

contents

Foreword by Tony Blair	X
貝理雅序	
Preface	XVI
自序	

Part One 第一部分

On Cultural Exchange between China and the West 中西方文化交流

Understanding Modern China Through Its Art	2
從藝術作品中了解現代中國	
A Story of China, Past and Present	8
講講中國的過去和現在	
A Gift Over 200 Years Old	24
一份兩百多年前的禮物	
Enjoy Your Tea and Friendship	32
茗香傳友誼	
From Shakespeare to Cultural Exchanges	40
從紀念莎翁說開去	

目錄

Part Two 第二部分

A Closer Look at China 更深入認識中國

Embrace a Colourful World 迎接多彩的世界	54
Break the Ice Between China and the West 中西交往，破而後立	66
Survive the Disaster with Love and Strength 災難中的大愛與堅強	76
Is China a Power? 中國是強國嗎？	82
Understanding China 更好地了解中國	96

Part Three **The Changing World and the Changing China**
第三部分 **變化中的世界與中國**

New Diplomatic Challenges for China in a Changing World 從外部環境的變化看我國外交面臨的新挑戰	114
China's New Path to Industrialisation and the Role of Britain 中國的新型工業化道路與英國的作用	134
Post-Olympic China and Its Relations with the West 「後奧運」時代的中國與西方關係	152
China and Its Relations with the World Amidst the Financial Crisis 金融危機下的中國與世界	166
Climate Change and China 氣候變化與中國	176
Farewell to London 道別倫敦	190

Part Four
第四部分

Articles
文 章

The Olympic Torch Is Undimmed 奧運之火生生不息	202
Reflections on the Torch Relay 奧運火炬傳遞後的思考	206
Unity Is Deep in Our Blood 團結流淌在中華民族的血脈裏	216
Remembering David Hawkes 憶霍克思先生	222
The X Factor Factor 「英國偶像」	230

Appendices
附 錄

China Is a New Story—Lunch with the FT 中國是個新故事——與FT共進午餐	238
On Speech Techniques 關於演講技巧的幾點體會	258
Epilogue to Hong Kong Edition 香港版跋	268

Foreword by Tony Blair

Ambassador Fu Ying has led an extraordinary life: from her experience as a young girl, sent out to rural China as part of the Cultural Revolution to her distinguished diplomatic career, where she has been one of China's most articulate messengers of the nation's promise. And in this book of speeches, the reader will find an advanced understanding of the opportunities and challenges facing China and the rest of the world.

I firmly believe that to understand the world today, you have to understand the rapid pace of globalisation, its effects and China's very significant place within it.

As I sit down to write this foreword, news reaches me that China has just become the second largest economy in the world. Unthinkable to many just a couple of decades ago. Yet, this news will no doubt feel dated by the time you pick up this book: that's how fast events develop and breaking news becomes received wisdom.

When you understand this, you can reap the benefits of this rapid change. Fu Ying appreciates this and so too should leaders and nations across the globe.

Ambassador Fu has dedicated herself to introducing and opening up China to the rest of the world. And she does so equipped with a willingness to engage and learn from others alongside an acute awareness of the many lessons other nations can learn from China.

When I was Prime Minister, I could see the accelerating pace of China's continued emergence as a major power. I gave speeches about China, I understood it analytically. But I did not feel it emotionally and therefore did not fully understand it politically.

貝理雅序

傅瑩大使的人生頗不平凡：豆蔻年華時經歷「文化大革命」，在中國農村「上山下鄉」；後來在外交事業上成績斐然，成為最能清晰地傳遞中國聲音的使者之一。在這本演講錄中，讀者可以深入了解中國乃至整個世界所面臨的機遇和挑戰。

我堅信，要了解當今世界，就要先了解全球化的快速進程，了解它的影響力以及中國在這個進程中舉足輕重的地位。

當我坐下來寫這篇序言時，獲悉中國剛剛成為世界第二大經濟體。在幾十年前，這是很多人所無法想像的。不過，你讀到這本書時，這則新聞肯定已經成了舊聞——事情發展就是這樣迅速，突發新聞很快就會變得人盡皆知。

你若明白了這一點，就可以從這種疾速的變化中獲益。傅瑩充分意識到了這一點，世界上其他國家和領導人也應該深有體會。

傅瑩大使一直致力於把中國介紹給全世界，並向全世界敞開中國的大門。她樂於與別國交流並向別國學習，同時亦清晰地意識到，其他國家也可以從中國那裏獲益良多。

在我擔任英國首相時，我看到了中國作為主要大國持續而迅猛的發展。我曾作過關於中國的演講，對這個國家有理性的認識。但是，我從未帶着個人感情去感受它，因此，在政治上，我對它的了解還不甚充分。

Since leaving office I have visited many times. People ask me, sometimes out of fear, what the future holds in a world where power is shifting East. I see it as an enormous opportunity that can only enrich our own lives. Take the Beijing Olympics: that breathtaking showcase of what China is capable of was arguably 21st-century China's greatest exercise of engagement with the outside world. Those Games were evidence of China's willingness to open up and to move forward as part of our global community.

The moment of the Games that made the biggest impression on me came during an informal visit just before the Games to one of the new Chinese Internet companies, and in conversation with some of the younger Chinese entrepreneurs.

These people, men and women, were smart, sharp, forthright, unafraid to express their views about China and its future. Above all, there was a confidence, an optimism, a lack of the cynical, and a presence of the spirit of get up and go, that reminded me greatly of the U.S. at its best and any country on its way forward.

These people weren't living in fear, but looking forward in hope. And for all the millions still in poverty in China, for all the sweep of issues— political, social and economic—still to be addressed, that was the spirit of China during this festival of sport, and that is the spirit that will define its future.

The great engagement legacy of the Beijing Olympics was that ignorance and fear of China is steadily declining as the reality of modern China becomes more apparent to the rest of the world.

The problem for the West is that China often thinks of itself as a developing nation, and it is a developing nation, but it is also today a world power. And here is my very crude theory of international relations: when people in the West look at a developing nation, they say, "Isn't that nice—that poor developing nation—how can we help?" But when they look at another nation and they say, "That's a power," then they say, "What does that mean for us?" And this is the dual situation: China is a developing nation; it is also a power. And so, when I was asked yesterday by someone, "Do people in the West regard China as a threat?" the answer is some, possibly. But for most people in the West, they just ask, "What does it mean?"

For centuries, the power has resided in the West, with various European powers including the British Empire and then, in the 20th century, the U.S. Now the West must come to terms with a world in which the power is shared with the Far East. I wonder if we quite understand what that means, we whose culture (not just our politics and economies) has dominated for so long. It will be a rather strange, possibly unnerving experience for some. Personally, I think it will be incredibly enriching. New experiences, new ways of thinking liberate creative energy.

卸任以來，我曾多次出訪。人們有時不無擔憂地問我，如今世界重心東移，未來究竟會怎樣？我把這看作是一次巨大的契機，它只會令我們的生活更加豐富多彩。就拿北京奧運會來說：那場激動人心的盛典顯示了中國的能力，可以說是二十一世紀的中國與外部世界交融所作的最大努力。奧運盛會表明了中國對外開放和作為全球共同體的一份子向前發展的意願。

就在北京奧運會之前不久，我曾到中國的一家新興網絡公司進行了一次非正式訪問，還和一些年輕的中國企業家進行了交談，我對北京奧運會最深刻的印象便是在這次訪問期間形成的。

這些年輕人，無論男女，都很聰明、機敏而直率，敢於表達自己對中國和中國未來的看法。最重要的是，他們充滿信心，樂觀向上，不見憤世嫉俗之戾氣，卻充滿十足幹勁之朝氣，這讓我想起了鼎盛時期的美國，也想起了所有正在前行之中的國家。

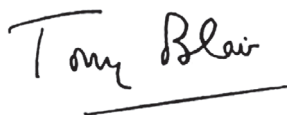
這些人沒有活在憂懼之中，而是滿懷希望地向前看。雖然中國還有數千萬貧困人口，還有政治、社會、經濟等等很多問題有待解決，但在這場體育慶典中閃耀的正是那種精神，那種決定中國未來的精神。

北京奧運會為中外交往留下了巨大的財富，外界對中國的無知和恐懼正在逐漸減少，一個真實的當代中國已經更加清晰地展現在世人面前。

西方世界遇到的問題是，中國總是將自己看作發展中國家。的確，它是發展中國家，但現在它也是一個世界強國。關於國際關係，我有一個粗淺的理論：西方人看到發展中國家時會說，「這難道不好嗎——那個貧困的發展中國家——我們能幫上什麼忙呢？」但是他們看到另一個國家並且認為「那是個強國」，這時他們會說，「那對我們來說意味着什麼？」這就是中國所面臨的兩難境地——它既是發展中國家，也是強國。所以，當昨天有人問我，「西方人把中國當成威脅嗎？」我的回答是「也許有些人的確如此」，但對大多數西方人而言，他們只會問：「它對我們來說意味着什麼？」

幾個世紀以來，西方一直佔據支配性的地位，其中包括很多歐洲強國，比如大英帝國；到了二十世紀，美國也強盛起來。現在，西方國家必須接受這樣一個事實：如今世界上是遠東與西方共享權力。我在想，我們在文化上（不只是政治和經濟上）已經佔據主導地位這麼久，是否能夠

Essentially what I'm saying, and what Ambassador Fu has been saying for many years, is that we should not fear the new and unfamiliar. People and nations excel when they're willing to learn from and respect each other. That is the way of the 21st century and that is the way China and the West must engage. Reading this book and knowing this extraordinary woman, you'll find that Fu Ying has been working on this for many years.

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Tony Blair". The signature is written in a cursive, flowing style. Below the signature is a single horizontal line that starts under the 'T' and ends under the 'r'.

Former Prime Minister of the United Kingdom

真正理解那意味着什麼？對某些人來說，這將是個非常陌生、甚至可能會令人不安的體驗。但我個人覺得，它將推動新經驗、新思維解放創造力，極大地豐富我們的世界。

我所說的，以及傅瑩大使多年來一直在講的，最根本的一點就是，我們不必害怕新生的和陌生的事物。願意相互尊重、相互學習的國家和人民必會出類拔萃。這是二十一世紀的發展方向，也是中國和西方交往的必由之路。讀一讀這本書，認識一下這位非凡的女性，你會發現，傅瑩已經在這條路上前行了很多年。

托尼·貝理雅
英國前首相

Preface

The first decade of the 21st century saw a steady rise of China's position in the world. This has placed China under a global spotlight with scrutiny from the world over as never before. The impact of China's rise has been felt in Western countries wherever one goes, from being woken up by a Made-in-China alarm clock in the morning, to the television they watch in the evening. Someone living in a Western society is likely to be surrounded by products made in China all day long. But what kind of country is China? Why is it so different? And how can it generate such explosive productivity? These questions are often baffling, if not downright mysterious, to Westerners.

Soon after the birth of the People's Republic, China was subjected to a Western blockade. And for a long time during the Cold War, China and the West were on opposite sides of the "Bamboo Curtain." Some of China's actions at times did not help matters either and it was only towards the end of the Cold War when the international environment improved sufficiently that China was able to embark on the path of reform and opening up. This has led to more than 30 years of growing dialogue and interdependence between China and the West. The thick barrier of icy suspicion that used to separate the two sides has started to thaw. However, the wave of China-bashing in the lead-up to the 2008 Beijing Olympics once again revealed widespread understanding deficits and prejudice towards China in Western countries.

During my terms as China's Ambassador to Australia and subsequently to the United Kingdom, I was often troubled by the fog of stereotyping that stubbornly shrouds China's image in Western countries. It is not only hurting China's image, but has also hindered the deepening of relations between China and some

自序

在二十一世紀的頭十年，中國的國際地位快速上升，外界對中國的關注和關心也前所未有地隨之上升。在西方社會裏，中國的影響已經無處不在，從清晨床頭的鬧鐘開始，到夜間觀看的電視，普通人每天都在同「中國製造」打交道。而中國是一個什麼樣的國家？為什麼中國的制度如此不同？為什麼這個國家能迸發如此強大的生產力？這些問題對許多西方人來說，如同一個解不開的謎。

新中國在成立後不久就遭到西方世界的封鎖，在冷戰中的大部分歲月裏被視為「竹幕」背後的國家。我們自己的一些極「左」做法也加深了相互的隔絕。中國的改革開放是在冷戰後期逐漸改善的國際環境中開始的。三十多年來，中西交往逐漸增加，經濟依存度不斷深化，隔閡的冰層也開始慢慢融化。但是，圍繞北京奧運會在西方世界發生的對中國的打壓，在一定意義上再次揭示了對中國的不了解和偏見的廣泛存在。

我在澳大利亞和英國擔任大使期間，常常為籠罩在中國形象上的那層撥不開的偏見迷霧所困擾，這不僅對中國的形象造成損害，也對雙邊關係的深入發展構成潛在障礙，一遇到風吹草動就會暴露出雙方關係的脆弱。所以我在演講中重點針對這些問題。

Western countries, making our relations vulnerable at any sign of trouble, and it was these issues that I addressed in my speeches.

A nation's image and soft power is mainly built up through its own efforts and progress. China is not perfect. There are many problems waiting to be resolved as we move ahead with our reforms. However, there is sometimes frustration in China that our efforts and progress often go unappreciated and the myriad of challenges we face poorly understood. This may also be attributed to China's unique historical and cultural traditions, a political configuration easily distinguishable from that of the West, and even the language barrier.

Therefore, we need to work even harder to project a true image of China and send our message to the world, calmly and in plain language, just like "the spring drizzle moistening the parched earth." Chinese ambassadors around the world are working very hard in this respect and many splendid pieces have been collected, compiled and published. Of course, we cannot expect to dispel the fog with one speech, or ten speeches, or even a hundred of them, but it is a must-do if we are ever to help shape a world of harmony in diversity.

I feel a little uneasy about this book coming out, since speeches are often made by invitation and prepared in a hurry, down to the last minute, to say nothing of my belief that I was often not an expert on the issues I tried to address. So there will inevitably be flaws and inaccuracies. Besides, most speeches included were prepared in English in the first place and their translation may seem not "Chinese" enough to native Chinese speakers. Nevertheless, thanks to encouragement from my seniors, friends and colleagues, I still wish to publish this collection, in the hope that this humble effort will encourage more like-minded people to move towards greater understanding between China and the West.

一個國家形象的改善和軟實力建設主要靠自身的努力和發展，中國還不完善，有許多問題要在深化改革的過程中去解決。但像中國這樣，取得很多成績卻得不到外界認可，面臨許多挑戰也得不到充分理解，有時難免讓人感到失望。這與中國歷史文化的獨特、在政治制度上與西方的不同乃至語言障礙都不無關係。

因此，我們更需要主動地介紹自己，尤其要以一種平和的心態和平常的語言，以「潤物細無聲」的方式來傳遞我們的信息。中國的駐外大使都在積極主動地做着這方面的工作，其中不少優秀演講也已整理成冊。當然，不能指望一次、十次甚至一百次的演講就能把這層迷霧撥開，但是我們必須朝着這個方向不斷努力，塑造和而不同的外部環境。

本書的面世讓我頗為忐忑。因為演講往往帶有隨機性質，有時甚至倉促擬就，鑒於我對談到的一些問題缺乏全面的了解和專業的研究，難免有不妥當抑或不準確之處。大部分講話原文是英文，中譯文有時顯得不順當。但是，在領導和許多朋友、同事的鼓勵之下，我願意出版這部集子，以鼓勵更多有心人沿着中西溝通的道路前行。

Understanding Modern China Through Its Art

Speech at the Opening of the Chinese Exhibition:
Selected Prints of the 20th Century and Contemporary Ceramics
Canberra, 24 June 2005

Ms. Harriet Elvin¹,
Ladies and Gentlemen,

I am very happy to open this two-part art exhibition from China, namely:
Contemporary Chinese Ceramics and Selected Chinese Prints of the 20th
Century.

On behalf of the Chinese Ministry of Culture and the Chinese Embassy in
Australia, I wish to thank you for your support and for joining us today for
the opening.

Ceramics is an important part of China's time-honoured civilisation, and
was introduced to Europe and other parts of the world through the Silk
Road. However, the world may not be aware of the modern developments in
Chinese ceramic art.

¹ Chief Executive Officer of the Cultural Facilities Corporation in Canberra

從藝術作品中了解現代中國

在中國二十世紀版畫與當代陶瓷展開幕式上的演講
堪培拉，2005年6月24日

哈里雅特·埃爾文女士¹，女士們、先生們：

我很高興能為來自中國的兩部分展覽揭幕，即當代中國陶瓷展與二十世紀版畫精選展。

我謹代表中國文化部與中國大使館，對大家來參加此次活動表示誠摯的感謝，感謝你們的支持。

陶瓷是中國古老文明的重要組成部分，經由絲綢之路傳入歐洲和世界各地，但中國現代陶瓷藝術的發展尚不完全為世人所了解。

這次展出的五十件作品將一些現代觀念與中國的傳統藝術形式完美地

1 堪培拉文化設施公司首席執行官

These 50 pieces on display are a perfect blend of modern ideas and traditional Chinese art. Some may appear very Oriental to you, but to us, they look quite Western. That also reflects what is happening in China, where one can feel the fast steps of modernisation nourished by our long history, our deep-rooted traditions, and modern accomplishments of industrialisation.

The second part of the exhibition is a selection of Chinese prints, which reflect the evolution of this form of art in China throughout the 20th century—the most turbulent period in our history. China entered the century with the pain of brutal invasion and occupation by foreign powers. This resulted in many of our valuable artworks being looted and taken abroad.

I remember that at the age of 13, I visited the Yungang Grottoes in China's Shanxi Province and sadly found many large statues of Buddha with their heads missing. Only 20 years later, was I able to complete my homage to the Yungang Buddhas, when I saw the heads of the statues in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York.

With the fall of the Qing Dynasty and the end of China's dynastic history, Western ideas of democracy and science poured into China. And this had a strong influence on our intellectuals and the works of artists. However, China soon suffered heavy loss of life and wealth from Japanese invasion. A strong patriotism prevailed among works of art during that particular chapter of history.

The first few decades after the founding of the People's Republic of China saw a new period of development for China's modern art. However, the isolation China was subjected to in the 1950s-1970s, as well as domestic political turmoil once impeded the greater development of Chinese art. It was the success of reform and opening up and economic development in the late 20th century that offered unprecedented opportunities to the artists and art collectors.

The prints on display today lead you through the last 100 years of China's history. The pieces are selected from huge collections of excellent art works.

融合在一起。有的在你們看來也許非常東方，但是在我們中國人看來卻相當西方。這也是對當今中國的一個很好折射：在中國，你可以時刻感受到在深厚的歷史和傳統滋養下吸納工業化元素快速前進的現代化步伐。

展覽的第二部分是中國版畫精選，它們記錄了中國版畫在整個二十世紀的演進歷程。上個世紀是中國歷史上最動盪不安的年代，世紀初就以外國列強對中國野蠻入侵和佔領拉開序幕。很多珍貴的藝術品在兵燹中遭到洗劫，流失海外。

我還記得十三歲的時候參觀了山西的雲岡石窟，看到那裏很多大尊的佛像都沒有頭部，令人痛心；而在我三十三歲的時候有機會在紐約大都市藝術博物館參觀，才看到了這些佛像的頭部——也就是說，我整整花了二十年的時間才看到了雲岡石窟佛像的全貌。

隨着中國最後一個王朝清朝的覆滅，西方民主和科學的思想湧入中國，對中國知識份子和藝術家的作品產生了巨大的影響。但是不久，中國遭受日本侵略，生靈塗炭。所以這一時期的藝術作品反映了強烈的愛國主義情感，這在當時的藝術創作中佔據了主導地位。

中華人民共和國建立以後的幾十年間，中國現代藝術經歷了新的發展時期。但是，從二十世紀五十年代到七十年代，中國在世界上受孤立的狀態和國內的政治動盪曾經妨礙了中國藝術更加全面地發展。二十世紀後期中國改革開放的成功和經濟的發展，才給藝術家和藝術收藏家帶來了空前的機遇。

本次展出的版畫將帶您穿越中國近百年的歷史，展出的作品是從大量優秀的藝術作品中精挑細選出來的。

Before concluding, I want to share some thoughts with you about the rattling in the media lately about China and some reporters' obsession with the fallacy of "thousands of Chinese spies in Australia."

I have been asking: Why are some of the Australian media and even politicians so easily taken in by these lies about China? Why can't they bother to think if it were at all making any sense for China to send that many spies to a country of some 20 million people, or to work so hard to develop its economy only to better afford espionage? Why are they so biased against China?

I am not sure I have the answer. But one of the reasons may be the lack of knowledge about China, its history, and the changes that have taken place there over the last 30 years.

For example, despite all the many discussions about China's human rights in Australia, few people here know that China has had a human rights movement for over 100 years and that the movement has always been plugged into the fortunes of the nation. Human rights were the banner under which intellectuals early last century tried to amend the legal system of the Qing Dynasty that had long outlived their usefulness. After 100 years of unwavering efforts, respect and protection of human rights was incorporated into the Chinese Constitution in 2004.

There may be many shortfalls in China and there will be continuous efforts for improvement. But if some people think that human rights are simply not respected in China at all today, they are nothing but naive. No government can successfully exercise governance in a country the size of China without paying all due respect to the rights of its people or doing what it can to meet their needs.

So, I hope the exhibition would offer you a glimpse of the remarkable changes of modern China, in both its art and the life of its people. I expect to see more cultural and art exchange programmes on both sides, which will be essential to promoting understanding between our two peoples.

在結束致辭之前，我想和大家分享一下我對媒體上最近對中國一些非議的看法，有記者對所謂「中國向澳大利亞派遣數千間諜」的說法津津樂道。

我在想，為什麼一部分澳大利亞媒體，甚至包括一些政界人士，會如此輕易地被這些關於中國的謊言所欺騙？為什麼他們不能稍微思考一下——比如說中國有什麼必要向一個兩千多萬人口的國家派遣如此多的間諜？難道中國如此努力發展經濟就是為了供養間諜嗎？為什麼他們對中國存有如此之深的偏見？

我不確定自己能夠找到這些問題的答案，一個可能的原因是對中國缺乏了解，對中國歷史、對中國近三十年來的變化缺乏了解。

比如說，在澳大利亞經常有關於中國人權狀況的討論，但是沒有多少人了解中國人權運動的百年歷史，而這個浪潮從來都是與中華民族命運的起伏息息相關的。早在上個世紀初，中國的知識份子就在人權旗幟的感召下提出要改良落後的清朝律法。經過一百年的不懈努力，2004年，尊重和保障人權被寫入了中國憲法。

中國還有很多不足，我們會一直努力改進。但如果有人認為人權在今日中國完全得不到重視和尊重，那就太幼稚了。一個政府如果不尊重人民的權益，不設法滿足人民的需求，那麼它是不可能成功地治理一個如中國這般龐大的國家的。

所以我希望此次展覽能夠讓大家看到現代中國在藝術上以及人民生活上所發生的巨大變化。我也希望看到中澳雙方能有更多的文化和藝術交流項目，這將對加深兩國人民的相互理解起到舉足輕重的作用。