

Abstracts

Zhao Tingyang

A Political Philosophy of World in terms of All-under-heaven (Tian-xia)

This paper presents an overall view of the Philosophy of Tian-xia, a particular form of neo-universalism developed by its author and very much debated in the last years. The system of Tian-xia, or 'all-under-heaven', is a philosophical re-elaboration of an ancient form of Chinese universalism. The world is constituted as a global unity and a basic concept of political philosophy. It aims at a *world institution* as a way to rethink all *problems in the world as problems of the world*. Zhao Tingyang has analytically developed this view in some recent publications in Chinese. This article represents the most recent attempt to provide a synthetic view of his philosophy of 'all-under-heaven'.

Ci Jiwei

The Moral Crisis in Post-Mao China: Prolegomenon to a Philosophical Analysis

For quite some time there has been a collective perception of a moral crisis in post-Mao China. This perception is informed by standards held by members of Chinese society rather than by standards outside of it. In this article, the author attempts to lay the groundwork for a philosophical analysis of this moral crisis. He first explains why it is appropriate to speak of a moral crisis and then examines the structure of the crisis. This examination is partly conceptual and partly causal. The conceptual section of the article discusses terms frequently used in connection with the crisis and introduces some terms and distinctions of the author's own for further clarity. The causal section traces the moral crisis to a crisis of identification with moral authority or exemplars, the latter crisis in turn containing important clues to the structure of self and agency in Chinese moral culture.

Daniel A. Bell

War, Peace, and China's Soft Power: A Confucian Approach

The contemporary Chinese intellectual Kang Xiaoguang has argued that Chinese soft power should be based on Confucian culture, the most influential Chinese political tradition. But which Confucian values should form the core of China's soft power? This paper first explores the coexistence of state sovereignty and utopian cosmopolitanism through an analysis of Confucian tradition up to contemporary Chinese nationalism. It insists on the exogenous roots of the cosmopolitan ideal and its relations with the ideal of a harmonious political order and a global peace. Then, it compares the philosophy of 'all-under-heaven' in its classical and contemporary forms, with Mencius' theory of a 'hegemon', a theory that still informs the moral language that Chinese intellectuals use to evaluate foreign policy, especially regarding morally-justified warfare. It ends on a reflection on the role that Mencius's theory of just and unjust war can play in the contemporary Chinese context and to help understanding and defining the stance of China in the international geo-political context.

Yi Junqing

On Micro-political Philosophy

Around the turn of the century, political philosophy became one of the most lively areas of philosophical study in China. An important trend of development is represented by the shift from macro-political philosophy to micro-political philosophy. A careful analysis of this trend is the object of this paper. It shows how, in the Chinese context, micro-political philosophy, micro-history, critique of everyday life, and other theories much debated in the West, are relatively new. As such, a solid foundation for micro-political philosophy must be found within the theoretical resources established in the 20th century western culture, then integrated to the Chinese context and absorbed by this latter to get inspiration.

Pan Wei

Core Social Values in Contemporary Societies

This essay intends to build an analytical tool for understanding social values. It proceeds by defining the term 'social value', differentiating 'core' and 'non-core' social values and discussing their respective functions in society. Then, it extracts from social values a seven-tier system of core social values, built on seven basic social relationships: self-other, man-nature, individual-community, community-society, people-government, people-(state) nation, and (state) nation-world system. The corresponding views of right and wrong on these types of relationships are 'core values' and concern perceptions of morality, nature, groups, society, politics, nation, and the world. The very core of the construct is the universal morality of human beings, and the outermost tier is the perception of world affairs. In a further section,

the functional connection between the tiers is explored, to show how a core value system collapses. Lastly, the author presents a rudimentary idea of how a core social value system might be built or rebuilt.

Francesco Sisci
Under the Same Sky: A New World-view from China

This paper deals with the geo-political implications of neo-universalist tendencies in current Chinese political philosophy. It is stated how Chinese philosophy can contribute to overcome a 'clash' theory of intercultural relations. The author underlines that the growing economic and political role of China in this century forces China to develop a real global world-view tradition, and discusses Zhao Tingyang's philosophy of Tian-xia as a paradigmatic example of such new universalism.

Lu Jiande
Confucian Politics and Its Redress: From Radicalism to Gradualism

This paper addresses the current revival of Confucianism in China. It analyzes its political issues and outcomes, underlines the possible defects in Confucianism as a theory of politics, i.e., as a science and art of government and a public ethics. It looks back to the dialectical relationship between Confucius and Mencius and shows how the presence of Confucianist elements in 20th-century politics contributed to shape the public and political sphere in contemporary China. The strains between revolutionary and reformist orientations through the last century are still at work in current social movements and reflected in political debates.

Chen Ming
Modernity and Confucian Political Philosophy in a Globalizing World

The scholarship of Confucianism in China is in the process of restoration. Its historical missions are two-fold. It should preserve Chinese national characters and promote China's modernization. These objectives are partly in conflict with each other. To realize the former objective, it is necessary to stress a historical continuity and consistency, to re-examine and justify the preservation of classical Confucian ideas and values in order to provide spiritual support for Chinese cultural identity and social cohesion. As to the latter objective, it is necessary to reinterpret some part of the classical ideas and values and link them with the modern values such as liberty, justice and democracy. This essay analyzes the position of three Confucianist scholars, Jiang Qing, Chen Ming and Kang Xiaoguang, to show the different balances between conservatism and reformers when their writings confront the challenges of modernization and globalization.

Xia Nianxi
Political Slogans and Logic

Slogans have always been highly popular in China. They are extensively used in politics, as a typical form of public behavior. They are the most convenient and practical means of mobilizing people. Many political slogans or posters are still fresh in the memories of those who experienced the years of war or revolution in China. The most familiar slogans for people these days are those of the Communist Party of China, which exerted an enormous influence on people's lives.

The English word 'slogan' has two corresponding meanings in Chinese: 'slogan' and 'poster'. Slogans are designed to be chanted, exclaimed or shouted by people in public, thus appealing to people's sense of hearing. Posters are designed to be written, and hence appeal to people's sense of vision. This paper explores political slogans from the viewpoint of logics. It analyzes their stipulative structure and the implicit presuppositions they contain. It argues that, from a formal point of view, effective slogans should be free from logical fallacy, easy to remember, and rationally demonstrable.

Xiao Wei
The Feminist Concept of Self and Modernity

The relationship between community and individual is the key issue in contemporary political philosophy and ethics. The concept of self seems very important for individualism, communitarianism and feminism when they respond to relationships, particularly when we have to situate selfhood in the conditions of modernity. Consequently, this paper can be divided into seven parts. First it introduces the debate about the concept of the self between individualism and communitarianism. Second, it discusses the feminist critique of this issue and analyses the feminist concept of self, and then addresses modernity as the condition of women. Next it attempts to analyze how women situate themselves in the conditions of modernity. Then it discusses how Chinese women are reshaping their selfhood under the conditions of modernity, and finally draws some brief conclusions claiming that neither communitarian nor individualist self is adequate in contemporary society. Chinese women, it is argued, are expected to reshape their own selfhood resting on the positive side of Confucian ethics and a feminist concept of self.

Zhou Lian
**The Most Fashionable and the Most Relevant:
A Review of Contemporary Chinese Political Philosophy**

This paper presents a review of the main trends of contemporary political philosophy in China. First, it provides a general picture of the presence of contemporary western political philosophy in China. It shows how the different political positions (New Left, liberalist, conservative) relate to the different stances adopted before

Western authors, and focuses in particular on the reception of Carl Schmitt and Leo Strauss in China's academic and cultural circles. Second, it provides an account of what might be contemporary Chinese political philosophers' unique contributions to political theory. It pays particular attention to two Chinese scholars, Gan Yang and Zhao Tingyang. While both of them specialize in western philosophy, they neither echo western political philosophy nor repeat traditional Chinese political thought, but, rather, commit themselves to a transformation of Chinese tradition thought, in order to figure out some original and debatable theories. By focusing on analyzing these philosophers' ideas and influences, the author hopes to answer two distinct but interrelated questions: how and why are they are so fashionable or popular, and whose thought might retain some pertinence in the context and issues of Chinese political tradition and the existing political practices.