# Contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preface</th>
<th>ix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Notes on the text</td>
<td>xiv</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Part I Introduction**

1 Making the political
   - Thinking from the early Republic: some methodological considerations on “comparative political theory” | 3
   - Founding and paradox | 6
   - Chapter summary | 12
   - Zhang’s “democracy” | 15

2 Zhang Shizhao and his world
   - China at the turn of the twentieth century | 29
   - Zhang’s life and thought | 34
   - The Tiger | 38
   - The turn to “political theory” | 41

**Part II Founding**

3 The founding paradox
   - The first paradox: mass versus elite | 45
   - The second paradox: constituting authority | 48
   - A Chinese founding narrative: the social contract | 50
   - Another Chinese founding narrative: “making the political lies in people” | 53
   - The nexus of efficacy and legitimacy | 58
   - Conclusion | 65

4 “Rule by man” and “rule by law”
   - “Rule by man” ideals in early Republican China | 72
   - Liang Qichao and “the cause of society” | 76
   - Zhang Shizhao’s “rule by law” arguments | 83
   - Conclusion | 89

5 Public, private, and the political
   - Gong and si | 103

© in this web service Cambridge University Press  www.cambridge.org
# Table of Contents

Public action as political action 111  
The problem of feasibility 116  
Making the personal political 125  
A return to founding 130  
Conclusion 133  

Part III  Action  

6 Self-awareness 137  
The “I” of The Tiger 139  
The problem of the theorist 144  
The literatus posture 147  
Self-awareness as political action 154  
Conclusion 159  

7 The self-use of talent 162  
Using talent 164  
Talent and virtue 171  
Federalism 176  
Talent and democracy 185  
Conclusion 190  

8 Accommodation 193  
Sameness and difference 195  
The practice of difference: revisiting the “public way” 206  
The public and its problems 215  
A balancing democracy 221  
Conclusion 223  

Conclusion: A return to beginnings 226  
An inner–outer axis of action 227  
Toward the development of (a) Chinese political theory 233  

Appendix A: notes on translated terms 237  
Fazhi, “rule by law” 237  
Gongdao, “the public way” 239  
Guo, “polity” 240  
Li guo, “founding” or “polity-founding” 241  
Ren, “persons” or “individuals” 241  
Renzhi, “rule by man” 242  
Tiaohe, “accommodation” 243  
Wei zheng, “to make the political” 246  
Zijue, “self-awareness” 247  

Appendix B: Character list 248  
Bibliography 258  
Index 277