

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-76060-7 - Making the Political: Founding and Action in the Political Theory of

Zhang Shizhao

Leigh K. Jenco

Index

[More information](#)

## Index

- “Academic Theory of Federalism, An” (“Xueli shang zhi lianbang lun”) 176
- accommodation (*tiaohe*) 19, 20–21, 109, 197–198, 230–231, 243–245
- as requiring opposition 199–201
- as tolerance 194, 197, 199
- concrete processes of 209–210, 213–214, 218–223
- contemporary influence of 223–224
- difference and 20–21, 194–195
- difference politics and 194–195, 201–202, 224
- individuals and 206–207
- role of talent in 165, 174–175, 197, 213
- public realm and 213–214, 215–221
- virtue and 211–212
- “Accommodation as Founding” (“Tiaohe liguo lun”) 197
- action, political 4, 17–18, 227–232
- as circular 63n.39
- as collective 3, 5, 28, 123
- as individual 124, 125–127, 130, 134, 149–154, 160, 226–227, 235–236
- related to public sphere 3, 105, 123
- administration, political  
*see* federalism
- “Appraisal of the Restoration Movement” (“Fu bi pingyi”) 200
- Arendt, Hannah 14, 51, 144
- views on public/private divide 112–113, 216–217
- Bagehot, Walter 194
- Bentham, Jeremy 92
- Bryce, James 149, 151, 198
- Cai Yuanpei 196
- Chang, Hao 11, 65
- analysis of Liang Qichao 129
- critique of neo-Confucianism 155
- Chen Duxiu 39, 88, 88n.29
- Chiang Kai-shek (Jiang Jieshi) 32, 34
- citizenship 4
- Communism, Chinese 7, 32, 172
- communities, political 104  
*see also* founding
- comparative political theory 9
- alternatives to 8, 9–10, 234–235
- necessity of comparative method 8–9
- role of dialogue in 9
- comparison  
*see* comparative political theory
- complexity, theory of  
*see* emergence, theory of
- Confucianism  
*see* neo-Confucianism
- Connolly, William 49, 51, 194, 206, 220, 236
- views on public space 218, 219
- constitutionalism
- Zhang’s advocacy of 197, 226  
*see also* rule by law
- culture (*wenhua*), concept of
- in early Republican debate 73–74
- in rule-by-man arguments 82–83, 91
- Dai Zhen 26, 106n.3
- Daotong*  
*see* succession of the Way
- democracy (*minzhu*) 4, 23, 24, 48
- as topic of early Republican Chinese debate 23, 26n.36, 77, 148–149
- minben* concept and 26
- self-awareness and 140
- Sheldon Wolin’s definition of 114–115

- democracy (*minzhu*) (*cont.*)  
 Zhang's engagement with 67, 120,  
 149–154, 222–223, 226–227  
*see also* elitism
- Dacey, Albert Venn 194
- difference (*yi*) 193–197, 204, 210–211,  
 223  
 as particularity and dissent 205,  
 214–215, 225  
 contemporary Chinese  
 interpretations of 196–197,  
 202–205, 212–213  
 public way and 213–214  
 translation of 202–203n.14  
*see also* accommodation; public, as  
 “public way”
- Doctrine of the Mean (Zhongyong)* 16,  
 59–62, 69, 70, 189–190, 227,  
 232
- Du Yaquan 72, 80n.17, 80, 82, 99,  
 196  
 contemporary relevance of 224  
 individual reform and 80, 96, 242  
 rule-by-man arguments of 81–82, 83
- Duan Qirui 37
- Duara, Prasenjit 184
- Dworkin, Ronald 185–190, 192
- elitism  
 Zhang Shizhao's critiques of 12–13,  
 23–24, 27, 48–49, 74, 94, 96–98,  
 213
- Elman, Benjamin 173
- emergence, theory of  
 in Zhang Shizhao's thought 119–123
- empirical research (*kaozheng*) 24
- Euben, Roxanne 8, 10
- European Affairs Study Group (Oushi  
*yanjiu hui*) 35n.12
- examination system, civil 187
- Extant Manuscripts of The Tiger*  
 (*Jiayin zazhi cunqao*) 40
- Fay, Brian 154n.39
- fazhi*  
*see* rule by law
- federalism (*lianbang*)  
 democratic rule and 184–185  
 late imperial precedents for 179–180
- local self-rule (*difang zizhi*) and 177  
 relationship to *fengjian*  
 (decentralized imperial  
 administrative system) 176  
 role of talent in 20, 163–164,  
 170–171, 190–192  
 Zhang's definition of 177, 178–179
- feminism 218, 242–243  
 public/private divide in 125–126,  
 127
- Feng Guifen 177n.30, 191
- “Foundations of Government, The”  
 (“Zheng ben”) 58–59, 164, 168,  
 174, 206
- founding, political 3, 5, 131–133,  
 241  
 accommodation and 195  
 as circular 6, 13–14, 46, 47, 71  
 as individualized 67–68, 69–71,  
 131–133  
 as transmissive practice 60–64  
 contemporary readings of 50–52,  
 60  
 Chinese models of 59–62, 69, 131  
 legitimacy and 46, 47  
 paradoxes of 45–46, 48–51, 52–53,  
 71  
 talent's role in 164–168
- Gao Yihan 72
- Goodnow, Frank 92–93  
 arguments for political tutelage 94
- Great Learning (Da Xue)* 129, 227
- Gu Yanwu 26, 35, 53, 105  
 as critic of state 109, 110n.6  
 as supporter of decentralized  
 political administration 183–184
- habits (*xiguan*) 92–94
- Hayek, Friedrich 236n.14
- Hobhouse, Leonard 92
- Honig, Bonnie 13, 51, 215, 220
- Hu Shi 39, 144
- Huang Yuanrong 74, 86–87, 88,  
 108  
 language vernacularization and  
 86–87, 96–97
- Huang Zongxi 26, 35, 53, 105, 124  
 “Hundred Days Reform” 30

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-76060-7 - Making the Political: Founding and Action in the Political Theory of Zhang Shizhao

Leigh K. Jenco

Index

[More information](#)

## Index

279

- individuals 241–242  
   as actors for change or innovation 3–4, 6, 28, 56–57, 90–91, 125–127, 131–133, 160, 226, 235–236  
   as founders 5, 63–65, 67–68, 69–71  
   as national subjects 81  
   as socially embedded 15, 22, 48, 122, 134, 241–242  
   difference and 20–21, 206–207, 213, 225  
   relationship to public 110–111, 122–123, 124, 130  
   relationship to external or social environments of 15, 117–120, 121, 126–127, 130, 143, 231–232  
   talent and 180–181, 191–192  
   *see also* action, political; self-awareness
- institutions  
   *see* rule by law
- Japan 29, 30  
   as imperialist threat to China 29–30, 32  
   as model for Chinese modernization 31  
   influence of, on Chinese intellectual developments 30  
   Sino-Japanese War 29
- Jiang Zemin 99
- junxian* (system of centralized imperial control) 176  
   *see also* federalism
- junzi* (gentleman, superior person) 66–67  
   *see also* literati, imperial; neo-Confucianism; self-awareness
- justice 239
- Kuhn, Philip 182
- Lee Kwan Yew 189, 190  
   views on talent of 187–188
- legitimacy 65  
   of founding practices 4, 46, 47, 65
- Li Beicun 202–205, 210
- Li Dazhao 88n.29, 196, 205–206, 224  
   rule-by-man arguments and 91–92
- Liang Qichao 12, 30, 34, 54, 101, 209n.22, 237  
   as critical of political reform 83–84, 85–86  
   democracy and 148–149  
   education reform and 49–50  
   local self-rule, views on 180, 181  
   public and private virtue, views on 127–130, 212–213  
   rule-by-man arguments of 72, 83–86, 96, 99  
   “society” concept and 84, 85
- Liang Shuming 37
- liangzhi* (innate moral knowledge) 56–57, 209
- liberalism  
   Anglo-American 22n.24, 94  
   as inadequate description of Republican thought 233  
   as political theory of freedom 22–23, 74  
   British 22, 27, 68
- literati, imperial 173–174  
   as models of political action 149–154  
   *see also* neo-Confucianism; self-awareness
- Liu, Lydia 81
- Liu Zongyuan 35, 38, 95–96, 152, 198
- Locke, John 13
- Mao Zedong 34, 37  
   Zhang Shizhao and 37–38
- May Fourth Movement 36, 39, 75, 87, 99  
   democratization of literature in 96–97  
   radicalism of 100  
   Zhang Shizhao’s relation to 88
- Mencius 139–140, 166
- Metzger, Thomas 66
- Minli bao*  
   *see* *People’s Stand*
- Morley, John 92, 229, 243
- Montesquieu 93
- Mou Zongsan 70n.51, 95  
   critiques of Confucianism of 124–125
- Mouffe, Chantal 194, 211, 212

- nationalism 32–33, 34, 81  
*guojia* concept and 33n.5, 240–241  
 Zhang Shizhao and 33
- neo-Confucianism (*lixue*) 24, 67, 109, 224, 227–228  
 as critical of state authority 24–25, 66–67, 147–148  
*liangzhi* concept and 56–57  
 late imperial moral orthodoxy of 172, 174, 175, 224–225  
 modern critiques of 116, 116n.24, 124–125, 154–156  
 Zhang Shizhao and 24, 25–27, 56, 59–62, 226–227, 228, 233
- New Culture Movement 26, 39, 87
- “On Federalism” (“Lianbang lun”) 176
- “On the Centripetal and Centrifugal Forces of Government” (“Zheng li xiangbei lun”) 149–150, 197
- order, spontaneous  
*see* emergence, theory of
- Orientalism 9, 10
- People’s Stand, The (Minli bao)* 36, 38, 40, 72
- Pitkin, Hanna 3, 14, 111, 154  
 conditions for democratic action, views on 138–139, 144–146, 156–157, 236  
 founding, views on 63, 64  
 public/private divide, views on 111, 112–113, 121
- political, the 103–104, 246–247  
 definition of 104, 133, 134  
 relation to public sphere 105, 111–113, 235–236
- “Politics and Society” (“Zhengzhi yu shehui”) 89
- public (*gong*) 179, 180, 200  
 as sphere of action 104–116, 121–122, 183–184, 215–217  
 difference politics and 215–217  
 virtue, Liang Qichao and 127–130  
*see also* action, political; private; public way
- public way (*gongdao*) 108, 121, 193, 210–211, 213–214, 217–218, 219–221, 239–240
- Puett, Michael 131
- private (*si*)  
 as sphere of action 104–116, 130  
 contrasted to political 111–113  
 virtue, Liang Qichao and 127–130  
*see also* action, political; public
- Qian Mu 172
- Rawls, John 185–190, 192
- reform, moderate 7, 92, 223–224
- renwu* (public figures) 78–79, 80, 81, 85, 94, 146
- renzhi*  
*see* rule by man
- republicanism  
 as inadequate description of Republican-era thought 233  
 as regime type 22, 27, 77, 107  
 political theory of freedom of 22–23
- revolution of 1911 29
- Ricoeur, Paul 52
- rights 57–58, 70, 208–209  
*see also* *liangzhi*; Rousseau, Jean-Jacques
- Rousseau, Jean-Jacques 13, 54, 59  
 founding dilemmas and 49, 50  
 natural rights theory of 54–56  
 social-contract theory of 13, 16, 49–50, 53, 54–55, 56
- rule by law (*fazhi*) 73–74, 76, 99–102, 168, 169  
 definition of 72–73, 237–239  
 historical context of 77–78  
 Zhang Shizhao’s advocacy of 74, 89–91, 99, 226
- rule by man (*renzhi*) 72, 73–74, 99–102, 168, 169–170  
 assumptions of 76  
 definition of 72, 242–243  
 Du Yaquan’s arguments for 81–82  
 historical context of 76–78  
 Wu Guanyin’s arguments for 78–80  
 Zhang Shizhao’s advocacy of 91, 95–99, 188, 226
- rural reconstruction (*xiang jian*) 37
- sages 70, 95–96, 97  
 as founders 60–65, 69, 110

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-76060-7 - Making the Political: Founding and Action in the Political Theory of

Zhang Shizhao

Leigh K. Jenco

Index

[More information](#)

## Index

281

- as users of talent 60, 168
- see also* neo-Confucianism
- sage kings
- see* sages
- sameness (*tong*) 202–205, 210–211, 225
  - as forced conformity 201, 223
  - translation of 202–203n.14
  - see also* accommodation; difference
- self (*wo*), search for
  - self-awareness, relation to 140, 142–144, 152, 153–154
  - talent, relation to 166–167
  - “Self, The” (“Wo”) 142–144
- self-awareness (*zijue*) 18, 143–144, 176
  - accommodation and 207
  - definition of 137, 247
  - founding of democratic polity and 140–141, 156–161
  - limitations of 156, 159
  - theorizing activity of 19, 138, 141, 160
  - see also* action, political; individuals; self, search for; theory, political
- “Self-Awareness” (“Zijue”) 108, 137
- self-rule, institutional forms of
  - see* democracy, federalism
- “socialism with Chinese characteristics” 7
- social-contract theory 13, 54–55
- society (*shehui*), concept of, in early Republican debate 73–74, 79
  - Liang Qichao’s arguments about 84, 85, 89–90, 91
  - May Fourth Movement and 86–87
  - rule-by-man arguments and 82–83
- society, civil
  - see* federalism; public
- Song Jiaoren 36
- Sorites paradox (paradox of the heap) 117
- “State and Responsibility, The” (“Guojia yu zeren”) 108
- “State and the Self, The” (“Guojia yu wo”) 139, 165, 167, 240
- statecraft (*jingshi*) 66n.44, 156n.44, 228
- Su Shi (Su Zidan) 165, 228
- Su Xun 165
- succession of the Way (*daotong*) 62n.36, 63–65
- Sun Yat-sen (Sun Zhongshan) 12, 29, 31, 72
  - nationalism and 31, 32, 143–144
  - political education, ideas on 49, 50, 153
  - Zhang Shizhao and 35, 36
- talent (*cai*) 19, 58, 59, 60, 90
  - accommodation and 165, 174–175, 197, 207–208, 213
  - civil examination systems and 173–174, 187, 188
  - contemporary definitions of 185–186
  - democratic rule, relation to 163–164, 168–171, 175–176, 182–185, 192
  - founding communities, role of in 164–168, 175–176
  - in history of Chinese political thought 162–163, 164–165, 170–174
  - institutions of self-rule/federalism and 20, 163–164, 170–171, 176–185, 190–192
  - self-use of (*ziyong cai*) 19–20, 166–167, 173, 187, 197, 225, 230
  - virtue and 162–163, 166–167, 170–174, 188
- Tan Sitong 30
- theory, political 10, 11, 41–42, 141
  - position of theorist in 144–146, 154
- Tiger, The (Jiayin zazhi)* 6, 29, 38–39, 58, 85, 226
  - founding of 36
  - Zhang Shizhao’s essays in 40, 42
- Tocqueville, Alexis de 120, 133
- Tuck, Richard 117
- virtue 19, 95, 100–101
  - public and private, Liang Qichao’s reading of 127–130
  - talent and 162–163, 166–167, 170–174

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-76060-7 - Making the Political: Founding and Action in the Political Theory of

Zhang Shizhao

Leigh K. Jenco

Index

[More information](#)

282

*Index*

- Weston, Timothy 39, 88
- Wolin, Sheldon 69, 121  
 behavioralist social science, views on 149, 151  
 definition of democracy of 114–115  
 women, virtue and talent of 172–173  
*see also* feminism
- Woodside, Alexander 10
- Wu Guanyin 78, 78n.9, 82, 99  
 Liang Qichao and 78  
 rule-by-man arguments of 78–80, 83
- Xu Fuguan 189
- Yan Fu 31, 97n.40, 180  
 social-contract idea of 53–56  
 Zhang Shizhao's response to 54–56
- Young, Iris 100, 194  
 public space, views on 216
- Yuan Shikai 12, 29, 32, 49, 51, 176, 208  
 as rule-by-man advocate 77, 95  
 attempt at restoration of monarchy of 32, 72, 77
- Zhang Dongsun 91, 197, 199  
 federalism, views on 177, 178, 179, 181, 183  
 rule-by-man arguments of 92
- Zhang Hanzhi 34, 38
- Zhang Shizhao  
 as advocate of rule by law 87–89, 94, 98–99, 101  
 as political theorist 8, 11–12, 39–42  
 democracy and 27–28  
 early childhood education of 34–35  
 education in Great Britain of 36  
 educational reform, views on 12, 35  
 founding dilemmas of 4–5, 6, 12–13, 14–16, 54–55  
 intellectual influence of 7–8, 39, 223–224  
 nationalism, views on 32, 33n.5  
 revolutionists, relationship to 35  
 Sun Yat-sen, relationship to 36
- Zhang Zhidong 31
- Zhou Wumin 168–169
- Zhu Xi 60, 246