience sticks in his mind, emphasizing his refugee status. In addition, he never eats fish, he is afraid of death when Alvaro is injured by Daga, he keeps asking Simon if he would die and he even tries to save the dead horse, El Ray. All these others-influenced past makes David sympathetic to everything, even as a refugee.

An indication of David's refugee identity is the letter. The letter is originally prepared for David by his mother. On the way to runaway, it is inevitable to be bumped by the crowd, and the letter becomes the only thread to connect his mother with him, the only link to contact with the others in the past. Unfortunately, when he meets Simon, his

mother has already disappeared and the letter is lost. Every time mentioning the letter, it is often used by Simon as an explanation for what might be mistaken for a father-son relationship with David. The exact content of this letter is unknown, but the existence of the letter can prove the influence of others on David in the past. He thinks about the role of mothers and fathers because his real mother leaves him, which makes it difficult for him to easily accept the relationship between father and mother and renders him always deny his present mother, Ines. It also leaves him wondering if they are his real mother and father. This seems to have created a cognitive impairment for David. He hopes to disentangle himself from the role of refugee, too. From the text, the description of the letter described by Simon is :

Aha, that letter!... the letter was lost before we came ashore. It was lost during the voyage. I never saw it. It was because he had lost the letter that I took on the responsibility of helping him find his mother.
(p248)

Despite the loss of the letter, he meets Simon at last. With the appearance of Simon, this different other in the voyage changes David to some extent. After his mother leaving, Simon seems to be David's only dependence. He attempts to observe the new place, Novilla, makes friends with others and searches for the missing part between the subject and the other. In the stage of growth, David seems to prefer new identities. After all, he is still innocent compared to the senior, he will develop multiple identities, he can imagine his own future. Of course, this cannot be done without the guidance of others.

For Simon, the influence on the subject is more profound from the other in the past and his refugee status is not only reflected in the external expression but also in his internal desire. Although Simon is willing to take this responsibility voluntarily because the child is helpless, this letter becomes an excuse for Simon to shake off the shackles of this responsibility in an instant due to his past, when the boy does not show up beside him. Simon explains to the people in there with regard to the relationships with David that " he is neither my grandson nor my son. He and I are not kin. We were brought together by accident on the boat..." (p95) He, as an old man over fifty years old, is more deeply impressed by the other in the past than David. Also as a refugee, Simon wallows in memories. When he talks about human nature with Elena, he asks her and also himself. " Is it not in our nature to crave something more tangible? " (p67) The presence of the tangible object also becomes the manifestation of the other influencing the subject. However, the lack of existence is also the source of desire. Desire is basically about filling in the gap and restoring the being of existence. Even if the appeal to desire completeness is expressed as a demand for love or sex, the symbolized expression is not the original need of the subject. This need has been spoken for by others for a long time. Simon, himself, as a grown man, stays in the symbolic stage for ages and still needs to be accepted. He desires to have sex with women, however, such desire yet is not fully satisfied. He is longing for youth, health and freshness that radiate from one woman. Even if he has immigrated to Novilla, an superficial Utopian place, he does not give up allurements from the younger' s energy and urban city's life style. For example, he will ask questions such as " Is there someplace one can get a cup of tea? " (p17), which astonishes his fellows in the docks. Apparently, he loses himself in desires beyond his age which are desires for the other in the past.

Simon tries to achieve that past existence by saying that he never built a kin relationship with the boy. His desire, however, is made stronger by its inability to reach,

so that it is obviously impossible to satisfy him completely. He denies his responsibility as an adoptive father but he always surrounds this boy who becomes the reason he resists difficulties hanging on there. The past of the other changes him with lust or material desire. Whereas when he acquaints himself with David and the others, his dissatisfaction with reality turns into acceptance, and he tries to break away from the influence of the past and learn from Elena's manner of speaking to persuade Ines to give up the Gypsy life. When he first arrives Novilla, he, like David, does not intend to survive as a refugee.

SEARCHING THE LACK IDENTITY UNDER THE CONSTRUCTION OF OTHERS IN A GRAND NEW ENVIRONMENT

As we mentioned, both subjects are trying to shed their refugee status in search of a new identity recognized by others. Because the realization of the subject depends on others from the mirror image, the gap of signifier chain in the symbolic stage and the real stage in Lacanian theory. It is the gap that arises the desire, when the appeals transfer to the needs. This gap or lack is named by Lacan the “*objet a*”, the object a in English, the cause and the realm of desire. Identity, also as an object a, is a lack between the subject and the other, thus searching the lack identity means desiring the object a but never possessing an integrated identity.

Based on Lacan's understanding of subject, a gap is generated on the field of the other who can tell that the subject in *The Childhood of Jesus* is missing. Unfamiliar people and new environment strike Simon and David. Take a dialogue from the text as an example. “It's dark,” says the boy, “I can't see anything. Am I inside the mirror?” (p317) Prior to these words, the little boy, David, sprinkles the magic powder which is actually magnesium powder. David dresses a black satin gown, stands in the front of the mirror and plays as a magician. When he gets hurt, no wonder how dark in his world following Senor Daga's words, he is convinced of the magical power of the surreal, David can not wait to put on his shawl in the hope that it would give him a new identity, a magician. Senor Daga as the other adds another dimension to David's perception of the subject. This “magic cape” reminds David of Daga's strength and his fight for freedom. He believes that with a cloak of mystical power, he is only one step away from freedom and will be able to realize his desire to become invisible. He touches the things that belong to one profession and imagines that he is the one who truly will be, like after he meets his kin friend Fidel, hoping to be a violinist.

The lack of identity is further illustrated that the absence of the subject is a result of division. The quotation from the book is relevant here. “Yes. That is where (in Belstar) they gave us our names, our Spanish names.” (p3) In Lacanian theory, the subject has no definable substance and cannot be expressed in words. With the intervention of the other, the subject can be discussed as much as possible, but the subject will never become its own master because it is in the chain of the signifier of the other, and the signified that really represents the subject is also fictional being proved in mirror stage. The subject can only constantly find identity recognition from the other. The identity is passively accepted. David is forced to eliminate his own existence, avoids contradiction and obtains meaning and is suggested appearing in a mirror. The symbols render him imaginary in a meaningful world. In fact, because David in a certain condition-missing, he must be filled, otherwise the structure of subject will be in danger:

“What are we here for, Simon?” he asks quietly... “No, I mean,

why are we here?” His gestures take in the room, the Centre, the city of Novilla, everything.”... “... We are here for the same reason everyone else is. We have been given a chance to live in and we have accepted that chance. It is a great thing, to live. It is the greatest thing of all.” (p21)

Simon answers David’s question deeply. Thus it is the beginning of the construction of *I* in the symbolic world. The child questions the way of living and endeavors to understand the world besides himself, expresses cognitive needs. The acceptance of new conditions in this place comforts both of them, forgetting the past and falling deep in the gap.

One desiring subject, David, chooses to give no reply because the self is not complete when he first meets Ana. He becomes kind and warm after he is accepted by Fidel, Elena and Ines. He enters the roles of friend and a son. When El Rey (a horse in the docks) dies, he cries a lot and strives for bringing it back to life. His friendship with El Rey enables him to integrate into the outside world. As a subject, each of us possesses a similar spirit as that of David. We wish to understand the world around us from our own perspective, to transform the world with our own efforts, and to help the weak with our own abilities after blending into the Symbolic stage which we have to get used to. All of these hopes are the ideas of interacting with the others.

Another subject with desire, Simon is one more such example. As a senior, obviously, Simon in a mental exercise, tries to see the world through David’s eyes when he is in hospital with nothing else to do. Therefore, in a dreamlike, half-awake state, he has a dream about David. Here are the words about his dream:

... he sees a two-wheeled chariot hovering in the air at the foot of his bed. The chariot is made of ivory or some metal inlaid with ivory, and is drawn by two white horses, neither of whom is El Rey. Grasping the reins in one hand, holding the other hand aloft in a regal gesture, is the boy, naked save for a cotton loincloth. (p281)

First, we need to learn the context in which the dream is happening. In Coetzee’s more realistically linear narrative of this novel, a family is facing legal threats from the school to send David to a special school because of his uniqueness. In fact, David is not accepted by the society because of his unusual wisdom. Simon borrows an illustrated Children edition of Don Quixote from the library in order to teach him to read. For a child of David’ s age, it is a little harder to understand the plots in Don Quixote. But because of this book, David’ s imaginary world is completely opened up, there are cracks between the numbers, and people will fall like Don Quixote’ s expedition. These magician’ s rich imaginations also influence Simon. In addition, this dream depicts David in words as heroic as the king David, the biblical ancestor of Jesus. He rides in a chariot, like a messianic figure trying to summon him. As an other, David always influences Simon with his words. The metaphor of this ancient symbolic image foretells the deep meaning of the relationship between David and Simon: Simon as the guardian of David’ s duty and David as the inspiration of Simon’ s spiritual realm. The dream also indicates that David needs him, the father in name, and even though he rides in the carriage with great force, David still requires Simon’ s help. This dream implies a reciprocal relationship between the subject. Simon as the subject is reconstructed by the other, David.

What Simon expects is finding who really he is with philosophical thoughts. Lacan

claims that desires can never be filled and the subject keeps desiring other's desire, when you as an individual live in the real world. "Nothing is missing." (p75) Simon searches himself in a way of conversations between women and Alvaro. Ana, Elena and Ines all challenges his memories. Alvaro told him that:

It is the only world. Whether that makes it the best is not for you or for me to decide... everything is ruled by laws, that nothing happens by chance. Therefore, "perhaps, in this world that is the only world, it would be prudent to put irony behind him." (p51)

At first, Simon "starved of beauty" and expected "gratitude—gratitude at one's great good fortune to be holding in one's arms a beautiful woman." (p164) Finally, he kindly burdens responsibility of making the world beautiful. He persuades Ines to accept David just as Elena persuades him and is obliged to help the mother and child. In Lacan's view, this is the purpose of establishing a relationship between the subject and the other in order to achieve social identity.

Lacan points out that if one can identify his desires only on the level of the desires of the other, there must be something that presents as a barrier to prevent his disappearance, where his desires are not verified at all. In this story, Novilla seems an Utopian place, where every new immigrant who relocates here can be provided housing arrangement. On the docks, as long as you work hard, you will get paid. Children accept free education provided by the government at the age of six. The institute (a kind of adult school) offers not only all kinds of knowledge, but also supplies free food. In a word, this new place is full of "goodwill" and "benevolence". In this rational world that values philosophical speculation, Simon and David are profoundly influenced by this environment, gradually they become less attached to the past. He insists to the universal over the personal with less self-interrogation any more. Regrettably, because of David's education problem in the real, they have to leave there because of intrinsic dystopian revealed by some negative aspects, for example, the absence of modern civilization, the repeated tedious administrative procedures and the lives of local people without desires. In this symbolic world, they do not really fit except to find several companions. The identity they seek here is fading away. Simon is no longer a docker, nor David is a friend of Fidel and others any more. In the construction of the subjects by others, some identities will be preserved, such as kinship among David, Simon and Ines. Some identities are discarded, such as romantic lovers between Elena and Simon. "Good morning, we are new arrivals, and we are looking for somewhere to stay." "That's all. Looking for somewhere to stay, to start our new life." (p329) They begin a new life for continuing to search themselves in a new environment and this Novilla will be the past, not only for David, but for all of them.

CONCLUSIONS

Lacanian theory subverts the Cartesian transparency of subject, and promotes the development of psychoanalytic theory. From the theory of the unconscious subject to the desire subject, Lacan reveals us the concept of the subject, he advocates and explains the nature and constitution of the unconscious by introducing the linguistic dimension. By elaborating the desire of the subject in the mirror stage and the symbolic stage, Lacan expounds from different levels that one desires the desire of others. This paper regards the subject's searching for identity as a desire, which is expressed and constructed by others. Through the simple language and dialogue of this novel, the identity is conveyed in the form of dreams—the cracks of the protagonists' existence

with the memory of the signified on the chain of past signifier. In the meantime, as the evidence of identity, the letter is potentially symbolic of an ambiguous impression in real. The desire of the subject is searching for an identity. At first, they arrive at Novilla alone and gradually strive to realize their own part in the process of communicating with others. David's fascination with the magic world and Simon's desire for sex are both subversive ways to express their understanding and love of the real world.

In this novel, homeless Simon seeks a mother for David, the little boy, and in the process as being father and mother, acting as the child's guardian. Both of them are in searching identity under the effect of the other, the social context. Their relationship is not that of a father and son in a practical sense, but is in a way of tenderness and attachment, their words and care, are very moving parts of the novel. At last, entangled with others in this new place searching himself, David's story ending with an evacuation, dressed in a cloak of invisibility, the protagonist takes his adoptive father, his adoptive mother, his beloved dog and the friends he meets on the way to a new life without borders. In the next new journey, it is not anticipated whether David's wisdom will be accepted by others. It will be a long time before the search for the self-identity is realized in an unfamiliar environment, for desire is always comforted by the substitution of the object a, but in fact there will always be a cut. For Lacan, the journey that is about to begin only turns into a process of the aspiration to be compensated. Before coming to Novilla, Simon and David characterize as refugees. Influenced by others in the past, the two subjects, David and Simon both have some traumas---David's cognitive impairment and Simon's anxiety about reality. After coming Novilla, they have more identities under the construction of others---relatives, friends, lovers, students and so on. When they leave Novilla, like the Gypsies in Ines's words, they are free from rules and laws, and they embark on a new journey as the father, mother and son they used to be identified. They will also have new identities in a new place, but we can not expect which identity will be achieved. The subject does not find a complete identity, for he is constructed by others in one signifier chain, and can be deconstructed by others in another signifier chain. The lack will always exist so this journey of David and Simon's searching for identity must be endless and tough.

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Dissemination of Australian Literature Among China's Primary and Middle School Students (1979 ~ Present)

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Abstract

The period from 1979 to the present has witnessed great changes for China's Reform and Opening-up. During these 40 years, the translation of and research into Australian literature has developed increasingly among scholars and experts. This paper has done research on the selection of foreign works in textbooks and reading materials for primary and middle school students to ascertain the extent of the dissemination and reception of Australian literature among them as average readers. It can be found that at the beginning of the 1980s, the majority of selected foreign works came from European countries and no single Australian works can be found while in recent years, Australian works appear in both the textbooks and extracurricular reading materials, though they are few and far between. This indicates that Australian literature has attracted the attention of the authority in education in China, increasing its influence on primary and middle school students as the largest reading group in China on the one hand. On the other hand, the scarcity of Australian works for Chinese children implies that there is still a long way to go for the dissemination and reception of Australian literature in China.

KEY WORDS: Australian literature; selected foreign works; Chinese textbooks; *Children's Literature* ; *The Stories*

INTRODUCTION

In China, the translation of and research into Australian literature have gone through a "development process, from nothing to existence, from singleness to richness, from surface to in-depth" (Chen 2016, 134). Since 1906 when the first Australian story was translated into Chinese (Ouyang 2011, 65), the translation and publication of Australian literary works in China have gradually increased, especially since the establishment of diplomatic relations between New China and Australia in 1972. During the 40 years (1979-present) of the Reform and Opening-up in China, scholars on Australian literature have increased, the Australian Research Centers in universities have "proliferated in every direction"¹ and the international and domestic academic seminars between the governments and non-governmental organizations have been regularly held. Australian Studies courses are taught in several universities. Therefore, the translation and dissemination of Australian literature in China, "in its unprecedented flourishing" (Ouyang 2011, 65), have achieved "hard-won success"(Wang Guanglin

2011, 51). As one branch of foreign literature in China, Australian literature is gaining attention increasingly among Chinese professional readers and researchers. Therefore the dissemination reception of Australian literature among Chinese primary and middle school students is worth researching.

This article aims at examining how Australian literature is disseminated and received among Chinese primary and middle school students by collecting and analyzing the data in Chinese textbooks and extracurricular reading materials from the beginning of the 1980s till now. The research target and range are chosen for the following reasons. First, Chinese primary and middle school students account for about 1/7 of the population of 1.4 billion in China. They, as one of the important reader groups in China, read most, twice the average reading of the whole nation². Second, journals like *Literature for Children* and *The Stories* have a long history with a wide audience, very popular with Chinese children and teenagers. As the Chinese-Australian writer Ouyang Yu notes in his review on the translation of Chinese literature in Australia, literature is able to spread to a nation in many ways, one of which is through literary journals (2011, 37). Thirdly, if they are selected in general textbooks, foreign literary works will have a wider influence on the target readers. The Chinese textbooks in primary and middle schools are the most widely used throughout the country and their data are reliable. Last, editions of textbooks and journals from the beginning of the 1980s to the present time are focused on in order to grasp the trend of the dissemination of Australian literature in China during the past 40 years of China's Reform and Opening-up.

SURVEY OF TRANSLATION AND PUBLICATION OF AUSTRALIAN LITERATURE (1979 ~ PRESENT)

Before New China was founded, the translation and research of Australian literature in China was scarce and far between. When founded, New China was "itself a newly established Communist state taking on forging its own identity by absorbing cultural material from like-minded writers around the world" (Ouyang 2011, 66), calling for learning from the Soviet Union especially, and translation became institutionalized (Wang Yougui 2015, 5); therefore a small number of works of Australian left-wing writers were translated into China. Then the outbreak of the Cultural Revolution brought China's foreign literature research to a halt. From the mid-1960s to the early 1970s, translation of Australian literature was almost completely stalled. In the early 1970s, relations between China and Western countries, including Australia, began to ease. In December 1972, Australia and China established diplomatic relations, and the political barriers that hindered cultural exchanges were cleared, and literary research began to gradually get on track. In the mid and late 1970s, both China and Australia completed the adjustment of important national policies, injecting new vitality into cultural exchanges. In China, the chaos of disorder was over, marked by the successful convening of the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee in 1978, ending the decade-long Cultural Revolution and opening up a new era in socialist cultural construction. Almost at the same time, in Australia, the Labor Party won the general election, announcing the cancellation of the "White Australia Policy" and encouraging Australians to create literary and artistic works. This ushered in a new opportunity for literary prosperity in Australia. Consequently, the translation and research of Australian literature in China entered the initial stage (1979-1988) (Peng Qinglong 2014, 24).

According to the survey, 13 Australian novels were translated and published in China in the 1980s, 16 in the 1990s, 35 in the 21st century, altogether 64 in number

(excluding those reprinted), involving over 20 publishing houses, including the top publishing houses in China such as People's Publishing House, People's Literature Publishing House, Writers Press, Yilin Publishing House, Shanghai Translation Publishing House, etc. Among them are works for children like Colin Thiele's *Storm Boy* (1979), David Martin's *Chinese Boy* (1983), Allan Marshal's *I Can Jump Puddles* (1985), Ethel Turner's *Seven Little Australians* (1996) and Dorothy Wall's *Blinky Bill* (2009). Some Australian poets' works have also been translated and published in various literary journals and so are some dramas, the first of which might be David Williamson's play **What If You Died Tomorrow** translated by Yuan Henian and published in the journal *Foreign Literatures* in 1980 and the first classic drama might be Jack Hibberd's **A Stretch of the Imagination** translated by Hu Wenzhong and performed on the stage in Beijing, Shanghai and other cities in the 1980s.

Similarly, several collections of short stories were translated and published in the period. The first collection of short Australian stories was compiled by Liu Shoukang and published in People's Literature Publishing House in 1982. In the following year, the Commercial Press published Hu Wenzhong's *Selected Short Australian Stories*. An *Anthology of Contemporary Australian Short Stories* edited by Zhu Jiongqiang, published by Zhejiang Literature and Art Publishing House in 1992 and reprinted by Business University Press in 2015 is the first comprehensive collection of representative works from major literary schools in Australia after World War II, including 60 works by 50 writers, of which 52 are abridged short stories and 8 are abridged novels. It selects not only masterpieces from Patrick White and other prizewinners, but also works by newcomers of the 1980s which deeply and fully reflect the social status and cultural characteristics of Australia. The second collection of short stories is *Selected Reading of English Short Stories: Australia* edited by Zhang Min and published by Xi'an Jiaotong University Press in 2007. This book selects 18 Australian short stories from the 19th century to the 20th century, some of which are presented in both English and Chinese with a profile of the author, and comments on the difficulties and background knowledge in the story. The third one is *German and Australian Classic Science Fiction* edited by Guo Dongxiang and published by China National Arts Press in 2006.

AUSTRALIAN LITERATURE AMONG SELECTED FOREIGN WORKS IN CHINESE TEXTBOOKS FOR PRIMARY AND MIDDLE SCHOOL STUDENTS

In this article, "foreign works" refer to works written by foreign authors that have been translated into Chinese, concerning various literary subjects and themes. "Chinese textbooks" refer to specific textbooks used by students and teachers in language courses in schools. Chinese textbooks are the window for Chinese students to understand the world and the basis for students to learn other subjects well. In 1929, the Ministry of Education of China promulgated the "Interim Standards for Curriculum in Primary and Middle Schools", which clearly stipulated that some selected foreign works should be included in Chinese textbooks (Zhu Shaoyu 1991, 107). Since then, Chinese textbooks have started to select some foreign literary classics. Then what foreign literary classics have been selected and when was Australian literature included?

From 1949 to 1985, the whole nation adopted a policy of one syllabus and one set of textbooks. The People's Education Press was designated as the only textbook editing and publishing agency for the country. In 1985, "Decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on the Reform of the Educational System" was promulgated. Ever since, the same syllabus and multiple versions of textbooks in

parallel have been implemented over China. Different regions or universities can publish textbooks for primary and middle schools. By looking into selected foreign works in the textbooks published by the most authoritative edition of the People’s Education Press, we can see the changes in the process of the selection of foreign works in Chinese textbooks for primary and middle school students in the past 40 years of China’s Reform and Opening-up and the translation and dissemination of Australian literature among primary and middle school students. From none to some, Australian literature gradually has entered Chinese children's life.

1 FOREIGN LITERARY WORKS IN TEXTBOOKS FOR PRIMARY SCHOOL STUDENTS

Since the Reform and Opening-up, a large number of foreign literary works have been translated into Chinese and read by Chinese readers. As one of the important media of foreign children’s literature, Chinese textbooks in primary and middle schools have played an important role. Here the selection of foreign literary works in the textbooks for primary school students in the 1982 People’s Education Edition and the latest version of People’s Education Edition in the 21st Century is compared and analyzed.

The 1982 edition consists of ten volumes for five grades, with a total of 310 articles and 23 foreign countries, accounting for 7%. The 2016 edition consists of twelve volumes for six grades, with a total of 313 articles and 56 foreign literary articles, accounting for 18%.

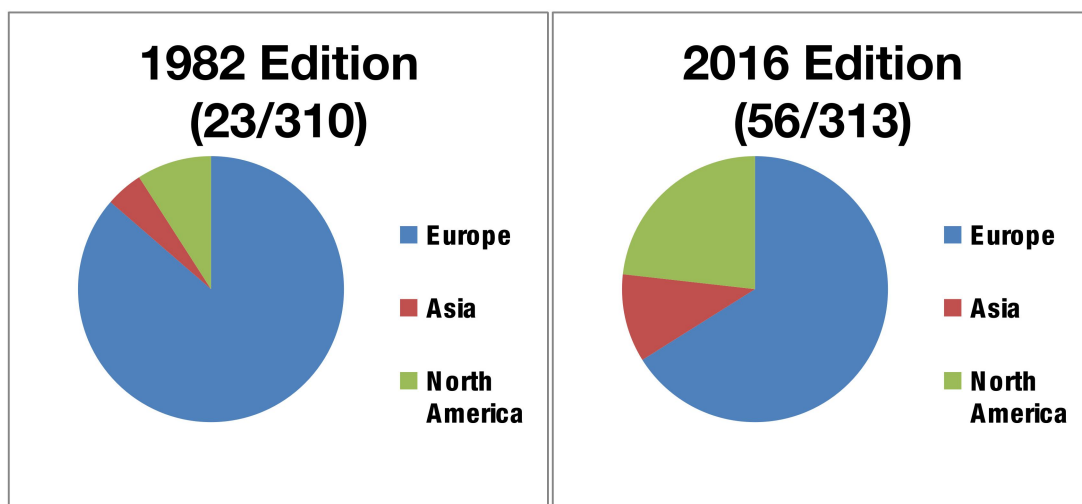


Fig. 1-2 Distribution of the Selected Foreign Works in Chinese Textbooks for Primary School Students

As is shown in Charts 1-2 above, the 2016 edition of the primary school textbooks has more foreign literature works selected, more than twice the number of the 1982 edition, and the range of source countries is also wider. The 1982 edition involves

11 countries, of which the top three are Soviet and Russia (7), France (3) and Italy (3). The latter comes from 14 countries and is still dominated by European literature, but its share has declined slightly (from 87% to 66%). The top three are Soviet and Russia (14), the United States (13) and Italy (6). North America and Asian works increased in proportion from 9% to 23% and 4% to 11% respectively. It can also be found that the number of foreign literary works in the latest version of the textbook has increased significantly and the materials selected are more extensive, but there is not a single one from Australia.

2 FOREIGN LITERARY WORKS IN THE TEXTBOOKS FOR JUNIOR MIDDLE SCHOOL STUDENTS

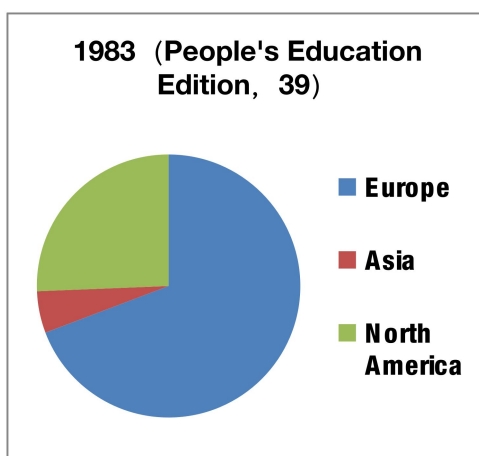


Fig.3 Distribution of the Selected Foreign Works in Chinese Textbooks for Junior Middle School Students in 1983

Part of the statistics are from the researcher Yang Ruiting (2018, 39). The 1983 edition of Chinese textbooks for junior middle school students reflects the ideological changes and requirements of China's new period, according to the Third Set of Teaching Syllabus for Middle School students revised by the Ministry of Education in 1980. Six volumes are for three grades, with a total of 169 articles, including 39 foreign works, accounting for 23%, with an average of about 5 to 6 foreign works per book. They come from 11 countries and the top three are the United States (10), France (8) and Soviet and Russia (7). The majority of the foreign works still come from Europe while the USA contributes the most as a single country.

Since the 18th National Congress of the Communist Party of China, General Secretary Xi Jinping has several times made important instructions on Chinese

textbooks. In 2011, the Ministry of Education organized nationwide the compilation and application of teaching materials and gathered a team of about 60 professionals after careful evaluation, recommendation and selection. The initial drafts were strictly assessed. After 14 rounds of evaluation and comments from experts and professional teachers, the new syllabus was approved by Central Propaganda and Ideology Working Group and ready for use in late June, 2016 (Wen Ruimin 2016, 4) .

At present, four kinds of junior middle school Chinese textbooks have distinctive characteristics, profound significance and promotion value that are recognized by the Chinese language community. They are Chinese textbooks compiled and published by People’s Education Press, Chinese Publishing House, Jiangsu Education Press and the Education Ministry. Take the textbooks by the Chinese Publishing House and Jiangsu Education Press as examples.

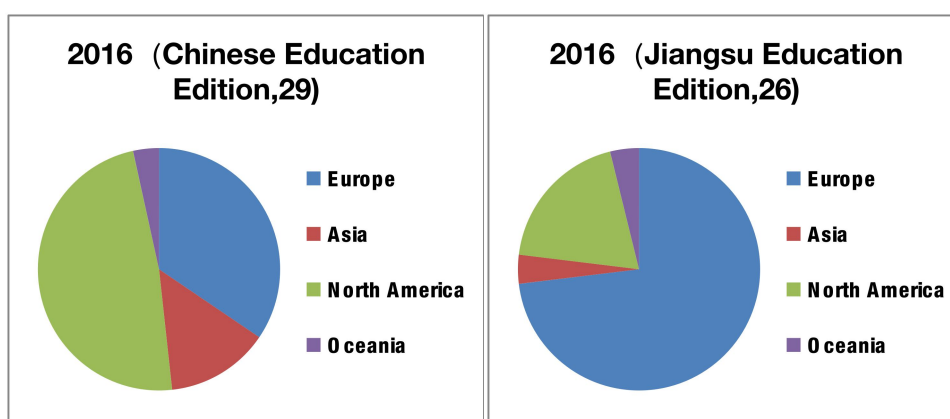


Fig. 4-5 Distribution of the Selected Foreign Works in Chinese Textbooks for Junior Middle School Students in 2016

The charts above are based on the statistics from the researcher Jia Yunzhen (2017, 22-24) and show that the selected foreign works in Chinese textbooks for junior high schools in recent years are still mainly from Europe and the United States. 29 foreign works in Chinese Education Edition come from 11 countries, 10 in Europe (34%), 14 in the USA (48%), 4 in Asia (14%) and 1 (3%) in Oceania. 26 in Jiangsu Education Edition involve 9 countries, including 19 in Europe (73%), 5 in the USA (19%), 1 in Asia (4%) and 1 in Oceania. (4%) . From the perspective of the selection range, the number of countries involved is not increased, but a new change can be seen in the above charts. Although European and American works are dominant, both the two editions include an Australian work which shows that the selection range has become wider, which also reflects the importance and influence of Australian literature in China.

The Australian literary work selected by the Chinese Education Edition for Grade 9 students in 2016 is Catherine O’Neill ’s short story “Oaida ’s Ideal”, which describes some anecdotes in the growth of a young boy named Oaida, especially when he was in an elementary school and his parents often took him to visit the main scenic spots in Australia. The Sydney Opera House like white sails and shells or cut orange petals, the Gold Coast where you can sunbathe, the Great Barrier Reef where you can swim, the Blue Mountains, Ayers Rock where you can see rare plants, are all filled with Australia regional and cultural characteristics. Chinese children are not only impressed by the natural beauty in vivid language, but they also admire the great Australian image of a

little child who is intelligent, independent, adventurous and curious about the unknown world.

In 2016, in the textbook for the eighth grade by Jiangsu Education Press is selected Taggart's "The Hospital Window" translated by Liu Genlong which first appeared in the issue of Selected Foreign Novels in July 1987. The full text is short and succinct, only more than 1200 words. It does not have the typical Australian style and characteristics, but ends in O Henry's style which reflects philosophy of life and human nature. The "window" in the title is the clue and metaphor illuminating two souls of good and evil with two diametrically opposite attitudes towards life, revealing the beauty and ugliness of human nature. Therefore, it is profound and worth reading in meaning, reflecting the superb artistic skills of Australian writers. No sooner had it been translated into Chinese, than it was quickly selected into middle school textbooks. While appreciating the writing skills in this story, junior middle school students have not related it to anything particular in Australia except the nationality of its author

3 FOREIGN LITERARY WORKS IN TEXTBOOKS FOR SENIOR MIDDLE SCHOOL STUDENTS

In the six volumes of textbooks for senior middle school students from the 1980 edition to the 2002 edition the number of selected articles is relatively stable and close, with an average of 12 foreign works per volume from a total of about 180. The compulsory textbooks for the new curriculum standard version have five volumes, and the average number of selected texts in each volume is 14. Besides the five compulsory textbooks, 15 additional elective textbooks for the students to read freely for the rest of the time have been compiled with a total of 287 articles with 80 selected foreign works, actually the most in the seven editions of textbooks for senior middle school students.

Table 1 Distribution of the Selected Foreign Works in Chinese Textbooks for Junior Middle School Students

Country Edition	1980	1983	1986	1990	2000	2002	New Standard
The USA	1		1	2	4	6	8
USSR/Russia	4	4	4	4	3	2	1
The UK	3	2	2		7	6	2
France	4	3	3	3	4	5	2

Germany	1	2	1	1	1	1	1
Spain							
Ireland					1	1	
Austria					2	2	
Hungary					1	1	
Columbia					1	1	
Japan			1	1	1	2	
Total	13(6.8 %)	11(5.9 %)	12(5.8 %)	11(7 %)	25(15 %)	27(15. 1%)	14(17.7 %)

All the statistics are from the researchers Ban Lan (2017, 13-18) and Tang Henglong (2017,11). As can be seen from the above chart, European works have dominated the selected foreign works in the past 40 years while the selected American works have been increasing and the works from the USSR or Russia have been decreasing dramatically. Some new works are selected from Japan in Asia later in the period. Generally, the selected foreign literary works for senior high school students are increasing. However, no single Australian work appears. But in the exercises for Volume 4 as compulsory textbooks of Jiangsu Education press, the abridged Schindler's List is used as a reading material. (Lu Huiyu 2019, 68)

AUSTRALIAN LITERATURE AND SELECTED FOREIGN WORKS IN LITERATURE FOR CHILDREN

Literature for Children as a monthly magazine was co-founded by the Chinese Writers Association and the Central Committee of the Communist Youth League in 1963. For about 70 years since it was first issued, it has attracted and benefited millions of young readers, for several generations. It is known as “Number One Journal of Chinese Children’s Literature” and “a banner of Chinese children’s literature.”³ It is currently a weekly magazine with a monthly circulation of more than 1.1 million copies. The collection from famous writers and classic works makes it a veritable national publication. *Literature for Children*, as an important medium for the dissemination of foreign children's literature in China, has influenced countless children since its publication in 1963. The following takes the corresponding editions of *Literature for Children* in the two periods from 1981 to 1984 and from 2016 to 2018 as the research objects, and compares and analyzes the characteristics of foreign literature selection. We select all the 18 bimonthly journals with 457 articles in total and 40 foreign ones in 1981, 1982, and 1984 and weekly magazines with an equivalent number of journals with 413 articles in total with 58 foreign ones in three months in 2016, 2017, and 2018 as research samples. The average number of foreign works for the former period is 2.2 per issue, accounting for 8.8% of the total. The average number of that for the latter period is 6.4, accounting for 14.0% of the total. Therefore the proportion of selected literary foreign works has increased apparently in the past 40 years.

Table 2 Distribution of the Selected Foreign Works in *Literature for Children*

Time	1981~19	2016~20
Continents	84	18

Total Quantity of Foreign Works	40	58
Europe	19 (47.5%)	20 (34.48%)
Asia	11 (27.5%)	10 (17.24%)
North America	7 (17.5%)	18 (31.03%)
South America	2 (5%)	3 (5.17%)
Africa	1 (2.5%)	1 (1.72%)
Oceania	0	1 (1.72%)
Unknown	0	4 (6.90%)

In terms of the distribution of foreign works, in the 1980s, Children's Literature selects works from a larger range than Chinese textbooks for primary and middle school students in the same period. Although the major foreign works are still from Europe (47.5%) and the United States (27.5%), the range is wider, 27.5% from Asia, 5% from South America and 2.5% from Africa. The proportion of selected foreign works in the modern issues has changed. Works from Europe and Asia have significantly decreased, and those from the USA have increased significantly. An Australian work has been included, published in the "Foreign Literature Column" in February 2018, entitled "My Friend Simon" written by Michael K. Trotter and translated by Xie Jia and Xie Xiaoqing.

Literature for Children is a nationwide journal with readers aged from 9 to 99 as it is advertised. According to the present editor, it had a circulation of about 200 million annually in the years 2017-2019.

AUSTRALIAN LITERATURE AND SELECTED FOREIGN WORKS IN THE STORIES

The Stories was first published in 1963 as a bimonthly magazine sponsored by Shanghai Century Publishing Group and edited by Shanghai Story Club Cultural Media Co., Ltd. It is now a semi-monthly magazine since 2004, repeatedly rated as one of the "Top 10 National Readers' Favorite Magazines with the National Magazine Award. In 1999, it was ranked No.5 among the most widely published comprehensive cultural journals in the world⁴. The Stories mainly publishes stories reflecting contemporary Chinese social life, incorporating all kinds of popular folk tales and classic foreign stories. Its special column "Appreciation of Foreign Stories" introduces classic and popular foreign literary stories.

The corresponding editions of *The Stories* in the two periods from 1981 to 1984 and from 2015 to 2018 are taken as the research samples. There are all 730 articles in total and 82 foreign ones in the 18 bimonthly magazines in 1981, 1982, 1983 and 12 monthly magazines in 1984 and 2567 articles in total in all semimonthly magazines with 95 foreign ones in 2015, 2016, 2017, and 2018. The proportion in 1981-1984 is among 8%-14% and the average quantity of foreign works in 1981-1984 is between 2 and 3.2. The proportion in the latter period is about 4%, lower than before but the total number of foreign articles with 2 or 3 in each issue is stable.

Table 8 Distribution of the Selected Foreign Works in *The Stories*

Time Continents	1981~1984	2015~2018
Total Quantity of Foreign Works	82	95
Europe	34(41.5%)	19(20%)
Asia	20(24.4%)	41(43.2%)
North America	0	34(35.8%)
Oceania	0	1(1.1%)
South America	0	0
Africa	1(1.2%)	0
Unspecified	17(20.2%)	0
Unfound	10(12.1%)	0

The data above show that in the 1980s, except for these works unspecified for their origins, the selected foreign works are mainly from Europe and Asia. They respectively account for 41.5% and 24.4% of the total. However, no works are from North America, Oceania, and South America in the known data. *The Stories* from 2015 to 2018 includes works mainly from Asia, 41 (43.2%), North America, 34 (35.8%) and Europe,

19 (20%). No works are from Africa and South America. But one work from Australia is included.

Western countries are the main sources of foreign literary works in *The Stories*. The foreign literary works of *The Stories* come from 29 countries of three continents in the 1980s and 8 countries from four continents after thirty years. The nationality of works in the 1980s was more diverse than in the last decade. However Australian literary work does only appear in the recent issue of the magazine.

The following is an Australian children's story "A Fox Fur Scarf" written by Paul Jennings, published in Issue 6, 2015. It tells about a fox which was killed by Grandpa to make a scarf for Grandma but later was brought to life by a little boy by feeding the fox fur scarf in the wardrobe with lemons from a lemon tree under where the fox was buried. It is also written in O Henry's style with a surprising ending, entertaining and enlightening.

AUSTRALIAN LITERATURE AND THE STATUS QUO OF THE SELECTION OF FOREIGN LITERATURE FOR CHINESE CHILDREN

From the statistics on the selection of foreign literature in Chinese textbooks and extracurricular reading materials for Chinese primary and middle school students at the beginning of China's Reform and Opening-up and in recent years, some conclusions can be drawn as follows. First, generally, foreign literary works in Chinese textbooks and extracurricular reading materials for primary and middle school students are increasing, some even increasing twice the amount in the past 40 years. Second the range of the selection of foreign literature in Chinese textbooks and extracurricular reading materials for elementary and middle schools is getting wider and wider. At the beginning of the 1980s, European literature was the mainstay. In recent years, the proportion of European literature is decreased, especially the works from USSR or Russia while the works from America, Asia are increasing. Works from new continents appear in recent editions of Chinese textbooks and extracurricular reading materials. Australian works are selected and read by Chinese students in their textbooks and reading materials for all the students although the number of the Australian works is still very small.

The reasons for the status quo of selection of foreign literature in Chinese textbooks and extracurricular reading materials for primary and middle schools may be as follows.

Firstly, after China's Reform and Opening-up in the early 1980s, China's involvement in the process of globalization has deepened, and diversified exchanges with the world have increased. Foreign works have been added to Chinese textbooks and extracurricular readings, opening a new window for students to know the world and training students to think further and broaden their horizons. Foreign classics are the essence of the ideology and culture of various nations, and the carrier of global discourse. If we want to develop our culture into an advanced one, we need to respect the world's cultural diversity, face the world's culture in an active and open attitude, and draw nutrients from the cultures of all the nations of the world. Learning foreign literature is an inevitable development of the times.

Secondly, in the past forty years of Reform and Opening-up, the number, source and theme of foreign works in students' textbooks and reading materials have been changing and adjusting which also represents the country's social changes in the context

of pluralistic times and the attitude and way of handling national and global discourse. Although China's control of social ideology has weakened since the Reform and Opening-up, and literature and social cultural ideas have developed in a pluralistic manner, yet the capitalist and the socialist societies in the world are still confronted with each other. Due to various factors such as domestic political instability, China remains vigilant and sensitive to the control of political thought. And Chinese textbooks are the best tools for political ideological education. Compared with the development of social culture, the reform of textbooks obviously lag behind. The political discourse of indoctrination is always full of Chinese textbooks. Later Soviet-Russian works decrease and the American ones increase. At the beginning of the 21st century, more modern and humanistic foreign literary works are added, and some modernist literary works are reasonably selected. Works by contemporary Japanese writers or works from South America and Australia appear, and of course European works have always been dominant, for Europe boasts a long history with rich literature. However, the world is diverse, and it is the general trend for students to be exposed to diverse literary classics.

Thirdly, international political relations are also one of the important factors in the selection of foreign literature. Because of this, Australian literature appears in Chinese primary and secondary school textbooks and reading materials. Although the number is small, it reflects the progress and trend of the translation and dissemination of Australian literature in China. Since the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and Australia in 1972, the governments of China and Australia have focused on developing friendly and cooperative relations on mutually beneficial economic trade and cultural and scientific and technological exchanges that help to enhance understanding (Hou Minyue 2005, 2). China is willing to participate in international cooperation affairs through reform and opening up, and regard participation in international affairs as a comprehensive learning process; Australia seeks to make its country a bridge between Asian countries and Western countries by highlighting its own special advantages in East-West exchanges. The self-orientation of China and Australia is in harmony with each other, which provides a solid foundation for the sustainable development of the friendly and cooperative relations between China and Australia. The exchanges and development between the two countries over the past 40 years have greatly promoted the translation and dissemination of Australian literature to China. A large number of Australian literary works have been translated into Chinese, although professional readers and researchers are the main readers, ordinary Chinese readers are gradually coming into contact with Australian literature and culture. The selected Australian works in Chinese textbooks and extracurricular reading materials are evidence that they are popular with and have exerted influence on young children in China.

From the statistics of the selected foreign works in Chinese textbooks and extracurricular reading materials for Chinese elementary and middle school students at the beginning of the Reform and Opening-up and in the recent years, we are delighted to see that Australian literature has entered the life of elementary and middle school students as the largest reading group in China. But at the same time, we can also find that Australia, as a country full of exotic cultures, is rich in literary works, and more classic Australian works should be introduced and translated to average readers in China so as to realize truly diversified literature, and provide Chinese youth with a broader cultural vision. It is an "unprecedented flourishing" Australian literature in China as Ouyang Yu points out (2011, 65), but the profile of Australian literature is

still low and its promotion, compared to other countries, could be better coordinated as Australian Chinese writer Zhao Chuan, Australian literature specialist Huang Yuanshen and Publisher Wei Xinghong all agree (Broinowski 2011, 5). It still has a long way to go in the dissemination of Australian literature in China.

Notes

1. See Nicholas Jose's "Australian Literature Inside and Outside Barry Andrews Memorial Address", P1.
2. See 2018 全民阅读调查数据出炉！看看你达标了吗？_网易订阅
<https://dy.163.com/article/ED2KG9J50514IDL3.html;NTEswebSI=B81BCA630DA1697E50D17DB1C6A8C43A.hz-subscribe-web-docker-cm-online-rpqqn-8gfzd-zwd1g-65ff64gb5hn-8081>, accessed 5 June, 2020.
3. see 儿童文学_360 百科 <https://baike.so.com/doc/5404919-7431052.html>, accessed 5 June, 2020.
- 4 see 故事会_360 百科 <https://baike.so.com/doc/5125537-5354795.html>, accessed 5 June, 2020.

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The Dilemma of Legal Care for Overseas Chinese Students

—Take Chinese students studying in Australia as an example

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Abstract

With the rapid development of China's economy, more and more Chinese students go abroad and fly to study all over the world. However, different languages, different cultures and different laws are the "three major problems" that hinder and fetter Chinese students on their way to study. Among them, legal issues are often ignored by people, but they also often harm overseas Chinese students unexpectedly. The Australian Chinese Community Development Report 2018, prepared by the Australian Chinese Federation of Trade Unions, made a special investigation on the employment situation of overseas students in Australia and related legal care. The report points out that the employment situation of Chinese students is not optimistic, and the legal care for overseas Chinese students at home and abroad is not in place, but the report does not clearly give guidelines to solve the relevant legal needs. This paper will start with the research results in the report, investigate and study the situation of Chinese students in Australia encountering legal difficulties, sum up the legal problems and their characteristics that overseas Chinese students are prone to encounter abroad, and analyze the reasons why they frequently encounter legal problems from three aspects: state departments, universities and institutions studying abroad. According to the reasons, this paper puts forward some suggestions to effectively avoid overseas Chinese students from falling into legal difficulties, aiming at helping them solve legal problems encountered in their study, work and life, and improving their working treatment and living conditions.

Keywords: Overseas Chinese students; Legal dilemma; Legal care

1 INTRODUCTION

Since the 40th anniversary of reform and opening up, the Party and people have made great achievements, and China has created an unprecedented economic miracle. With the rapid development of China's economy, more and more Chinese students go abroad and fly to study all over the world, hoping to do something academically, acquire new knowledge, open up new horizons and break through new fields in the new environment.

However, the "three major problems", namely, different languages, different cultures and different laws, have had a great impact on students' normal life, and have become obstacles and fetters for Chinese students studying abroad. Among them, legal issues are often ignored by people, but they are often attacked unexpectedly by overseas students(Wang Feihui,2012).However, it is regrettable that the protection of the labor rights and interests of Chinese overseas students always lacks sufficient attention. In view of this situation, when the Australian Chinese Federation of Trade Unions organized the preparation of the Report on the Development of Australian Chinese Community in 2018, a special topic was set up to investigate the employment situation of overseas students in Australia and relevant legal care. The report points out that the employment situation of Chinese overseas students is not optimistic, the legal care for overseas students at home and abroad is not in place, overseas students fail to obtain enough relevant knowledge, and there is no place to seek help when encountering legal problems. However, the report does not give clear guidelines on how to determine the legal care needs of overseas students and relevant policy support.

Through a series of investigations, this paper finds out the crux of the relevant problems and puts forward specific solutions, aiming at helping overseas students solve the legal problems encountered in their studies, work and life, and improving their working conditions and living conditions. Therefore, the Australian Institute of Management Leadership organized some students from Southwest University of Political Science and Law's internship class in Australia to form a research group. Taking Chinese students inAustralia as an example, they collected relevant data by collecting questionnaires online and offline, and combined with the search and summary of relevant documents and materials. On this basis, we analyze the data and draw a comprehensive and rigorous conclusion, so as to put forward some suggestions and programs for the reference and basis for the relevant state departments to make policy, and also provide a guide for the volunteer activities related to legal popularization.

2 OVERVIEW OF THE CONTENTS OF *THE AUSTRALIAN CHINESE COMMUNITY*

DEVELOPMENT REPORT 2018

2.1problems in the work of overseas Chinese students in the report

- Chinese students studying abroad need more policy attention. Chinese students are not considered as a vulnerable group in Australia, which is inconsistent with the working conditions of overseas students in Australia. Trade unions and FWO have not paid more attention to them.
- Chinese students are weaker in dealing with their employers. Limited by language ability and other reasons, they mostly work in groups with the same cultural background, and they lack fighting when faced with unfair treatment. What's

worse, quite a number of overseas students don't even realize that they have been treated unfairly. They regard overtime work as a part of their outstanding ability and the difference between them and other ethnic groups. Not only do they not resist, but they take overtime work and low pay for granted, thus gaining the appreciation of employers and thus causing vicious competition in the labor talent market.

- The contact between Chinese overseas students and other labor groups is not close enough. In the communication with other groups, Chinese students are conservative, and the proportion of trade union members among them is extremely low, and they rarely contact with other groups. This leads to the lack of support for Chinese students' groups in disputes with employers, and the bargaining power is entirely in the hands of employers.

2.2 CONCLUSION OF THE REPORT

First of all, the employment situation of Chinese overseas students is not optimistic, and the employment rate and jobs are far from the previous expectations of overseas students. Secondly, Chinese students have insufficient understanding of labor security, which is influenced by the past living environment, living habits and ethnic groups, which leads to a large number of Chinese students being unable to get due remuneration and security. According to the survey report, the work done in this field at home and abroad is quite limited, and overseas Chinese students can't get enough relevant knowledge, so naturally they can't seek help.

The report pointed out that to solve these problems, we must strive for more attention from all walks of life: we should not only seek the support of relevant departments of the Australian government (such as FWO⁵³, Immigration Bureau, etc.), but also clarify the seriousness of the relevant problems to China and request China to provide more relevant education for students studying in Australia.

3 INVESTIGATION ON THE RELEVANT LEGAL SITUATION OF CHINESE STUDENTS

STUDYING IN AUSTRALIA

In order to deeply understand the situation of foreign students encountering legal problems in Australia, the research team designed a questionnaire, which was mainly distributed offline and online. Among them, the offline mode is mainly distributed in Queensland University, Sydney University, Queensland University of Technology and Bond University; The online way is to push it through the official WeChat public account "Australian Chinese Service" of the Australian Chinese Federation of Trade Unions through WeChat Questionnaires, and forward it on the official WeChat public account of Queensland University, Queensland University of Technology and Griffith University.

A total of 401 questionnaires were collected online and offline in this survey, and the following analysis is based on these 401 survey data.

	Yes	None
1. Does renting a house encounter	88	313

⁵³ An organization can provide legal aid to Chinese Australians

unfair treatment		
2. Do you encounter unfair treatment when working	102	299

For the first question, among the 401 people, 88 people answered "Yes", accounting for 21.9% of the total number. That is to say, one out of every five Chinese students studying in Australia has received unfair treatment in renting a house, including the landlord failing to fulfill his obligations in accordance with the lease contract, being cheated by the landlord or being unfairly treated in terms of rent. Some students said that they had no experience in renting a house, but many friends who rented a house had similar experiences and suffered unfair treatment.

When working, whether they were treated unfairly, the number of people who

answered "yes" was 25.4% (102 in total), and the number of people who answered "no" was 299, accounting for 74.6%. Of course, many foreign students who had no working experience were included. From the data, we know that the proportion of people who are unfairly treated during working is even higher than that of renting a house, and almost one in every four people is unfairly treated by the employer when working, such as wage arrears, low wages and salaries, and increased working hours without pay. From this point of view, it is very common for Chinese students studying in Australia to be treated unfairly when renting and working.

3. The name of the organization that I have heard of	FWO	Fair Trading	Legal Aid	None
Number of individuals	74	66	46	261

In the answer to this question, the investigation team set multiple choices, with 18.5% choosing FWO, 16.5% choosing Fair Trading, 11.5% choosing Legal Aid, and 65.1% having never heard of it. More than 60% of the respondents knew nothing about the above three legal institutions. This is a terrible phenomenon. Overseas students studying in Australia have never heard of institutions that

protect their own interests. At the same time, they suffer unfair treatment in renting or working, but there is no solution. From this data, we can see that the demand of overseas students in Australia to receive relevant legal care is increasing day by day. In addition, it is extremely urgent to publicize relevant legal institutions.

4. Ask for help when you encounter	F WO	Fair Tradin g	Lega l Aid	Family and friends	School organiza tion	Never thought about it
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problems						
Number of individuals	39	35	44	199	196	76

In the answer to this question, the investigation team still set multiple choices, among which 9.7% chose FWO, 8.7% chose Fair Trading, 11% chose Legal Aid, 49.6% chose family and friends, 48.9% chose schools and institutions, and 19% chose people who never thought about it. It can be concluded that when overseas students suffer unfair treatment, nearly half of them will choose to seek help from family and friends or school institutions, and the number of people who consciously seek help from relevant institutions is very

small, which shows that the popularity of relevant institutions among international students is low, and the publicity of relevant institutions is not strong enough, which has little impact on international students, so that international students do not have the awareness of seeking help from relevant institutions due to unfair treatment. This fully proves that we need to vigorously publicize relevant institutions among international students to make them have a place to go when they suffer unfair treatment.

	Yes	No
5. Do you receive legal training before going abroad	78	323
6. Do you receive legal training after going abroad	71	330

These two questions ask whether Chinese students have received training. Taking time as the dividing point, before going abroad, 78 people chose "Yes", accounting for only 19.5% of the total number, and 323 people chose "No", accounting for 80.5%. Less than a quarter of the total number of Chinese students have received training on legal issues in schools or institutions before going abroad, which means that three quarters of Chinese students have not entered any relevant legal knowledge and rights protection knowledge into their knowledge system before coming to Australia, which makes them more likely to be unfairly treated in renting and

working after coming to Australia. After being unfairly treated, they also don't know which institutions to turn to for help and how to protect their own interests. The number of people who have received training after going abroad is 71, which is almost the same as that before going abroad, which shows that attention paid to this aspect abroad is far from enough. It can be seen that no matter before or after going abroad, most students have no chance to understand this knowledge at all, and the occlusion of information is the biggest reason why students have no place to seek help when they encounter legal problems.

7. Contents of	Prevention of	Ways of legal relief
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legal training before going abroad	legal problems	
Number of individuals	77	47

The seventh question of the questionnaire is based on the fifth question. From the fifth question, we can know that the number of people who have received training in law-related fields before going abroad is 78. The investigation team divided the contents of legal training into two parts: prevention and relief. In essence, it is the difference between beforehand and afterwards. 77 out of 78 people know how to take precautions,

almost 100%. Therefore, from this data, almost all the trainings will tell you how to take precautions, which is a good phenomenon. However, when we focus on relief, only 47 people get this information. On the basis of training, only 60% of people know how to provide relief when their rights are violated, which is far from enough.

8. When do you want to receive legal care	School before going abroad	Overseas study institutions before going abroad	School after going abroad	Organizations or societies after going abroad
Number of individuals	146	157	226	147

The last question is a subjective one, which is a multiple-choice question. The investigation team wants to know the expectations of the respondents, that is, when they want to get this information more. The above data show that the number of people who want to receive legal care in schools before going abroad, institutions before going abroad and organizations or associations after going abroad is about 40%. Surprisingly, 56% of the students hope that the school after studying abroad can provide them with this training. Overall, 401 people chose 676 options, and on average, everyone chose about 1.7 items independently. This result shows investigators' strong desire to know legal knowledge, but it also reflects their serious lack of knowledge in this field. To sum up, whenever training is organized, it is a way for students to obtain information. To the best of our ability, the more such training will be, the better, and more and more students will benefit.

According to the survey data of this group, among the 401 Chinese students surveyed, 88 said they had suffered unfair treatment in the process of working, accounting for 21.9%, and 102 said they had suffered unfair treatment in the process of renting a house, accounting for 25.4%. However, 65.1% of the people have nothing to do with FWO, Fair Trading, Legal Aid and other institutions that can provide legal assistance. After being treated unfairly, only 9.7% will consider going to FWO for help, 8.7% will consider going to Fair Trading for help, and 11% will consider Legal Aid.

It can be seen that there are several major problems for overseas students in Australia. First, the scope of victimization is large. Chinese students studying in Australia suffer

from unfair treatment in renting and working. Second, the lack of legal knowledge propaganda. At present, the publicity audience is small and the degree is shallow. Most students have not received legal training, and have insufficient knowledge of FWO, Fair Trading and Legal Aid. There is a gap between international students and legal institutions. This is closely related to the inadequate publicity of legal institutions and the inaction of some educational institutions. Third, people's trust in the law and its related organizations is not high enough. When encountering problems, they are more inclined to seek help from school, family and friends, and it is difficult to take up the weapon of law and correctly safeguard their own interests.

4 CHARACTERISTICS OF LEGAL PROBLEMS FACED BY OVERSEAS CHINESE STUDENTS

4.1 Hiding

Among the three major problems faced by foreign students, language problems and cultural problems are commonplace, so students pay more attention to and prepare for them. However, legal problems are often ignored by teachers, classmates and parents, which leads to the situation that legal problems often give students "cold arrows". And as far as the reality is concerned, the lack of knowledge about legal differences is not the most serious. The most serious situation is that students did not anticipate the existence of legal risks, that is, the lack of our so-called "legal awareness". The lack of professional legal knowledge can be solved by asking school institutions, asking government agencies for help, and hiring professional lawyers. However, the lack of legal awareness makes the above-mentioned remedies fundamentally lose their premise.

4.2 Sudden

Unlike other problems that cause headaches for international students, such as final exams and class speeches, no one can predict when and where legal problems will appear before they appear. This leads to the sudden occurrence of legal problems.

4.3 lack of help

The most prominent feature of international students is the word "studying abroad". Studying abroad means Chinese citizens studying abroad. This characteristic often makes students fall into the dilemma of "no matter what": the Chinese government cannot provide direct help because it has no jurisdiction in foreign countries, and it is difficult for foreign governments to achieve real equal protection in practice because foreign students are not their own citizens. In addition, due to the differences in foreign government management systems and the lack of domestic life experience, it is even worse for overseas students who are at a loss when they encounter legal problems.

4.4 Severity of consequences

Legal problems rarely occur in people's life, but once they occur, they are likely to be a serious problem. International students often encounter situations in which exploited students receive less wages, students who have been maliciously detained by their landlords have suffered considerable property losses, and students who have stolen their bags have to buy a new pair of mobile phones. These losses are all called "visible losses". "Visible losses" are often better compensated, because most of them are material, and the only difference is how much material corresponds to wealth. However, what is more worrying, which people often can't see or think of, is "invisible loss". For example, there was a student whose employer forced her to work overtime, and she was dismissed if she didn't work overtime. Because students cherish this precious opportunity, they are humble, and finally they fail in their studies and are expelled from school.

5 Analysis of the causes of overseas Chinese students' legal difficulties

5.1 The degree of legal care for overseas Chinese students by relevant state departments is not enough

According to the investigation of the legal aid for international students by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Education of China, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of China has no systematic content and has not taken relevant measures, and has not popularized legal knowledge in advance and provided legal relief afterwards. In contrast, China's Ministry of Education has a special study abroad service center directly under the Ministry of Education, which is responsible for studying abroad, and has a special pre-trip training section for legal care for overseas students, which will popularize legal knowledge and prevent safety for overseas students(Liu Guofu,2009). In addition, searching related papers on CNKI, the number of valid papers on the safety of studying abroad is 5, mainly related to the safety status and preventive measures of studying abroad.

Retrieve data sources	Key words	Retrieve results	Specific content (relevance to legal aid for international students)	Remarks
Chinese Foreign Ministry	Legal aid for oversea	1 article (valid: 1 article)	<i>Agreement on Legal Aid Center for Chinese Students</i> ⁵⁴	As the first step to implement the agreement, the

⁵⁴ This agreement was signed by the Chinese Embassy in Russia, Moscow University and the Russian Bar Association at the third meeting of the Organizing Committee for Project Preparation of China-Russia Union University on April 6, 2015, aiming at providing stronger legal protection for Chinese students studying and living in Russia.

	S students			"Russian Legal Aid Center for Chinese Students" was established based on Moscow University
	Oversas student	452 article (effective: 3)	<p>1. <i>Understanding of the Exchange of Students and Scholars between the People's Republic of China and the United States of America</i></p> <p>2. <i>Exchange of Notes between China and Denmark on Tax Exemption for International Students</i></p> <p>3. <i>Protocol between the Ministry of Higher Education of the People's Republic of China and the General Administration of Higher Education of the German Democratic Republic on Exchange of Postgraduates and International Students</i></p> <p>Legal aid for international students is not mentioned in the three treaties. The legal content of the third treaty is only the general provision that "students and scholars sent by both parties should abide by the laws and regulations of the receiving country and respect its customs and habits".</p>	
Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China	Oversas student		There is relevant information about studying abroad on the China Study Abroad Network sponsored by the Study Abroad Service Center. Including pre-service training for studying abroad.	Website: cscse.edu.cn
Oversas study service center of units directly under the Ministry of Education	China study abroad network		The Study Abroad Service Center of the unit directly under the Ministry of Education is responsible for studying abroad. This website is the service center for studying abroad, official website, in which there is a special training section for going abroad, including: entry instructions, life guide, national conditions brief introduction, going abroad procedures, health consultation, foreign etiquette, safety precautions, etc.	Sponsored by the Study Abroad Service Center of the Ministry of Education-Pre-service Training Network for Studying Abroad

China How Net	Legal care for international students	0 article		
	Safety of studying abroad	11 articles (valid: 5 articles)	<p>Among them, related papers:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. "Study Abroad and National Security Education" 2. Study Abroad Safety and Construction of China's Study Abroad Safety Strategy 3. Status quo of the safety of Chinese students studying abroad and the guarantee of safe study abroad 4. Safety Precautions for Students Studying Abroad and Studying Abroad 5. Don't forget safety precautions for studying abroad 	

As far as the current retrieval situation is concerned, China's Ministry of Foreign Affairs has not issued relevant documents to emphasize legal assistance to international students, nor has it popularized legal knowledge for international students before going abroad, nor has it provided corresponding solutions for students studying abroad to encounter difficulties; Although the Ministry of Education has set up a special website for studying abroad to serve international students, it has also held corresponding publicity and promotion activities for studying abroad, but the substantive effect is not obvious.

Therefore, to sum up, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Education have failed to pay enough attention to and take effective measures on how to seek legal assistance for overseas students, popularize their legal knowledge and enhance their legal awareness. This leads to the students' lack of legal awareness and knowledge, so that they are at a loss when they encounter legal disputes and do not know how to seek legal assistance, thus falling into legal difficulties.

5.2 Pre-service training for overseas Chinese students in Chinese universities hardly involves legal aid

The research team randomly selected universities of various types and regions in China to conduct pre-service training for overseas students. At present, the overseas study training programs of Chinese universities are mainly implemented through the overseas study training base of the Overseas Study Service Center of the Ministry of Education and strategic partner universities.

According to incomplete statistics, in 2018, the Study Abroad Service Center went deep into universities and held 92 on-site training sessions in 28 cities of 18 provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities directly under the Central Government, with nearly 35,000 people attending the on-site training sessions. According to Ai Hongge, deputy director of the Study Abroad Service Center of the Ministry of Education, in the

annual work report, due to the introduction of multimedia means, more training contents and interactions are completed on the Internet or even on mobile phones. The number of people who receive online training has reached more than 2.6 million throughout the year, 87.5% longer than last year.

It can be said that the pre-service training for overseas students has been greatly popularized. However, the training mainly covers consular protection, Chinese and Western cultures, foreign etiquette, safety precautions, mental health, Chinese and Western medicine health care, etc., and hardly involves the legal aid for overseas students. Among the 20 universities surveyed, only the pre-service training of East China Normal University involves "local laws". It can be said that, at present, the section of "Legal Aid" is blank in the pre-trip training for overseas students in various universities in China.

No.	School	Is there pre-service training	Pre-service training content
1	Sichuan University	Yes	Consular protection, international vision and culture, psychological adjustment, study abroad safety, oral health, study abroad policy
2	Hebei normal university	Yes	Policies and regulations, study abroad services, foreign etiquette, Chinese medicine health care, psychological counseling, Chinese citizens' rights and interests abroad, safety precautions and emergency response capabilities
3	Beijing University of Aeronautics and Astronautics	Yes	Identity attribution, China's national conditions, financial services, prevention of financial telecom fraud, and life experience
4	Taiyuan University of Technology	Yes	Overseas security situation, foreign consular protection, physical and mental rehabilitation and adaptation to life
5	Harbin institute of technology	Yes	Chinese culture and national identity, safety and defense education, mental health, national security, and medical care
6	East China normal university	Yes	Ideological and political, study abroad policy, general knowledge: consular protection, safety knowledge, foreign etiquette, mental health, Chinese and Western medicine health care; Specific country content: local national day, education system, local laws, cross-cultural adaptation
7	Peking university	Yes	Overseas safety, consular protection, safety protection, emergency lifesaving and mental health

8	Fudan University	Yes	Study abroad safety, consular protection, mental health, cultural adaptation
9	Chongqing university	Yes	Overseas safety, consular protection, safety protection, emergency lifesaving and scientific research
10	Nanjing university	Yes	Consular protection, adaptation to study abroad, self-protection and experience sharing
11	Southwest jiaotong university	Yes	Overseas safety knowledge
12	Yunnan University	Yes	Adaptation to study abroad, foreign education system, Chinese medicine health care, consular protection, mental health and safety training
13	Xinjiang university	Yes	Mental health, public safety, emergency escape, public service system, consular protection
14	Jinan university	Yes	Safety issues, foreign etiquette, environmental adaptation
15	Zhengzhou university	Yes	Safety education, student management, psychological counseling,
16	Shenzhen University	Yes	Food, clothing, housing and transportation, overseas study and life experience
17	South university of science and technology of china	Yes	Study, life, scientific research advice, experience sharing
18	Sichuan International Studies University	Yes	Consular protection, cultural conflict, matters needing attention in studying and living abroad, safety protection, mental health, and procedures for sending students to study abroad
19	Zhejiang University	Yes	Etiquette Communication, Fire Safety, Foreign Affairs Discipline and Education Abroad
20	China Medical University	Yes	1.Policy content: patriotism education, study abroad policy, and procedures for going abroad; 2.General contents: foreign etiquette, comparison between Chinese and western cultures; Daily health care knowledge of Chinese and western medicine; Psychological counseling; Rights and interests of Chinese citizens abroad; Training of safety precautions and emergency response ability for studying abroad. 3.Country-Specific content: introduction of educational system and teaching and research

			characteristics of institutions of higher learning in destination countries; Introduction to the national conditions of the destination countries, and so on.
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5.3 The degree of legal care for overseas Chinese students in institutions studying abroad is not enough

The investigation team selected 20 domestic well-known institutions for studying abroad for their degree of legal care for international students. The survey results show that the legal care for international students in domestic institutions for studying abroad is inadequate. China's study abroad institutions were established late, and most of them were small in scale. Their services were limited to study abroad planning, document writing, etc., which could not fully meet the needs of international students. In addition, considering their own interests, most overseas institutions think that popularizing students' legal knowledge will not bring too many benefits to the company, but will increase the company's expenditure. Compared with the two, overseas institutions are reluctant to invest money to popularize special legal knowledge for overseas students. Although some overseas study institutions will provide pre-service training for overseas students, half of them do not inform students of their legal rights abroad. There are even fewer institutions that can inform students of legal remedies for working and renting. Only a few large-scale study abroad institutions and study abroad databases, such as New Oriental Future and Xintong Study Abroad, mention the care of working outside the home.

No.	Institution name	Business scope	Mechanism formation Standing time	websites	Pre-trip meeting Services	Tell the outside Enjoy the legal rights	Inform the legal rights relief channels such as working and renting houses	Involved file name (Inform of legal rights relief)
1	New oriental qiantu study abroad	Global	1996	http://liuxue.xdf.cn/	Yes	Yes	Yes	Foreign students working in Australia and working in Australia
2	Xintong study abroad	Global	1996	https://www.igo.cn/	Yes	Yes	Yes	Matters needing attention in studying abroad safety in Australia

3	Qide study abroad	Global	1985	http://eiceducation.com/zh-hans/businesses/eic_counselling/	Yes	Yes	None	
4	Tucano study abroad	Global	2006	http://www.zmnedu.com/	Yes	Yes	None	
5	Jieruisi Australia international education center	Australia	1998	http://jris.com/about.php	Yes	Yes	None	
6	Sian study abroad	Australia	2002	https://www.soledu.net/tw/	Yes	Yes	None	
7	Jinjilie study abroad	Global	1999	https://www.jjl.cn/bj	Yes	Yes	Yes	How to work part-time when studying in Australia
8	Overseas study in Australia	Global	1990	http://www.aoji.cn/	Yes	Yes	Yes	Instructions for studying and working in Australia, tax regulations for working in Australia, and job choices for studying and working in Australia, etc
9	Tiandao study abroad	Global	2002	http://tiandaoedu.com/	Yes	None	None	
10	Lisichen study abroad	Global	1999	https://www.sl.cn/	None	None	None	

11	Youye study abroad	United Kingdom	1995	http://www.mypeccn.com/	Yes	None	None	How much deposit should I pay for renting a house in the UK? What are the precautions
12	Tengmen study abroad	USA	2007	http://www.ivygate.cn/	None	None	None	
13	Jinshida overseas study service center	Global	2004	http://njjsd.sokoyun.com/	None	None	None	
14	Aidi international study abroad	Global	2002	http://www.eduglobal.com/	None	None	None	
15	Youfu study abroad	USA	2000	http://www.youfuedu.com/	None	None	None	
16	Centurybole study abroad	Global	1998	http://bj.edulife.com.cn/school/bjbl/	None	None	None	
17	Meishi education	Britain, America	2002	http://www.meishiedu.com/	None	None	None	
18	Study abroad network	Global	2005	https://www.liuxue86.com/	Yes	Yes	Yes	Instructions for working rights of Australian students, how to prevent exploitation, instructions for working

								rights of Australian students, application strategies for host families studying in Australia, etc.
19	IDP Connect	Global	1969	https://www.hotcoursesabroad.com/australia/	None	Yes	Yes	Working regulations for overseas students in Australia
20	Australia study abroad cloud	Australia	1999	http://www.auliuxue.com/	None	Yes	Yes	How to find a high-quality local internship when studying in Australia?

6 An effective way to solve the legal dilemma of overseas Chinese students

6.1 Relevant departments should issue policies and provide legal services

According to the above survey results, the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs has no regulations on legal aid for overseas students, nor has it taken action when overseas students face legal problems; China's Ministry of Education has set up a study abroad service center directly under the Ministry of Education, which provides overseas students with training including entry instructions, national conditions and safety precautions. However, the training focuses on safety precautions and does not involve legal aspects. Therefore, in such a current situation, it is difficult for Chinese students to get legal aid from China in a broad sense. At the same time, legal aid for non-nationals in various countries is relatively limited and expensive, and Chinese students are generally unwilling to seek local legal aid. Therefore, if the Chinese authorities can't provide relief channels, most Chinese students who can't help themselves can only passively accept the fact that their rights and interests have been infringed.

In this situation, it is suggested that the relevant departments can adjust their policies as soon as possible, add manpower to overseas institutions such as embassies and consulates, and provide legal services for local ordinary Chinese, so as to help overseas Chinese better understand and abide by local laws, and at the same time help them better safeguard their legitimate rights and interests. Chinese embassies abroad provide information and assistance to local Chinese enterprises and individuals investing in Australia in the form of intermediary service agencies. However, for those individuals

with weaker overseas ability, especially those young international students, the legal services provided by overseas departments will provide them with much-needed help. In view of this, I hope that the relevant departments can introduce policies to provide local legal consulting services to overseas Chinese students through embassies and consulates, so as to help Chinese students better safeguard their rights and interests, and help them finish their studies more smoothly and build their motherland(Liu Jiaen,2017).

It is suggested that overseas institutions provide the following services for overseas Chinese citizens:

- Consulting services for local common laws. Overseas embassies and consulates can provide local legal training for overseas personnel or join new relevant staff to provide legal consulting services for overseas Chinese, so as to cope with the legal difficulties encountered by overseas Chinese(Yang Zhoushuang,2011).
- Add corresponding sections to the official website to provide consulting services for citizens online. The use of official websites can improve the credibility of services and alleviate the common concerns of people seeking help(Sun Qun,2008).
- Launch the official APP to provide legal assistance to overseas students and other Chinese in need, and adapt to the development trend of artificial intelligence, and use AI technology to provide users with convenient and quick preliminary consulting services. Taking this opportunity, the APP can also provide a channel for overseas Chinese to seek legal relief. At the same time, relying on this platform, relevant institutions can integrate other service contents and provide better services for overseas Chinese.

6.2 Colleges and universities should cover the legal sector in pre-service training and carry out activities to popularize legal knowledge

According to the data, the pre-service training for international students has become more popular in colleges and universities. However, according to the investigation of this group, the training mainly covers consular protection, Chinese and Western cultures, foreign etiquette, safety precautions, physical and mental health, etc., and hardly involves the legal aid for international students abroad. Among the 20 colleges surveyed, only the pre-service training of East China University of Political Science and Law involves "local laws". It can be said that, at present, the section of "Legal Aid" is almost blank in the pre-trip training for overseas students in various universities in China. However, the questionnaire of this survey set the question "When do you want to receive legal care from relevant parties?". The data shows that 36.4% of the people want to receive legal care before going abroad, which shows that this demand cannot be ignored.

Therefore, it is suggested that colleges and universities should include legal aid in pre-service training. Pre-Service training is an important way for "prospective foreign students" participating in the school exchange program to obtain information about the countries to study abroad. Therefore, in order to let foreign students have a general understanding of the laws of the countries to study abroad and form a legal awareness of safeguarding rights, it is necessary to add legal aid to the pre-service training to guide students to pay attention to the laws of the country, especially those closely related to their lives and rights. To achieve this, teachers in charge of international communication should be organized to learn the basic knowledge of safeguarding rights abroad, and then the knowledge can be accurately transmitted to students. The specific forms that can be adopted are: adding legal contents to the reminders of the pre-trip meeting,

making legal teaching plans for overseas students and holding lectures to popularize foreign laws.

Considering the diversity of ways to study abroad, in addition to the exchange programs in schools, international students may go abroad through other institutions of study abroad or apply by themselves. Not all international students need pre-service training. Therefore, in addition to pre-service training for some international students, schools should also carry out a series of activities for all students to popularize foreign legal knowledge and strengthen students' awareness of rights protection. Specifically, we can recruit volunteers in schools or from all walks of life, make publicity brochures on legal rights and interests, push articles on WeChat public account (refer to similar achievements of the project team before), and hold relevant lectures, so that all students who intend to go abroad have the opportunity to learn about foreign laws (Stewart E. Fraser, 1984).

In addition, the relevant departments can make use of the mature volunteer system to publicize the law by recruiting volunteers in domestic universities and other related groups, so as to reduce the risks of related problems before overseas students go abroad and safeguard the legitimate rights and interests of overseas students.

6.3 Overseas study institutions should intensify the popularization of legal knowledge.

According to our questionnaire survey, interviews and information collection of relevant overseas study institutions, we find that domestic overseas study institutions have not done enough to popularize the law. Taking Australia as an example, according to the data collected from local questionnaires, among 401 questionnaires, 21.9% of Chinese students have been treated unfairly when renting a house, and 25.4% of Chinese students in Australia have been treated unfairly when working. The actual proportion should be higher than the statistical proportion, because not all students who fill in the questionnaire have experience of working and renting a house. If the scope is narrowed to students who have experience of working and renting a house, the proportion of unfair treatment may increase. However, when the students are treated unfairly, 49.6% of the students will choose to ask for help from their family and friends, and 65.1% of the students have never heard of Fair Work Ombudsman, Fair Trading and Legal Aid, which can solve the problem of unfair treatment. In addition, we also learned that only 19.5% of the students who had received training in legal issues before going abroad, and only 17.7% of the students who had received similar training after going abroad.

Therefore, institutions studying abroad should provide students studying abroad with manuals of relevant legal knowledge or hold lectures to popularize relevant knowledge. In addition, overseas study institutions should introduce Fair Work Ombudsman, Fair Trading and Legal Aid, which can solve the problem of unfair treatment of students, to overseas students in advance, so that they can know how to rely on such reliable institutions when they encounter legal problems.

7 Conclusion

Overseas students have frequent legal problems and increasing demand for legal help. However, the current situation that government agencies have no policies, universities have no popularity, and foreign schools have no obligation makes international students in a "three-no-care zone", and they can only face complicated foreign legal problems by their own efforts. Based on the investigation and study of the legal difficulties faced by

overseas students in Australia, this paper summarizes the legal problems and their characteristics, analyzes the reasons why overseas students frequently encounter legal problems from three aspects: state departments, universities and institutions for studying abroad, and puts forward some suggestions on how to effectively avoid international students from falling into legal difficulties. In a word, there is a long way to go for the legal care of Chinese overseas students. It is hoped that the relevant departments can provide reference and basis for the relevant state departments to make policies according to the suggestions and plans of the investigation team, and help the overseas students solve the legal problems encountered in their studies, work and life, and improve their working conditions and living conditions.

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The Objective and Mission of Australian Chinese Workers Association in the Current Situation

——Also on the Basic Principles of Free Workers Movement and its Practice in Australia

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Abstract

This paper aims to elaborate the basic principles of free workers movement on the basis of redefining the basic concepts, including commodities, labor and management and so on; and setting up the standard of theoretical framework. The core of the paper is to re-elaborate thoroughly on the objective and mission of ACWA by applying the basic principles of Free Workers Movement considering the new situation in 2020 and afterwards, and to make a summary of practice and activities in Australia over the past eight years, as well as a vision for the future development.

1 Foreword

A group of ghosts are wandering on the earth in 2020 from east to west, and south to north, being accompanied by extreme natural disasters such as the great plague, flood, famine, earthquake, high temperature and drought, as well as large-scale and dramatic conflicts, strife, and even wars in human society. 2020 has undoubtedly become the historical dividing line that will affect the development of thousands of years in the future. Since the first day of its establishment in 2012, Australian Chinese Workers Association (ACWA) has been being carried out a series of practices and actions in accordance with the objectives and mission of “Promoting and Practicing Free Trade Doctrine, Multiculturalism, Corporatism and Progressive Social Welfare Policy in the Chinese Community”, and initiated "Free Workers Movement" in 2015. Today, the world situations and social conditions have been changing dramatically. We believe that it is necessary to re-elaborate thoroughly on the objective and mission of ACWA by applying the basic principles of Free Workers Movement, and to make a summary of practice and activities in Australia over the past eight years, as well as a vision for our future development.

2 Basic Principles of the Free Workers Movement

Free Workers Movement is to generate a series of mega-changes and reforms on values, world views and eventually on policies and political systems, through a series of social activities with workers as the main body. The purpose is to liberate laborers from the enslavement of and exploitation by capital and to obtain the right to control production activities and the right to distribute production results, hence to form a new type of relations of production in which workers collaborate with each other. By building a universal free workers world, all mankind will share all the achievements of

material and spiritual civilization. Any successful social practice is inseparable from completely theoretical guidance and the corresponding guidance and promotion of social organization. Therefore, the first thing we need to do is to make a clear definition and discussion of the basic concepts, theoretical framework and basic principles of Free Workers Movement.

2.1 Definition of Basic Concepts

We believe, to establish a basic theoretical framework, we must return to the origin of the problem—the definition of commodities, labor and management.

Since Marx, commodities have been defined as fruit of labor for exchange. The object of labor is material, but with the gradual deepening and refining of human cognition of the natural world, the cognition of material has moved from atoms, electrons and even to neutrinos. Quantum theory shows the wave-particle duality of material and other hidden attributes; humans have also entered the information age from the industrial age. The extension and connotation of material have correspondingly changed revolutionarily. Therefore, the extension of commodities should be correspondingly expanded to include all that can be used for exchange labor results with value.

With the emergence of quantum theory, material exhibits two phases: dominant and recessive, which can also be defined as Yang and Yin. Human consciousness (mind) and its products are also in the recessive (Yin) category of material. Therefore, mind and material are dialectically unified and mutually related, and man and nature also coexist harmoniously.

Labor is a human-specific activity in which humans carry out corresponding activities on the objective world through their subjective will to produce exchangeable use values. Therefore, labor includes both activities to produce tangible material and to form and create intangible materials such as knowledge and culture. Management is a production factor for individual labor force to collaborate with each other and then achieve large-scale production, including a series of activities such as R&D, planning, organization, leadership, coordination, control, adjustment and so on.

Since the social structure of human beings evolved from clan to tribe, the division of labor and distribution of production within society have run through history, and the attributes and value of commodities have become a measure. The traditional class analysis method divides the society by means of dualization, and also combines the attributes and values of commodities by binary means. We believe that it is necessary to make a historically comprehensive description of the value of commodities, hence enabling us to fully grasp its attributes, so as to make a social division of labor and distribution consistent with the nature of things. The value of commodities is reflected in three phases, namely production, sales and consumption, which can be briefly expressed by a formula, $V=V(P)+V(S)+V(C)$. In the production phase, monetary capital plays a leading role in the entire production stage, and employs this leading role to monopolize the right to distribute the profits generated by the appreciation of the value of commodities created in the production process, by purchasing labor tools, labor sites, and hiring labor and managing and organizing production activities, which is also the root cause of social dual differentiation. In the sales process, the sales staff and related institutions commercialize the value of the commodity in the form of currency through the interpretation of the value of the commodity. In sales phase, the value of the commodity is reflected. In the process of consumption of goods, humans have generated

a series of derivative demands from the consumption of commodities, which stimulated new production, and in fact, they have further created value to commodities.

In these three processes, management (including research and development), as the most creative production factor, produces value to other production factors by creating value. The value of commodity is actually generated by human creativity and the spatiotemporal attributes of commodity. That is to say, the spatiotemporal attributes of commodity allow it to have an automatically growing attribute, and human creativity and labor only realize this layer of spatiotemporal unique properties. In the past large-scale production activities, management was achieved through a management system. The management system is a comprehensive product of social, cultural, economic, and political elements. It has public attributes and is also a production tool (platform) on which the management class depends on income. By means of the monopoly of large-scale labor tools including management systems, while squeezing the labor intensity and time of laborers, the capitalists class also quietly deprive the value generated by the management system, and they also seize the value created by the temporal and spatial attributes of commodities by controlling the state machines. These three parts are all the surplus value defined by some theories.

In the era of mega-data, a series of concepts such as currency, capital, credit, and finance will be redefined. Human production and other social public activities will be completed in a collaborative manner through various public platforms built by mega-data. In the future, the management system including the state apparatus and other production factors including production tools, places, funds, etc. plus the space-time attributes of the commodities will be truly socialized, and the capital owners and management will be stripped from these public properties become pure laborers. All participants in the production process only participate as workers. All laborers are equally present in the production process and system in a collaborative manner. Labor will be free and the work unit and overall value of workers will be measured by the inner creativity and the time and space dimensions of the process. In this sense, there will be no dual social classes in the future, and only the middle class as a description of the social status will exist permanently.

2.2 The Standard of Theoretical Framework

The Workers' Movement came along with the Industrial Revolution, and various theories of the Workers' Movement also came into being. Most of these theories came from Marx, LaSalle, Bakunin, Proudhon, Kautsky, Bernard Shaw, Lenin, Trotsky, Burnham, and other theorists; all the theories of the contemporary workers' movement cannot be separated from their inheritance, development and criticism. Based on these predecessors, the theory of Free Workers Movement, according to the characteristics of the information age, has made corresponding selection, sublation and development; therefore, our theoretical framework is also constructed in accordance with the corresponding principles.

In the long history of the labors' movement, people are always accustomed to classifying the various theories into left wing or right wing, which has resulted in numerous theoretical disputes and even brutal line struggles. Actually, each theoretician is based on his own observations of social forms and production methods and takes this as a perspective to theoretically summarize production activities to establish a corresponding theoretical system, but the basic philosophy is similar, that is, to liberate the working class from the slavery and exploitation by capital. In a social environment with high degree of production intensification or a more authoritarian ruling class,

perhaps Marx, Lenin, and Trotsky's theories are more appropriate; in a social environment with low degree of production intensification or a relatively moderate ruling class, perhaps, the theories of Lasalle, Bakunin, Proudhon, Kautsky, and Bernard Shaw are more instructive to the workers' movement; in the increasingly popular production form of industrial automation, Burnham's theory has come into existence accordingly.

When mankind enters the 21st century, production methods tend to diversify with the advent of informatization and mega-data. At the same time, some simple and repetitive labor is gradually replaced by artificial intelligence, and human labor will become more and more creative, which means individualization, and the cooperation of human labor will be freely and fairly exchanged through the platform built by mega-data. However, on the eve of history, the intensification of production just reached the historical peak. In the highly mechanized and capital-intensive manufacturing and property industries, capital owners use the monopoly of production tools to completely place the labor force in the subsidiary position of production tools for complete exploitation; in emerging e-commerce and other information industries, capital owners use the monopoly of electronic platforms and other production resources with public attributes, the exploitation of relevant employees is unprecedentedly mean; there are similar phenomena in other industries, all of which means that only fundamental mega-change can probably usher in the complete liberation of labor.

To greet the advent of the great era, the theory of "Free Workers Movement" also requires a reasonable criticism and inheritance of the original theories to develop a new theory suitable for the current situation. First of all, this theoretical foundation must be the integration of contemporary scientific achievements, based on a complete observation and understanding of the material world and human society, and a more comprehensive and accurate inspection and research of human production activities and the relations of production formed in production activities; Secondly, the analytical and discourse methods must be derived from Hegel's dialectic philosophy, Russell and Wittgenstein's analytical philosophy; Thirdly, according to the different production forms, the diversified adoption originates from Marx, Lasalle, Bakunin, Proudhon, Kautsky, Bernard Shaw, Lenin, Trotsky, Burnham and other theorists, and construct a parallel theory system based on different historical conditions; Finally, and the most important is the entire theoretical framework must be built on the core values of "being human-oriented, harmony between man and nature". To sum up, the theoretical framework of "Free Workers Movement" must follow four basic standards including scientific observation and analysis, a rigorous philosophical system, a variety of theoretical sources, and the core values of "being human-oriented, harmony between man and nature".

2.3 Basic Principles

According to the definition of the basic concepts established and the standards of the theoretical framework above, we will elaborate the basic principles of Free Workers Movement as follows.

In the period of industrialization in human society, due to the industrialization of production methods, the limited and non-renewable production resources, causing human to have the linearization of relations of production at the production site, the division of labor and the distribution of duality, the solution after the escalation of conflicts is often to eliminate each other as the ultimate means, and internal disputes in the workers' movement are often resolved by brutal line struggle. At the beginning of

this century, due to the emergence of the Internet, mega-data processing methods have revolutionized human production and lifestyles, and humans have entered the information age accordingly. The characteristics of globalization and decentralization determine that the linear relations of production will end, and humanity will be liberated from labor and will be truly free. The emergence and development of the internet means that mankind will achieve true equality and freedom in information acquisition and processing and all of the freedom generated accordingly, the distribution of social resources will tend to be reasonable and fair, and the employment relationship will be replaced by a cooperative relationship. The structure of human society will show a dynamic rectangularization, and the middle class will become the backbone of society.

The initial stage of Free Workers Movement is to promote and popularize a series of ideologies and cultures to form influence at the community and national policy levels, and to organize workers' joint industrial actions and other social activities, and thus to have a decisive impact on public policies; limiting the speculation of financial capital and other monopoly capital through legislation, and formulating a series of laws and rules that will help workers to share social progress and prosperity in a fair and reasonable manner, and organizing all workers to cooperate in the form of cooperatives and the exchange of labor achievements. The advanced stage of Free Workers Movement is to unite all workers into a civic autonomous community through workers' cooperatives, trade unions, and political groups representing the economic and political interests of the workers. This community gives all members of the society equal relations, including equal distribution of property, social status, and political rights to freedom, which is achieved by the practice of concepts of equality and freedom to social cooperation and mutual love of interpersonal relationships.

The community brings together the strengths of all laborers to overthrow the exploitation and enslavement of labor by capital. All laborers can truly and fully realize their labor value, and each laborer can live a middle-class life, and then enjoy complete freedom. Workers use cooperatives as their basic production units, and at the same time use each basic cooperative unit as their basic accounting unit to form higher-level cooperatives with other cooperatives according to their production needs. Within the cooperative, every worker negotiates on an equal basis to decide on materials related to the production process, and extends the autonomous system of this production process to the organization and management of all public institutions. To achieve this goal, trade unions and other related labor groups will organize and lead a series of propaganda activities, labor consultations and other industrial actions, public policy participation, and other forms of political struggles.

The necessary conditions of Free Workers Movement is that all workers are in a highly developed production system, and the income of workers is extremely incompatible with the value created by the entire system, and the education level, professional skills and moral standards of all workers are generally improved, a diverse community environment and a mature and functioning democratic political system, that is to say, Free Workers Movement must be gradually transformed and realized through a series of social policies and a consensus of the people in a democratic social system with highly developed capitalism and extremely uneven income distribution. In areas with sufficient innate conditions, a series of ideological and cultural activities and social political activities can be used to achieve the goal in a step-by-step manner. In areas where the main conditions are already in place but some secondary conditions are not sufficient, Free Workers Movement must be created through a series of ideological and cultural

activities and social, economic and political activities. The process of creating conditions is also to remove all obstacles for Free Workers Movement. The process of creating factors, therefore, will bring about alleviation or drastic social changes due to different specific circumstances, and then through Free Workers Movement will improve all factors and complete the entire transformation process within the expected time.

The highly developed production system and the wide disparity in income distribution are the main prerequisites for Free Workers Movement. The quality of workers, the community environment and the democratic political system are secondary conditions, which can be derived from Free Workers Movement when the main prerequisites are met. In most cases, a large part of the early work of Free Workers Movement is to improve the secondary conditions, especially the general improvement of workers' moral standards and the mature functioning democratic political system, which takes a certain amount of time and social costs to develop. Relatively speaking, the educational level and vocational skills of workers and the social environment can reach the standards in a relatively short period of time through Free Workers Movement.

Morality is a standard of behavior to adjust the evaluation and judgment of the behavior between others and themselves good and evil, honor or disgrace, appropriateness or inappropriateness, based on the values of a certain society or class (life form), public opinion, traditional customs and the power of people's inner belief (production capacity). With established certain standards of good and evil and code of conduct, it restrains people's mutual relations and personal behaviors, regulates social relations, and together with the law, protects the normal order of social life. It runs through all aspects of social life, such as social morality, marriage and family ethics, and professional ethics. The core of morality is that all beliefs are melted into social customs and traditions through time, and play a self-regulatory role on the individual's conscious behavior, that is, the collective subconsciousness. The improvement and perfection of all social moral beliefs is an important prerequisite for Free Workers Movement. Hence, Free Workers Movement supports all religious and spiritual cultivation activities compatible with universal values.

The ultimate goal of Free Workers Movement is to build a socialist society with the middle class as the main body. The two characteristics of the information age - globalization and decentralization determine that only when Free Workers Movement is carried out completely and thoroughly in the world can we truly build a socialist society with the middle class as the main body. The reason is that in the context of globalization, the circulation of financial capital is swifter and faster than the flow of labor. Only by winning Free Workers Movement in the world can a series of related policies be adopted to remove tariff barriers and build global labor cooperation platform through mega-data to exchange labor achievements. Only in this way can we build a socialist society with complete labor freedom. That is to say, Free Workers Movement can achieve partial victory locally, but only if Free Workers Movement is carried out globally can a complete victory be achieved. Therefore, laborers around the world must unite and work together for freedom of labor.

3 The Objective and Mission of Australian Chinese Workers Association

According to the basic principles of Free Workers Movement and to combine the *"The report on the development of Chinese community in Australia 2018"* compiled by Australian Chinese Workers Association, the vision and mission of Australian Chinese Workers Association are described as follows.

3.1 The Goals of the Middle Class

Middle class are mostly engaged in mental work, or technology-based manual labor, mainly dependent on wages, salary or self-employed small business to make a living, and generally well-educated, with professional knowledge and strong professional ability and corresponding family consumption ability; have a certain leisure, pursue quality of life. In general, they also have certain rights of management and control over their labor and working objects. At the same time, most of them are good citizens, and have moral awareness and corresponding cultivation. In other words, in terms of economic status, political status, and social and cultural status, they are all at the middle level of the current society. According to the relevant data of the *"The report on the development of Chinese community in Australia 2018"*, there are about 1.2 million Chinese in Australia. Among the five perspective of education, income, employment, political participation and participation in other social and public activities, and religious beliefs, except that the education level is higher than the national average level, the other four aspects are more or less lower than the average level.

Therefore, for the Chinese community in Australia to become the middle class in general, a relatively clear community development plan is needed to provide corresponding policy guidance. First of all, Australian Chinese community organizations should make corresponding transformations and improvements. At present, most of the Australian Chinese community organizations are friendship organizations in the form of fellow villagers' associations and chambers of Commerce, and fail to establish in-depth links with Australian local social resources. Therefore, they can not guide the Chinese community to establish contact with the mainstream society through the organization level or the channel level, so as to improve the participation of politics and other social public life; secondly, within the Australian Chinese community as an immigrant community, the employment scope is often narrower, limited at some traditional Chinese industries such as catering, clothing, accounting, and other service industries, and it need Chinese community organizations to provide effective counseling in employment and internships; another point is that the religious beliefs of the Chinese community also should be culturally encouraged, and support needs to be encouraged in establishing religious and other forms of spiritual cultivation or civic awareness training institutions in Chinese communities. The main task of Australian Chinese Workers Association is to unite all Chinese community organizations and relevant Australian government agencies to guide the Chinese community to achieve the middle class goal.

3.2 Free Trade Doctrine and Proactive Financial and Fiscal Policy

Globalization is an irresistible historical trend in the new century. Following this trend must it be prosperous, and the ultimate result of the reverse is recession or even extinction. Only free trade can allow all countries in the world to enjoy the fruits of globalization on an equal and mutually beneficial basis. As one of the leading countries in the Asia-Pacific region, Australia itself has many favorable conditions to embrace free trade to keep Australia's economy on the fast track of sustainable prosperity and development. Although Australia's diplomatic relations with China are at a low ebb due to the great plague in 2020 and other international situations, we always firmly believe that Australia can give full play to its dominant position in the Asia Pacific economic chain and maximize its strategic development goals only by implementing free trade doctrine.

Australia can only upgrade its economy through active free trade agreements and maintaining joint economic and trade exchanges and cooperation channels with all

emerging economies, including China, so that Australia's economy is full of vitality and continues enjoying prosperity and development. The Australian Chinese Workers Association comes from the Chinese community in Australia, which has a natural blood relationship with China and its public diplomacy and foreign trade channels. We are willing to undertake the historical responsibility for promoting economic and trade exchanges, and cooperation between Australia and China. We will actively host and co-organize a series of related lectures, seminars and forums to complete this historical task.

Given that Australia's economic capacity is relatively small, there may be some negatively side effects due to free trade, and the government should adopt proactive fiscal and financial policies to make some corrections or adjustments. Low interest rates and low exchange rates will build a firewall to offset the side effects of free trade agreements for the Australian economy. At the same time, the government must support some prudent and sustainable large-scale infrastructure development projects and industrial development projects by issuing public bonds and quantitative monetary easing, so as to promote industrial upgrading and regional development, and thus enhance economy and employment rates.

3.3 Corporatism

Corporatism embodies the uniqueness of Australian democracy, maintains the tenacity, harmony and unity of Australian society, and is also the key to resolve Australian labor disputes, which can effectively alleviate conflicts between labour and capital. We advocate that the realization of social interests must be established on a sustainable basis. In order to avoid conflicts and disorder, the government must play an authoritative role, control the entire social interest system, and limit the number of interest groups, then realize orderly interaction through the tripartite coordination mechanism of trade union, government and capital owners.

The Fair Work Commission is the core of the implementation and protection of corporatism. The committee has a balanced composition of representatives and works independently. It is responsible for supervising labor rights under the Fair Work Act , conducting mandatory arbitration of labor disputes, determining standards of working conditions, and reviewing the minimum wage annually. The Australian Chinese Workers Association strongly supports the Fair Work Commission of Australia to perform its duties. We advocate that when resolving labor disputes and other related matters, community trade unions, enterprise trade unions and industry trade unions have equal powers. Representatives of the community trade unions and enterprise trade unions, besides the trade unions, must also be included in the representatives of the Australian fair work Commission.

Only when the government officially releases economic policies, labor-management policies, and other related policies before fully consulting with all levels of society to reach a consensus, can the entire society maintain harmony and unity. The Australian Chinese Workers Association appeals to the government to regularly hold the highest national economic conference jointly attended by the government, enterprises, trade unions (including industry trade unions, enterprise trade unions, community trade unions) and other social groups to discuss economic policies, labor-management policies and other related policies, seeking compromise and cooperation, especially labor and capital compromise, to promote the steady development of the country's overall economy.

3.4 Proactive Social Welfare Policy and Other Social Wealth Secondary Distribution Policy

The welfare policy brings security, harmony and peace to the society. Maintaining social stability, promoting economic prosperity, improving the welfare of ordinary workers and improving their living standards are the goals pursued by Australian Chinese Workers Association. To achieve these goals, we advocate positive welfare policies; the government must provide subsidies to promote and strengthen occupational education and training to improve working skills; the government must organize various welfare services to reduce fluctuations in the workers' family living standards; the government must provide free medical care to help the disabled Workers restore their labor skills; the government must provide targeted social welfare subsidies to the general population through tax adjustments and other financial means to support their families' necessary consumption expenditure and self-improvement of working skills.

3.5 Diversified Society

Multiculturalism is the foundation stone of Australia as a nation, and is a concrete manifestation of the common enjoyment of democracy among all ethnic groups living in Australia. On the basis of a common social system and legal system, English is recognized as a universal language, and all ethnic groups living in Australia must equally enjoy all economic and political rights. All Australians should enjoy basic human rights and oppose discrimination based on race, ethnicity, religion or culture. All Australians should enjoy equal opportunities in life and equally fair access to public resources managed by the government on behalf of the community. All Australians must have full opportunities to participate in making decisions that directly affect them. All Australians should be able to develop and use their potential to contribute to Australia's economic and social development. All Australians should have the opportunity to improve their ability to speak English fluently and the government must adopt effective methods and provide sufficient resources to help ethnic communities overcome language barriers. All Australians should be able to develop and enjoy their cultural traditions. Australian institutions should be able to understand and reflect the diversity of the Australian community's culture. In government agencies such as immigration, labor, welfare, health and education, special agencies or officials must be set up to take charge of ethnic affairs.

Australian Chinese Workers Association strongly supports the inherited rights of indigenous peoples to the land, and also supports the government to set up funds to help indigenous people improve their living conditions and education. At the same time, it calls on the government to provide sufficient and effective funds and projects to help new immigrants to successfully overcome the difficulties in the first two years. We believe that multiculturalism can not only advance the country's politics, but also promote economic development and prosperity.

3.6 Joint public decision-making mechanisms

Australia has very well-organized government agencies and community organizations at all levels. Such institutions, from the religious synod to the parliament, are all established according to democratic principles. The Australian Chinese Workers Association will continue to encourage outstanding young leaders who support the Chinese community to actively participate in community public affairs and political affairs by organizing a "Youth Leadership Campaign"; at the same time, we will organize various types of events in the Chinese community in conjunction with relevant

Australian government agencies and parliaments. Various types of lectures are held to popularize the basic knowledge about Australian government agencies and related systems and encourage the Chinese community to actively participate in public issues and give a collective voice for the Chinese community; furthermore, the Australian Chinese Workers Association encourages and supports the development of various local development-related Forums, the establishment of think tanks, relevant public lobbying agencies and even the creation of political groups to increase the direct and indirect participation of the Chinese community in public policies at all levels in Australia.

4 Practice in Australia

In order to realize our objectives and missions, the Australian Chinese Workers Association has carried out a series of practices in Australia that are conducive to the Chinese community and the entire society of Australia in accordance with the relevant objectives since the first day of its establishment. This paper summarizes and classifies them according to their nature and significance.

Youth leadership campaigns and other training activities. The Australian Chinese Workers Association has held one or two terms of Youth Leadership Campaign every year since 2014. Through cooperation with relevant university student associations, industry organizations, community organizations and relevant news media, each term recruits a group of outstanding Chinese youth representatives to participate in Youth Leadership Campaign, inviting members of Parliament, community leaders and relevant industry elites as mentors to train participants on public participation awareness, community organization operations and industry-leading knowledge, to help outstanding youth leaders of Chinese community establishing political participation awareness, leadership and improvement of associated vocational skills. It has been eight years, and a large number of outstanding young Australian Chinese have made outstanding achievements in various industries and public service fields. In the meantime, we also jointly hold seminars with various government agencies including the Fairtrading NSW, Multicultural Department, the Immigration Bureau, the Fair Work Ombudsman, and various levels of parliament in the Chinese community to help the Chinese community master relevant laws and regulations and safeguard their reasonable rights.

Publishing, publicity activities and media. The Australian Chinese Workers Association established an institutional publication, "Asia-Pacific Humanities", in 2014. Through this publication, we promoted and implemented Australia's multicultural policy in the Chinese community and reported relevant people and events in the Chinese community. In 2016, following the first public memorial service in the history for the Chinese Victims during Gold Rush, in order to summarize the history and look forward to the future, we published *"The End of the History of the Anti-Chinese Policy in Australia"*, and donated to the National Library of Australia and various state libraries, community libraries, university libraries and community organizations, as well as related institutions, as well as to the Australian parliamentarians involved in writing articles and related scholars and community leaders, including the Beijing Library, Zhongshan Library, Fudan University, Sun Yat-sen University and other well-known libraries have also accepted our donations and put them on the shelves; and held a series of publicity activities to promote the concept of the book --- adherence to multiculturalism and active participation in public diplomatic activity between Australia and China, safeguarding the rights of free and equal development of Chinese community. In 2018, as a commemoration of the 200th anniversary of the Chinese settlement in Australia, the

Australian Chinese Workers Association compiled the *"The report on the development of Chinese community in Australia in 2018"*. The blue book has a total of 398 pages of nearly 500,000 words. The main body is composed of four parts, namely the general report, survey report, community study and chronicles, and consists of 13 sub-topics on the family composition of the Chinese community in Australia, education, employment, investment, home ownership, marriage, pension, public health, multiculturalism, religious life and and the other types of community life. The first thorough and comprehensive research and analysis has far-reaching historical significance and social value. In order to provide comprehensive and accurate data and information on the Australian Chinese community to Australian policymakers, researchers and other relevant parties, we presented this blue book to members of the Australian Parliament, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Foreign Trade, and the relevant institutions and individuals, including the Australian Library of Parliament, the National Library, and nearly 2,000 university libraries in China and Australia, and carried out extensive publicity activities in the Chinese community. In addition, we have also registered the accounts and channels of the Australian Chinese Workers Association on WeChat, Weibo, YouTube and other social media to actively promote our ideologies.

Public memorial service and the establishment of monuments. On March 21th, 2015 (Australia Harmony Day and United Nations International Day for the Elimination of Race Discrimination), we held the first ever Public Memorial Service for the Chinese victims during Gold Rush in the Auditorium of Parliament of New South Wales, Australia, which was widely supported by the Australian and Chinese government, CFMEU Mining and Energy Division, and the broad support of many Chinese religious and community agencies. on October 9th, 2016 (Double Ninth Festival in China), we established the first monument in the history at Rookwood Cemetery for the Chinese victims during Gold Rush, inviting famous monks to lead Barbuda ceremony, Australian parliament members, union leaders and other community leaders and representatives from various community organizations to hold the grand opening ceremony. We also held large-scale anniversary ceremonies for the monument on Double Ninth Festival in 2017 and 2018 respectively, and we have been sending representatives to commemorate the monument on the Tomb Sweeping Day in subsequent years.

Anti-racial discrimination and other related demonstrations. We actively participated in every march and demonstration related to anti-racial discrimination, namely, the demonstration against Palmer's anti-Chinese words and deeds in 2014, the continuous demonstrations against the amendment of Clause 18 of Racial Discrimination Act in 2015 and 2016 Demonstration, in October 2019 during the Australian Labor Day holiday, the demonstration in Sydney organized by us in conjunction with other trade unions while celebrating the 70th anniversary of the founding of PRC, and in June 2020, the demonstration in Sydney in support of American African Floyd and people of color all over the world.

Multicultural activities. Since 2014, we have sent a theatrical team every year to actively participate in the Chinese New Year celebrations organized by the Sydney City Council and other local governments. At the same time, we also invite other theatrical groups in the Chinese community to organize the May 1st Labor Day Cultural Festival. Large-scale publicity activities will also host corresponding theatrical and artistic performances. We also actively organize and participate in religious activities such as Nantian Temple and Lingyan Mountain Temple.

Chinese card and other convenient services. On February 10th, 2016, the activity of collecting online signatures for popular Chinese cards was initiated, facilitating overseas Chinese returning home with much more convenience. It received the support of many media and the Chinese community. Nearly 30,000 people paid attention and supported, and we also received support from a member of the Standing Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC), who submitted formal proposal to CPPCC to require the country to grant overseas Chinese with popular Chinese cards even further recognition of dual nationality. The state attached great importance to this proposal. In October 2016, it requested relevant departments to discuss the trial plan. In August 2017, Guangdong and Shanghai first tried out the five-year temporary Chinese card, and in 2018, the five-year temporary Chinese card was implemented nationwide, which was welcomed and supported by the majority of overseas Chinese. We have also organized volunteers in Australia to visit and console the elderly and help the elderly fill out relevant forms and other community convenience services.

Political Participation. We have trained a large number of outstanding Chinese youths through youth leadership campaigns, and they have actively participated in various local social and public activities; we have also integrated Chinese ethnic communities into local public life by organizing volunteers for elections at all levels; in 2015, the "Free Workers Movement" was launched, and the Free Workers Party was formed in 2017 to participate in the election activities at all levels.

Cooperate and interact with other trade unions and community organizations in Australia. From the first day of the establishment of the Australian Chinese Workers Association, we have received support and assistance from CFMEU, AMWU, NSW Unions and other trade unions as well. We have also actively cooperated with all of the trade unions in Australia. we have also established good cooperation and interaction with Sydney Alliance, Queensland Alliance, Australian Fabians, and related institutions and organizations including the Christian Church and the Catholic Church; we also have a large number of local Chinese community organizations in Australia established and maintained a long-term cooperation and interactive relationship, including all kinds of associations and organizations such as hometown associations, chambers of commerce, poetry associations, literary groups, Buddhist temples and Taoist temples. Through these countless and complicated associations, we have been promoting the concept of "Free Workers Movement" in Australia.

5 Outlook

Recalling the eight years of ups and downs, we uphold the objectives and mission established by the basic principles of "Free Workers Movement". We have dedicated our passion, perseverance and will in Australia for eight years to overcome all difficulties, having obtained prominent achievements, and we have faith that our historical mission will be successfully completed in the coming future. It is our belief that the basic principles of "Free Workers Movement" are universal. Therefore, we firmly believe that once "Free Workers Movement" has been a complete success in Australia, the flag of "Free Workers Movement" will be surely sweeping all over the world, since the angels' horn has been blaring.

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