

## FOREWORD

### **Mainland China and Taiwan in the Asia-Pacific: Norms, Institutions, Identity and Governance**

The present volume, *Norms and Institutions in the Shaping of Identity and Governance: Mainland China and Taiwan in the Regional Environment*, represents a special issue of *Contemporary Chinese Political Economy and Strategic Relations: An International Journal (CCPS)* that focuses on the interconnecting issues related to the vital role played by norms and institutions in establishing and consolidating more open and plural societies, economies, and polities, amidst which norms being the *sine qua non* for institutions that in turn serve as the platform for enforcing norms and sustaining values, within the context of the political and socioeconomic development of Mainland China and Taiwan. As Professor Wen-cheng Lin, director of the Institute of China and Asia-Pacific Studies (ICAPS) at Taiwan's National Sun Yat-sen University (NSYSU), remarks in the preamble to the 2016 Siziwan International Conference on Asian-Pacific Studies, "Norms and Institutions in the Asia-Pacific"<sup>1</sup>, while the "Asia-Pacific region is the site of varied institutions that build and enhance trust and cooperation as well as norms that foster greater connectivity across borders", there also exist "challenges found in the region that can pose obstacles to the promotion of trust-enhancing institutions and norms". The twelve

articles featured in this special issue of *CCPS*, with the exception of the three *Policy Commentaries*, represent new versions of selected papers among the many that were originally presented at the said conference, duly revised by incorporating critical peer feedback received at the conference and from other reviewers, in a modest attempt to answer the two questions posed in the conference's preamble – “What is the trajectory for Asia insofar as norms and institutions are concerned?” and “How can certain behaviors and practices be located or situated?”, here in the particular reference context of Mainland China and Taiwan.

This special issue begins with a section on *Geopolitics and Economic Relations* featuring three articles – “Differences in East Asian Economic Institutions: Taiwan in a Regional Comparison” by István Csaba Moldicz, “China and Soft Power: Building Relations and Cooperation” by Audrey Dugué-Nevers, and “An Assessment of the China-Korea Free Trade Agreement: Implementation Outcome and Influencing Factors” by Meiling Wang and Chun-Kai Wang. While Moldicz presents an interesting comparison between the developmental state cases of Taiwan, Japan, and South Korea, and the peculiar features of Taiwanese economic institutions, including the peculiar and deeply worrying phenomenon of “Chiwan”, in contrast to Japan and South Korea, Dugué-Nevers explores how China wields her soft power to win the hearts and minds of those who are wary of a “China threat”, and Wang and Wang look at China's recent active pursuit of free trade agreements focusing on the China-Korea FTA.

Juxtaposing these three paper is interesting as the contrast between Taiwan's and Mainland China's political and economic trajectory, one seems to sit easily within the contours of the modernization theory while the other has always look problematic, has never failed to be subject of exciting academic enquiry. Given the unenviable situation that Taiwan has been in since the Republic of China (ROC) lost her United Nations

seat, her economic performance has never be free from the determining factors of the Cold War and the tug-of-war between the “Chiwan” phenomenon owing most recently by the Beijing-friendly Ma Ying-jeou’s Kuomintang (KMT) presidency and the three “Go South” policies of the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) government (the present Tsai Ing-wen Administration’s “New Southbound Policy”, as Moldicz is looking at, being the latest manifestation). On the other hand, the global reach of Mainland China’s “soft power” backed by her economic strength and market size, and the lucrative trade and investment opportunities she could offer the world (as through her latest “One Belt, One Road” initiative) which not only will help to make the global economy a friendly place for Chinese commerce but also to advance her clout in the global superpower rivalry. The question remains, unlike the “soft power” emanation from the United States, Western Europe during the Cold War years, and Japan and South Korea in the recent decades, is a similar “soft power” projection – here predominantly state-orchestrated – from an authoritarian one-party state with absolute Party-state social and political control possible? Such contradictions are worth exploring, as conventional norms are increasingly coming under challenge – for instance, there has been question whether China is, while sounding somewhat uncanny, rising to be the world’s new champion of free trade with emergence of the unpredictable Trump Administration in the U.S.<sup>2</sup>

In looking at norms and institutions, it has long been observed that while international norms create domestic institutional change, the final outcome of domestic institutional change very much depends on the presence of strong international pressure and pro-norm historical institutions – which favour the group most consistent with international norms – as well as domestic power structures determined by the historical institutional settings.<sup>3</sup> The next three articles of this special issue – “Political Reforms in a Global Context: Some Foreign

Perspectives on Constitutional Thought in Late Imperial China” by Egas Moniz Bandeira, “Rethinking Peace-Building in East Asia: The Case of Japan’s Struggle over History in Postwar Era” by Xiaohua Ma, and “Russia-Taiwan Relations: History and Perspectives” by Sergey Vradiy – under the section *Norms, Institutions and Realpolitik: History and Evolution* thus delve back into the recent history of Mainland China and Taiwan and their foreign relations (China-Japan, Taiwan-Russia) to examine the path dependence of domestic and foreign policies, the possible historical hang-over, and how such historical roots of contemporary norms and institutions sit well with today’s regional *Realpolitik*, here referring to politics or diplomacy based primarily on chiefly pragmatic considerations of given circumstances and factors vis-à-vis those ideological or moral and ethical.

While Moniz Bandeira focuses on the outside views on the emergence of Chinese constitutional thought in the beginning of the 20th century, in particular the role played by the Japanese statesman and *genrō* (元老) Itō Hirobumi (伊藤博文) up to his assassination in 1909, his highly commendable detailed exploration of this germination period of Chinese constitutional democracy does give rise to various thought-provoking “what-ifs”. Though as Moniz Bandeira has observed, most foreign diplomats and politicians of that bygone era agreed that a representative constitution was not immediately feasible for the Ch’ing-dynasty (清朝) China despite the recognition that features of a modern nation-state would benefit China in the international arena not only politically but also economically, it does beg the question as to how China would look like today if that early attempt at constitutionalism had proceeded more smoothly, if the last dynasty of China was ethnically Han (漢族) and not Manchurian (滿族), and if political circumstances in Japan and China had not led to Japan’s full-scale invasion of China that doomed the opportunity for further

democratisation and economic strengthening of the post-Hsin-hai revolution (辛亥革命) Republican China (which was just newly brought about by the revolutionary movement led by Dr Sun Yat-sen (孫中山 / 孫逸仙), after the failure of K'ang Yu-wei (康有為) and Liang Ch'i-ch'ao (梁啟超)'s advocacy for constitutional monarchy), tilted the military balance between the ruling Nationalists and the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army of China and directly led to the successful establishment of Chinese Communist Party dictatorship in 1949 that managed to hold on to absolute political power till today.

Ma's article in this section, on the other hand, picks up where we just left off in examining how today's Japan deals with its conflicting national narratives and historical controversy in East Asia related to the legacy of her invasion of China and the rest of East and Southeast Asia during World War II. By looking at Japanese peace museums and the particular case of Osaka International Peace Center (大阪国際平和センター) being embroiled in domestic political controversy surrounding their WWII exhibits, Ma explores the political battles over war memory and history education in Japan and the implications not only for the domestic political landscape but also for bilateral relations with her former war victims including China. Indeed, the impact of historical revisionism by ultra-nationalists in playing down or refuting Japan's crime against humanity during her invasion of China and the rest of East and Southeast Asia can never be just domestic, or simply on bilateral relations, for it always plays well today into the hand of China's ruling CCP in rallying nationalistic support for the Party-State as guardian of national pride and interest against the perennial nemesis, Japan, about whose war atrocities in World War II the leaders of this one-party state has never pulled back from reminding its compliant subjects, including the *fenqing* (憤青, literally "angry youths") who are never hesitant to take to the streets or resort to cyber bullying to defend national glory.

Finally, moving away from Sino-Japanese historical relations and interactions over to the other side of the Taiwan Strait, Vradiy's article examines the contemporary history of Russia's relations with Taiwan, tracing changes in relations, on the side of Russia, from the era of the House of Romanov (Романовы, 1613-1917), through the one-party federation of the Soviet Union (Советский Союз, 1922 to 1991) to today's multi-party Russian Federation (Российская Федерация), and on the side of Taiwan, from the era as part of the remote territories of the Celestial Empire, through Japanese colonialism, the post-228 massacre White Terror years, post-Chiang Kai-shek political reforms, to today's "best-case" democracy<sup>4</sup>. While acknowledging various barriers to further strengthening relations, ranging from strategic considerations during the Cold War era to Russia's "One China" policy and her close strategic relationship with the authoritarian Beijing regime today, Vradiy's exploration of the contemporary history of Russia-Taiwan relations does point to the good chances of developing bilateral trade, investments, technology cooperation and other effective partnership goals in the future especially those involving the Russian Far East (Дальний Восток России), for, after all, while there have been advances and setbacks in democratic process in both countries even with the risk of backpedalling towards authoritarianism, civil movements in both societies, from the "Dissenters' March" to "Snow Revolution", from the "Wild Strawberries Movement" to "517 Protest" to "Sunflower Movement", do attest to a social understanding of the importance of safeguarding the hard-earned political freedom since overthrowing one-party dictatorships in the early 1990s in both countries. This is what Russia and Taiwan share in term of the democratic process, and it points to the possibility for sharing and cooperating more in other domains.

In the previous years' ICAPS International Conference on Asia-Pacific Studies (the first, 9-10 November 2012; second, 7-9 November 2013; third, 13-15 November 2014 and fourth, 12-14 November 2015), Professor Samuel C.Y. Ku, then director of ICAPS and convener of the said conferences, has emphasised in the conference preambles political openness, economic regionalization, cross-border interactions and cultural exchanges amidst changes and challenges in the Asia-Pacific including intra-regional migration that gives rise to issues and problems related to political and ethnic identities, economic interactions, social adaptation and cultural shifts, while a tug-of-war is playing out between the two ideational forces – one pushing, one pulling – of economic integration and identity countervailing demands for demarcation and distinction based upon ethno-national and class and ethclass<sup>5</sup> identities. As Aliya Peleo points out in her article “The Rights of the Wronged: Norms of Nuclearism, the Polygon and the Making of Waste-life” under the section *Biopolitics and Social Wellbeing*, the discussion of geopolitics of structural realism is often conducted without a complimentary notion of biopolitics – as regards “the population life-system and its ‘historical development in time’” – which remained distinct from geopolitics as spheres of international influence “because of the different priorities of governance, such as post-war reconstruction, decolonization, international institution-building, and [...] hegemonic expansion” despite the fact that the “‘human’ biopolitical aspects of population that need to be governed and improved [...] were crucial aspects of state’s governmentality”.

Using the case of Kazakhstan, Peleo’s paper critically examines the case of “waste-lives” related to the Semipalatinsk Polygon that reflects the disregard accorded to the “human” aspects of military industrial complex, particularly its biopolitical impact on the life-system of population. Beyond that, Peleo also brings up the issue of China’s now

geopolitical “Eurasian pivot” through initiatives such as “One Belt, One Road” (OBOR) wherein question arises as to whether such initiatives based on state-level geopolitical “national interest” also mean “conveniently disregarding the biopolitical issues of population lives in Semipalatinsk and Xinjiang”.

In the case of Xinjiang (新疆), the historical legacy left by China’s use of Xinjiang as the testing ground for its nuclear weapons programme from 1964 to 1996, according to Japanese research results of Professor Takada Jun (高田純), a physicist at the Sapporo Medical University (*Sapporo Ika Daigaku* / 札幌医科大学), have probably resulted in a “conservative minimum” of 194,000 deaths from related illnesses out of the 1.48 million people who were exposed to radioactive fallout from the testings, 1.2 million people afflicted with leukaemia, solid cancers and fetal damage, including 35,000 newborns who were deformed or handicapped. Not allowed into China, Takada obtained his results based on estimation by extrapolating his model with Xinjiang’s population density. Not allowed while in China to probe into the existence of disproportionate number of cases of malignant lymphomas, lung cancers, leukemia, degenerative disorders and deformed newborns, Enver Tohti, a Uyghur medical doctor who moved to Turkey 1998 ostensibly as part of his medical training and then worked with Takada, claimed to have uncovered medical records showing Xinjiang’s higher-than-national-average cancer rates with a team of British documentary filmmakers whom he smuggled back into Xinjiang as tourists. The 46 nuclear testings over the span of 32 years at Xinjiang’s Lop Nur have been disastrous in particular for the ethnic minorities including Uyghurs and Tibetans as wind direction had brought nuclear dust to the Silk Road cities and townships in Xinjiang and Gansu (甘肅), bringing about cross-generational legacy of cancer affliction (with Xinjiang’s cancer rates allegedly 30 to 35 per cent higher than the national average), birth



deformities and shorter lifespan.<sup>6</sup> It is in the context of this legacy that Peleo poses the question as to what China would do as a regional power through the development of “peaceful” energy industry in Eurasia, e.g. under the OBOR initiative, for the local marginalized population’s life-systems as not to expose them to more existential risks and more “wastes”.

Similarly focusing on human welfare, the other two articles under this section, “Institutional Approach to Anti-corruption Efforts in Taiwan, Hong Kong and Mainland China: Improving the Norms, Strengthening the Ethics” by Olga Yurievna Adams and “China and India Going Green: The Power of Wind, International Norms, and National Commitments” by Silvan Siefert, focus respectively on institutional and normative developments in the area of anti-corruption efforts and the promotion of green energy and international climate change objectives.

The two articles share a comparative approach. In doing so, Adams’s article in a thought-provoking way places side-by-side the operation of Hong Kong’s famed Independent Commission Against Corruption (ICAC) upholding the city’s fiercely corruption-intolerant reputation, the function of Taiwan’s Control Yuan as part of a unique five-branch government structure designed by Sun Yat-sen which combines watchdog and ombudsman functions that have successfully fought against corruption and economic crimes since the island state was transformed into a vibrant liberal democracy from the late 1980s, and Mainland China’s present unprecedentedly relentless campaign to root out corruption at all levels of the Party-State’s ruling apparatus and that pervades the much hated phenomenon of government-business collusion which, notably in contrast to similar efforts in the vibrant liberal democracy of Taiwan and the dauntless free-spirited city of Hong Kong, is geared towards preserving the Communist Party of China’s exclusive

ruling position as former president Jiang Zemin (江澤民) had grimly warned fifteen years ago: “If we do not crack down on corruption, the flesh-and-blood ties between the party and the people will suffer a lot and the party will be in danger of losing its ruling position, or possibly heading for self-destruction.”<sup>7</sup>

Parallel to this, Siefert, in comparing China and India as two of the leading developing countries in promoting green energy and international climate change objectives, significantly brings forth the issue of output performance-based regime legitimacy for autocratic and democratic regimes alike, one main instrument for which in the State’s arsenal being “policy output legitimation based on the outcomes of issued policy strategies, decrees, and legislations”. It is in this context that, according to Siefert, how environmental protection can be strategically ignored in favour for economic growth with the rapidly growing and politically supported wind energy sectors in the two countries “in terms of the bigger picture of Beijing and New Delhi fostering external and internal legitimation by transforming norms and values to measureable outcomes”. Economic achievements and technological feats attract admiration and sense of glory. Financial prosperity buys loyalty. Such regime legitimation is particularly important for a one-party dictatorship that constantly needs to convince the people that no other party could rule that well. Thus while civil societal groups’ assertion of pressures is frowned upon and met with stern government crackdowns, which are increasingly draconian under the Xi Jinping (習近平) administration, be they upon non-governmental organisation (NGO) leaders, civil rights lawyers or labour activists, the CCP State has at the same time been observed to be keen in responding to the society’s grievances, not least reflected in the Xi administration’s remarkably bold action against corruption as observed in Adams’ article, leading to the observation that this authoritarian State

under one-party dictatorship sometimes looks as if higher in external efficacy<sup>8</sup> than that of some vibrant liberal democracies. By the same token, so many Germans decades ago so heartily supported the Nazis and Third Reich of Adolf Hitler – a ruthless but “feel-good dictator” who, while being dangerous to challenge, did restore to them the feeling of self-importance and bring back not only lost glory and national pride but also long-awaited economic improvement and security<sup>9</sup>, and instill a higher feeling of external efficacy, like what Italians said about the effect of Benito Mussolini’s Fascist reign on improving Italian trains’ punctuality or what Mussolini did convince many of them about: “Mussolini may have done many brutal and tyrannical things; he may have destroyed human freedom in Italy; he may have murdered and tortured citizens whose only crime was to oppose Mussolini; but ‘one had to admit’ one thing about the Dictator: he ‘made the trains run on time.’”<sup>10</sup>

Besides the nine articles that represent new versions of selected papers among the many that were originally presented at the 2016 Sizihwan International Conference on Asian-Pacific Studies, “Norms and Institutions in the Asia-Pacific”, duly revised by incorporating critical peer feedback received at the conference and from other reviewers, under the three sections *Geopolitics and Economic Relations*, *Norms, Institutions and Realpolitik: History and Evolution* and *Biopolitics and Social Wellbeing*, this issue of the journal also includes three *Policy Commentaries* – “The Dialectic Characteristics of Policies for Asia-Pacific Regional Relations” by Ching Chang, “Independent Planning System and Public Administration in Metropolitan Development: Agglomeration Strategies of Greater Chaoshan in Southern China” by Tian Guang, Kathy Tian, Camilla H. Wang, Liu Yu and Li Wei, and “Housing in China: State Governance, Market and Public Perception” by Emile Kok-Kheng Yeoh and Wang Fan.

In the late 1880s, Friedrich Engels, based on his reading of Hegel's early 1880s work *Wissenschaft der Logik (Science of logic)*<sup>11</sup>, postulated three laws of "materialist" dialectics in his unfinished work *Dialektik der Natur (Dialectics of Nature)*:

It is, therefore, from the history of nature and human society that the laws of dialectics are abstracted. For they are nothing but the most general laws of these two aspects of historical development, as well as of thought itself. And indeed they can be reduced in the main to three:

The law of the transformation of quantity into quality and vice versa;  
The law of the interpenetration of opposites;  
The law of the negation of the negation.

All three are developed by Hegel in his idealist fashion as mere laws of *thought*: the first, in the first part of his *Logic*, in the *Doctrine of Being*; the second fills the whole of the second and by far the most important part of his *Logic*, the *Doctrine of Essence*; finally the third figures as the fundamental law for the construction of the whole system.<sup>12</sup>

The first law, the passage of quantitative changes into qualitative changes, which has been applied to population change-induced social change and class conflict could be traced back to the Ionian philosopher Anaximenes of Miletus (Ἀναξίμενης ὁ Μιλήσιος; c. 585 – c. 528 BC) and later Aristotle (Ἀριστοτέλης, 384–322 BC). The second law, the unity and conflict of opposites, originally came from another Ionian philosopher Heraclitus of Ephesus (Ἡράκλειτος ὁ Ἐφέσιος, c. 535 – c. 475 BC). The third law, the negation of the negation, which is purely

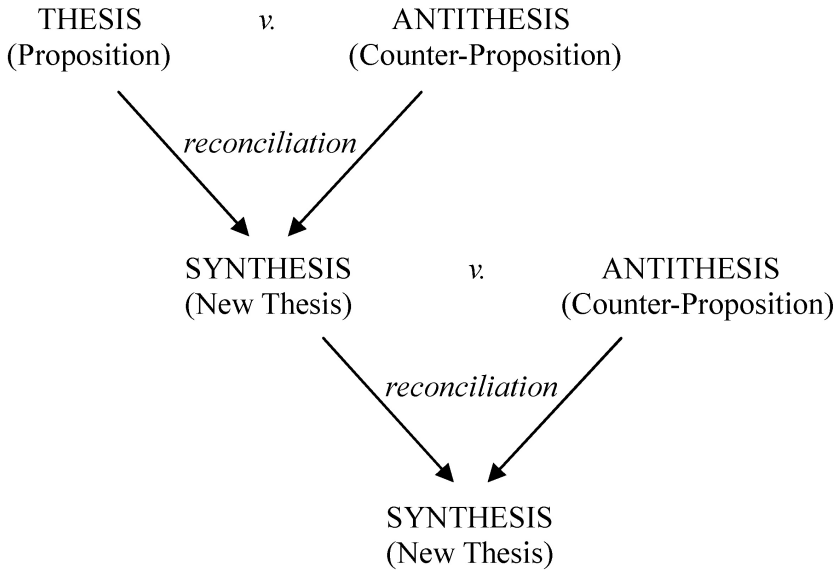
Hegelian had been made well-known by Karl Marx's use of the idea in *Das Kapital, Kritik der politischen Ökonomie* (*Capital: Critique of political economy*)<sup>13</sup>:

The knell of capitalist private property sounds. The expropriators are expropriated. The capitalist mode of appropriation, the result of the capitalist mode of production, produces capitalist private property. This is the first negation of individual private property, as founded on the labour of the proprietor. But capitalist production begets, with the inexorability of a law of Nature, its own negation. It is the negation of negation.<sup>14</sup>

This, as interpreted by the Soviet theorists (Aizenberg *et al.*, 1931: 185-196)<sup>15</sup>:

[...] dialectical processes are presented as processes which jump through transitions of quality-quantity development, on the basis of the movement of their opposites. But dialectical processes of development in reality and in our cognition are not exhausted by the law of the transition from quantity into quality and conversely, and the law of the unity of opposites. Along with these two basic laws of dialectics, we have a third basic law of dialectics with substantiation from Marx and Engels – the law of the negation of the negation [...] The law of the negation of the negation is a concrete form of the law of the unity of opposites, that is, the law of the struggle of opposites and the resolution of their contradiction. Engels also saw in this the essence of the law of the negation of the negation. He wrote: “The true, natural, historical, and dialectical negation is (formally) the moving source of all development – the division into opposites, their

**Figure 1** Hegel's Dialectic



struggle and resolution, and what is more, on the basis of experience gained, the original point is achieved again (partly in history, fully in thought), but at a higher stage.”<sup>16</sup>

Hence, conclude Aizenberg *et al.* (*ibid.*: 196), referring back to the Hegelian dialectical model (see Figure 1)<sup>17</sup>:

Thus the essence of the law of the negation of the negation, the essence of thesis, antithesis, and synthesis in the division of unity, in the struggle of opposites and in the resolution of this contradiction, that is, in the origin of new developmental tendencies. “Processes,” Engels wrote in *Anti-Dühring*, “which have an antagonistic nature

contain a contradiction inside them. The transformation of one extreme into its opposites and, finally, as the basis of everything, the negation of the negation.”<sup>18</sup>

Chang’s policy commentary represents an interesting attempt at employing these three dialectic rules to examine and to interpret the power transitions and evolutions of the regional relations among Mainland China, Taiwan, Japan, North and South Korea and other countries, including ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations) members, in the Asia-Pacific region. It is a refreshing take on these three laws of “materialist” dialectics in application in the foreign policy, diplomacy and IR domains.

Besides Chang’s article, this section also includes two other policy commentaries in which Tian, Tian, Wang, Liu and Li examine independent planning system as a means of public administration in regional economic development and proposes a new strategy to agglomerate various Chinese cities into a new administrative entity with independent planning status and preferred policies of a special economic region to lead regional development, and Yeoh and Wang comment on the current situation of the house prices in China and the existing state of affairs about the Chinese housing market, explore a series of important reasons for the high house prices, examine various public policies the Chinese government is using to control real estate, as well as reveal the citizens’ perception of increasing house prices. As Tian, Tian, Wang, Liu and Li observe in their article, in regard to governance, government administration as part of a wider cultural change movement involves institutional changes that reshape original institutional arrangements and restructures interest distribution patterns, a norm-institution interface-transforming process – whether in urban planning or housing policy – in which different stakeholders aim to maximize their own interests,

through which new institutions-agreements formation will ultimately be reached as a result of various related factors that come into play.

Finally, closing this special issue of the *Contemporary Chinese Political Economy and Strategic Relations: An International Journal* (CCPS) is Chang Le's review of *The China Wave: Rise of a Civilizational State* edited by Weiwei Zhang (2012). In addition, in encouraging academic exchange of opinions, this issue also include a *Letter to the Editor* from Claude Meyer, author of *China or Japan: Which Will Lead Asia?* (London and New York: Hurst, with Columbia University Press and Oxford University Press, 2012) in responding to a book review article published in the previous issue of the journal.

Before ending this foreword, we would like to thank all the contributing authors of the articles in the various sections of this special issue, and the anonymous reviewers of these articles for their invaluable efforts in making the publication of this 2017 CCPS special issue of *Norms and Institutions in the Shaping of Identity and Governance: Mainland China and Taiwan in the Regional Environment* possible. For the nine articles in the first three sections in this issue which represent new versions of the earlier papers presented at the 2016 Siziwan International Conference on Asian-Pacific Studies, "Norms and Institutions in the Asia-Pacific", duly revised by incorporating critical peer feedback received at the conference and from other reviewers, we would also like to thank these conference presenters who have taken great effort to revise their papers for inclusion in this special issue as well as the discussants, conference participants and other reviewers who have given invaluable assistance in providing critical comments on the earlier versions of these papers. We are also grateful to our proof-readers, Miss Amy Kwan Dict Weng (官狄雯), Miss Janice Quan Nian En (官念恩) and Miss Seyoung Lim (임세영 / 林世榮) at University of Malaya and Sejong University (세종대학교 / 世宗大學校), for their



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## Notes

1. The 2016 Sizihwan ( 西子灣 ) International Conference on Asian-Pacific Studies, "Norms and Institutions in the Asia-Pacific", held at the National Sun Yat-sen University in Taiwan ( 臺灣國立中山大學 ), on 10-12 November 2016, jointly organized by the Institute of China and Asia-Pacific Studies of the National Sun Yat-sen University and the Department of Political Science of the University of the Philippines Diliman.
2. "China: The world's new champion of free trade?" *Al Jazeera English*, 26th November 2016 <<http://www.aljazeera.com/programmes/countingthecost/2016/11/china-world-champion-free-trade-161126085644649.html>>; "Davos 2017 – Xi Jinping signals China will champion free trade if Trump builds barriers", *The Guardian* (UK), 18th January 2017 <<https://www.theguardian.com/business/2017/jan/17/china-xi-jinping-china-free-trade-trump-globalisation-wef-davos>>; "China as a champion of free trade? Not so fast" (by Nyshka Chandran), *CNBC*, 23rd March 2017 <<http://www>.

[cnbc.com/2017/03/23/boao-forum-michael-froman-calls-out-china-on-free-trade.html](http://cnbc.com/2017/03/23/boao-forum-michael-froman-calls-out-china-on-free-trade.html)>.

3. See: Ramazan Kilinc (2008). *History, international norms and domestic institutional change: State-religion relations in France and Turkey*. Ph.D. Dissertation. Arizona State University, Tempe, Arizona, USA.
4. See: Shelley Rigger (2004). Taiwan's best-case democratization. *Orbis*, Vol. 48, No. 2, pp. 285-292.
5. Milton Gordon's concept of "ethclass" as "the portion of social space created by the intersection of the ethnic group with the social class [which] is fast becoming the essential form of the subsociety in America". See: Milton Gordon (1978). *Human nature, class and ethnicity*. New York: Oxford University Press, p. 134.
6. *The Times* (UK), 19th April 2009; *ODN*, 21st April 2009; *Scientific American*, July 2009; *ODN*, 1st August 2009. (東方日報 / *Oriental Daily News* / *ODN* is a Malaysian daily in Chinese, with China news sources mainly from the Hong Kong and Taiwan media.)
7. In Jiang's 2002 last political report to the National Congress. Cited in: Will Hutton (2006). *The writing on the wall: China and the West in the 21st century*. London: Little, Brown, p. 126.
8. External efficacy refers to citizens' perception of the government being responsive to their demands, while the other type of political efficacy, internal efficacy, refers to citizens' belief that they can understand politics and therefore participate in politics, i.e. their assessment of their capabilities to act politically.
9. This is the premise of left-wing historian Götz Aly's book *Hitler's beneficiaries: Plunder, racial war, and the Nazi welfare state* (Metropolitan Books, New York, 2007, translated by Jefferson S. Chase from German edition first published in 2005). See also Tyler Cowen, "Why did so many Germans support Hitler?", *Marginal Revolution*, 30th March 2005 <[http://marginalrevolution.com/marginalrevolution/2005/03/why\\_did\\_so\\_many](http://marginalrevolution.com/marginalrevolution/2005/03/why_did_so_many).

html>.

10. Ashley Montagu and Edward Darling (1967). *The prevalence of nonsense*. New York: Harper & Row.
11. Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel's *Wissenschaft der Logik* (*Science of logic*) was first published between 1812 and 1816.
12. "II. Dialectics" in: Frederick Engels (1883). *Dialectics of nature*. With "Preface" by J.B.S. Haldane, November, 1939 (transcribed 1998/2001 for MEIA by slr@marx.org, jjazz@hwcn.org). *Marx & Engels Internet Archive* (MEIA) <[https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/download/Engels\\_Dialectics\\_of\\_Nature\\_part.pdf](https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/download/Engels_Dialectics_of_Nature_part.pdf)>. (*Dialektik der Natur* (*Dialectics of nature*) is a collection of texts written by Friedrich Engels between 1873 and 1883.)
13. Volume 1 of *Das Kapital* (*Das Kapital, Kritik der politischen Ökonomie*) was published in 1867; Volume 2 and Volume 3 were published (with different subtitles) posthumously (prepared by Friedrich Engels from notes left by Karl Marx) respectively in 1885 and 1894.
14. *Capital: A critique of political economy*, Volume I – Book One: The process of production of capital. (First published: in German in 1867, English edition first published in 1887; Source: First English edition of 1887 (4th German edition changes included as indicated) with some modernisation of spelling; Publisher: Progress Publishers, Moscow, USSR; Translated: Samuel Moore and Edward Aveling, edited by Frederick Engels; Transcribed: Zodiac, Hinrich Kuhls, Allan Thurrott, Bill McDorman, Bert Schultz and Martha Gimenez (1995-1996); Proofed: by Andy Blunden and Chris Clayton (2008), Mark Harris (2010), Dave Allinson (2015).) Chapter 32 (pp. 541-542), See p. 542. <<https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/download/pdf/Capital-Volume-I.pdf>>
15. From: *диалектический материализм* (*dialekticheskii materialism*) [dialectical materialism], by A. Aizenberg, K. Egorova, M. Zhiv, K. Sedikov, G. Tymianskii and R. Iankovskii, under the general editorship of

- A. Aizenberg, G. Tymianskii and N. Shirokov, Leningrad: ORGIZ-Privoi, 1931. Excerpts in <<http://marxistphilosophy.org/Aizenberg.pdf>>.
16. See (from source of quote): Friedrich Engels, Preparatory Materials for *Anti-Dühring*. In: *Karl Marx Frederick Engels Collected Works*, New York: International Publishers, 1976--, Vol. 25, pp. 606-607. (Vol. 25 was published in 1987.)
  17. As every synthesis represents the thesis of a new dialectic, the occurrence of social change is inevitable. This process will continue, leading to the unfolding and progress of history till an ultimate synthesis is reached – the final, “absolute idea” that is so perfect as to give rise to no more antithesis.
  18. See (from source of quote): See Friedrich Engels, *Anti-Dühring*. In: *Karl Marx Frederick Engels Collected Works*, New York: International Publishers, 1976--, Vol. 25, pp. 130, or *Herrn Eugen Dührings Umwälzung der Wissenschaft, Marx Engels Werke*, Berlin: Dietz Verlag, 1956--, Vol. 20, p. 131.
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