The Tourism Confucius Institute at Griffith University

International Symposium

Governance in Contemporary China

The Tourism Confucius Institute at Griffith University announces an international symposium to be held on 29 March 2016 on the Nathan Campus of Griffith University in Brisbane, Australia.

The theme of the International Symposium is “Governance in Contemporary China”

There will be eight speakers:

- **Professor Daniel Bell**, of Qinghua University, on political meritocracy in contemporary China
- **Professor Barry Sautman**, of Hong Kong University of Science and Technology, on political developments in Hong Kong
- **Adjunct Professor Ron Keith**, of Griffith University, on the anti-corruption campaign of Xi Jinping
- **Professor Mobo Gao**, of Adelaide University, on political ideology in contemporary China
- Prof Chi Zhongjun, of China University of Mining and Technology, on governance discourse with Chinese characteristics and national governance modernization
- **Professor Sue Trevaskes**, of the Griffith Criminology Institute, on Rule of Law in the Xi Jinping era
- **Professor Haig Patapan**, of Griffith University, on Socrates and political meritocracy
- **Professor Colin Mackerras**, of Griffith University, on the contemporary Silk Road concept of Xi Jinping

All are welcome!

For catering purposes please send an email to tci@griffith.edu.au by 22 March 2016 if you plan attend
## International Symposium: Governance in Contemporary China

**Date:** Tuesday 29 March 2016  
**Venue:** N78_1.19, Sir Samuel Griffith Centre, Nathan Campus, Griffith University  

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<td>8:50-8.55</td>
<td>Welcoming remarks</td>
<td>Prof. Sarah Todd, Pro Vice Chancellor (International) of Griffith University</td>
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<td>8:55-9.00</td>
<td>Opening</td>
<td>Prof. Ian O’Connor, Vice Chancellor and President of Griffith University</td>
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<td>9.00-9.05</td>
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<td>Dr. ZHAO Yongchen, Consul-General of the People’s Republic of China in Brisbane</td>
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### Morning Session: Chairperson - Prof. Colin Mackerras

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<td>9:20-10:00</td>
<td>Keynote Speech</td>
<td>Prof. Daniel A. Bell, <em>Qinghua University, Beijing</em></td>
<td>Democracy, Meritocracy, or Both? The Case of China</td>
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<td>10:00-10:30</td>
<td>Paper Presentation</td>
<td>Prof. Barry Sautman, <em>Hong Kong University of Science &amp; Technology</em></td>
<td>Localists and ‘Locusts’ in Hong Kong</td>
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<td>Paper Presentation</td>
<td>Prof. Ronald Keith, <em>Griffith University</em></td>
<td>The Struggle for the Rule of Law under Xi Jinping</td>
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<td>11:30-12:00</td>
<td>Paper Presentation</td>
<td>Prof. Mobo Gao, <em>Confucius Institute, University of Adelaide</em></td>
<td>Local Governance and Reach of the State: A Case Study of Gao Village since the Late 1990s</td>
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<td>12:00-12:30</td>
<td>Paper</td>
<td>Prof. CHI Zhongjun, <em>China University of</em></td>
<td>Governance Discourse with Chinese Characteristics: National Governance</td>
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### Afternoon Session:

#### Chairperson: Prof. Leong Liew

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<td>1:45-2:15</td>
<td>Paper Presentation</td>
<td>Prof. Sue Trevaskes, <em>Griffith University</em></td>
<td>Xi Jinping’s Authoritarian Rule of Law</td>
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<td>2:15-2:45</td>
<td>Paper Presentation</td>
<td>Prof. Haig Patapan, <em>Griffith University</em></td>
<td>In Search of Excellence: Philosophy, the Family and the Gods in Socratic and Confucian Thought</td>
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<td>2:45-3:15</td>
<td>Paper Presentation</td>
<td>Prof. Colin Mackerras, <em>Griffith University</em></td>
<td>The Contemporary Silk Road Concept of President Xi Jinping</td>
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<td>3:15-4:00</td>
<td>Afternoon Tea and Discussion for all papers</td>
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Abstracts for International Symposium on “Governance in Contemporary China”  
29 March 2016, Nathan Campus, Griffith University

Professor Daniel A. Bell, Qinghua University, Beijing

Democracy, Meritocracy, or Both? The Case of China

Westerners tend to divide the political world into "good" democracies and "bad" authoritarian regimes. But the Chinese political model does not fit neatly in either category. Over the past three decades, China has developed a genuinely new approach to governance, rooted in its long history and at odds with the "Western" idea that electoral democracy is the only legitimate form of government. This political model can best be described as "political meritocracy" although there remains a large gap between the theory and the practice and a large democratic deficit. How do the ideals of political meritocracy set the standard for evaluating political progress (and regress) in China? How can China avoid the disadvantages of political meritocracy? How can political meritocracy best be combined with democracy? And what can the West learn from the Chinese approach to governance? Drawing on his new book The China Model: Political Meritocracy and the Limits of Democracy (Princeton, 2015), Daniel A. Bell (Tsinghua University, Beijing) will discuss one of the most important political developments of the twenty-first century.

Professor Barry Sautman, Hong Kong University of Science & Technology

Localists and ‘Locusts’ in Hong Kong

Hong Kong has experienced several years of protests against Chinese mainlander migrants and visitors who, as “locusts”, supposedly overcrowd Hong Kong, denude it of goods and services, and pollute it through boorish behavior. At this discourse’s core are localists. Their demonstrations against mainlanders are coupled with calls for the downfall of the Chinese Communist Party. Localist ideas have spread to part of the political elite and larger populace. While “nativism” is found in many parts of the world, how is it constructed in “Asia’s World City” of Hong Kong, the foremost city of migration in the region? Who are the localists and what accounts for their emergence? How do they relate to “21st Century fascism?” The presentation, based on documentary sources and interviews with localist leaders, puts Hong Kong nativism and its implications for China and Chinese in historical and comparative perspective.
The Struggle for the Rule of Law under Xi Jinping

On 21 February 2010, Jiang Ping, one of China’s most influential legal reformers, appeared ready to give the “rule of law” (法治) in China the last rites. In the wake of the Bo Xilai Affair Jiang, while noting that there are national differences in “constitutionalism”, stated he believed that there are commonalities focusing on democracy, freedom and human rights. Jiang lamented that while China had a constitution it did not have “constitutionalism” (宪政). What is the emerging trend to “rule of law” reform under Xi Jinping’s leadership? Xi has subscribed to the three fundamental directions in Mao Zedong Thought including “seeking the truth from the facts”, the “mass line” and “maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in one’s own hands”; however, on 23 February 2013 he called for a “new phase of rule of law country” (依法治国新局面). This paper will review the content of Xi’s approach to “rule of law” formation in light of the recent political history of legal reform.

Local Governance and Reach of the State: A Case Study of Gao Village since the Late 1990s

Through a case study of Gao Village, this paper examines how two factors, i.e., clan identity and the reach of the state, impact on local governance in rural China. With empirical evidence from Gao Village, the paper argues that the withdrawal of the state was detrimental to local governance in the first twenty years or so of post-Mao rural China. With the abolition of agricultural tax and various levies, and the introduction of rural subsidies, rural health care and medical care insurances and some investment in rural infrastructure since the beginning of the 21th century, the return of the state has improved local governance. The paper argues that the restoration, and in many ways the reinventing, of Chinese tradition such as clan identity makes village elections more or less irrelevant, even though these are practised regularly and formally. What rural China lacks in good governance at the grassroots levels is state guided and supported institutional structures such as law enforcement and accounting capacities.
Governance Discourse with Chinese Characteristics: National Governance Modernization 中国特色的治理话语：国家治理现代化

National governance modernization differs essentially from the academic trends of Western governance. Generally speaking, Western governance theory is supposed to be Neo-liberalism. It could be empirically concluded that Western governance theories were always argued as academic trends and revealed in the practice of the reform of public affairs. National governance modernization is based on the logic of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics and also works as a driving force to promote and deepen comprehensive reform. National governance modernization is an expression of political theory in contemporary China. It is an approach that conforms to the basic principles of Marxist practical dialectics as well as a practical and historical process that assimilates and develops the positive aspects of past governance practice while discarding the negative.

Key Words: national governance; Chinese discourse; Marxist dialectics 国家治理 中国话语 马克思主义辩证法

Professor Sue Trevaskes, Griffith University

Xi Jinping’s Authoritarian Rule of Law

The current Party leadership is attempting to reshape China’s justice agenda by encouraging a national platform of “Party Rule Through Law” in public and governmental affairs. Party authorities are also hoping that the promotion of a number of criminal justice reform initiatives will complement their anti-corruption campaign and revive public confidence in courts and other legal institutions. Xi Jinping has pinned the political aspirations of the Party in this decade on a program aimed at enabling the Party to “Rule the Nation Through Law”, and this has been used to rationalise a range of activities from judicial reforms in the Supreme People’s Court aimed at preventing miscarriages of justice to a War on Terror in Xinjiang. This paper will discuss some of the contradictions and complications inherent in placing so many incongruous activities under the banner of rule of law.
Professor Haig Patapan, Griffith University

In Search of Excellence: Philosophy, the Family and the Gods in Socratic and Confucian Thought

Both Socrates and Confucius regard love of learning or the philosophic life as the preeminent or the best form of human existence, and the basis or foundation for evaluating politics. In spite of this core agreement, the Socratic and Confucian approaches diverge in important respects. In this paper I focus on a major source of this divergence, the different treatment of the family and the gods in each tradition, to argue that this difference has major implications for the possibility of individual excellence. Socrates’s critical engagement with “theology” and “metaphysics” allows him to pose a counterweight to the powerful political and moral authority of the family, making room for individual excellence. The price for this is the subsequent influence of the divine in politics. In contrast, Confucius’s unwillingness to discuss the gods, and his reluctance to engage in speculative reasoning, limits the role of piety in politics, but results in the family exercising a significant constraining influence on the potential for individual and political excellence.

Professor Colin Mackerras, Griffith University

The Contemporary Silk Road Concept of President Xi Jinping

Although the Silk Road idea is far from new, President Xi Jinping’s concept, developed in 2013, has exceeded earlier proposals in its wide-ranging implications for the future. The paper will take up three of these. (1) the economic impact across the Eurasian continent and along the sea-lanes into east Africa, including the vast expansion of railways, roads and other infrastructure; (2) the influence on the world strategic forces in terms of China’s relations with the countries of the Eurasian continent and of Africa; and (3) the interconnections of China with other countries in combatting terrorism, including that represented by the Islamic State group. The paper will briefly trace the history of President Xi’s Silk Road, how it has overtaken alternatives, such as one proposed by US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton in 2011, and analyse it in terms of the overall situation in the world today. It will argue, in particular, that despite economic problems in China and the world, the economic implications of President Xi’s Silk Road concept will help to trump terrorism, despite the serious and long-term nature of this threat.
Symposium Speakers

Daniel Bell

Daniel A. Bell (贝淡宁) is professor at Tsinghua University and director of the Berggruen Philosophy and Culture Center. His talk will draw on his recent book, *The China Model: Political Meritocracy and the Limits of Democracy* (Princeton University Press, 2015). His books include *Spirit of Cities, China's New Confucianism, Beyond Liberal Democracy*, and *East Meets West* (all Princeton), and he is editor of the Princeton-China Series. He writes and publishes frequently in leading media outlets in China and the West, and his works have been translated into 23 languages.

Barry Sautman

Barry Sautman is a political scientist (PhD Columbia University) and lawyer (JD UCLA, LLM NYU) who primarily teaches international law, China-US relations, contemporary China, ethnicity and nationalism. One of his areas of research has been ethnic politics in China and comparative perspective, including ethnic policies, the political economic and legal aspects of the Tibet and Xinjiang issues. He has examined the global mystification by politicians and media of these questions, as well as the issue of dissent in China. His other area is China-Africa links, including political economy, labour rights, migration between China and Africa and interactions between Chinese and Africans, representations and perceptions of China and Chinese in Africa, and the supposed strategic rivalry
between the US and China in Africa. He has published several monographs and numerous journal articles, as well as print media op-ed pieces and online contributions.

Ronald Keith

Ronald C. Keith is currently adjunct professor at the Griffith Asia Institute. He completed his doctorate in Chinese Political Studies at the School of Oriental and African Studies. His research tends to focus on two distinct areas of concern, namely, China's law and governance and China's international relations. He has published 15 China-, or Asia-related book titles and 48 journal articles and book chapters. His latest book publication is R.C. Keith, Zhiqiu Lin and Shumei Hou, *China's Supreme Court* (Routledge, London, 2014). He is presently working on the book title, *Deng Xiaoping and China's Foreign Relations*.

Mobo Gao

Professor Mobo Gao was born and brought up in a small Chinese village where there was no electricity until after he left the village. Gao did all kinds of farm work in the village, such as collecting night soil, cleaning pigsties and pushing a wheelbarrow. Gao did not leave the village until he went to Xiamen University to study English. He then went to the UK and studied at Wales and Westminster universities before he completed his Masters and doctorate degrees at Essex. Professor Gao has working experience at various universities in China, the UK and Australia and has been visiting fellow at some of the world's leading universities, including Oxford and Harvard. Professor Gao teaches Chinese language as well as Asian studies courses. Professor Gao's charismatic style of lecturing was considered "legendary" at the University of Tasmania where he had worked before he was appointed the Director of the Confucius Institute at Adelaide in 2008. Professor Gao's research interests include studies of rural China, contemporary Chinese politics and culture, Chinese migration to Australia and the mass media. Professor Gao's publications include four books and numerous articles. His latest book *The Battle for China's Past: Mao and the Cultural Revolution* Pluto Press, London, 2008) is a reassessment of the Mao era and the Cultural Revolution.
Chi Zhongjun

Chi Zhongjun is a professor, doctoral advisor and Dean of the School of Marxism at the China University of Mining and Technology. He is a graduate of the Department of Philosophy at Nanjing University and his research direction is political philosophy. Professor Chi is the Director of the Chinese Association of Political Science, managing director of Jiangsu Association of Political Science, managing director of the Jiangsu Philosophical Academy and vice chairman of the Jiangsu Steering Committee for Political Theory Guidance. In recent years, Professor Chi has published more than thirty academic papers including “The Paradox of Good Governance and the Possibility of a Good Governance in Harmonious Socialist Society” (Studies on Marxism, 2006), “Governance Power in Modern Democratic Society” (Jianghai Academic Journal, 2007), and two monographs Ethical Predicaments of Bureaucracy (2004) and Study, Comparison and Scope of Public Administration (2012). Professor Chi now is hosting a project supported by the National Social Science Foundation, “Studies on Promoting Paths for a Governance System with Chinese Characteristics”, as well as a local project “Social Governance System”.

Susan Trevaskes

Susan Trevaskes is a professor in the School of Humanities, Languages and Social Sciences at Griffith University researching on Chinese criminal justice. She is an Adjunct Director of the Australian Centre on China in the World (CIW) at the Australian National University, and head of the CIW China Justice research
stream. She has made contributions to the field of contemporary Chinese criminal justice studies through her work on criminal law, punishment and policing issues in China. Trevaskes' research contributions have been recognised by the award of a three-year ARC Fellowship in 2005 and a five-year ARC fellowship (2009-2014). These fellowships have resulted in a number of papers and books including the first monograph in English on criminal courts in contemporary China (2007), a book on policing serious crime in China (2010), and a book on the death penalty in China (2012). She has also published numerous papers on Chinese justice in areas including criminal justice policy, justice reform, anti-crime campaigns, public security, stability maintenance operations, state responses to drug crime, public punishment rituals and death penalty reform. Her latest books are co-edited volumes on *The Politics of Law and Stability in China* (2014) and *Legal Reforms and Deprivation of Liberty in Contemporary China*. (2016).

**Haig Patapan**

Professor Haig Patapan is Director of the Centre for Governance and Public Policy and Professor in the School of Government and International Relations, Griffith University. His research interests are in democratic theory and practice, political philosophy, political leadership and comparative constitutionalism. Professor Patapan has published in the foremost politics, political theory, public policy, and law journals. His books include *Judging Democracy* (2000), an examination of judicial politics, jurisprudence and constitutionalism; *Machiavelli in Love* (2007), a theoretical enquiry into the origins of modern political thought; and a series of co-edited books exploring the changing nature of legitimacy, law and leadership, especially in Asia: *Globalisation and Equality* (2004); *Westminster Legacies* (2005); *Dissident Democrats* (2008); and *Political Legitimacy in Asia* (2011). In his recent work Professor Patapan examines the nature of leadership and judgment in democracies, a theme he has explored in the co-authored book *The Democratic Leader* (Oxford University Press, 2012) as well as the co-edited collections *Dispersed Democratic Leadership* (OUP, 2009) and *Good Democratic Leadership* (OUP, 2014). Professor Patapan has received a number of awards, including the Mosher Award by the American Society for Public Administration, the Mayer Prize by the Australian Political Studies Association, an Australian Prime Ministers Centre Fellowship, and most recently a Senior Fulbright Scholarship at the Center for Public Leadership, Harvard Kennedy School of Government.
Colin Mackerras

Professor Emeritus Colin Mackerras AO first visited China in 1964, teaching at what was then the Beijing Institute of Foreign Languages (now the Beijing Foreign Studies University) for two years. He has revisited the country some 70 times since then, teaching many times at the Beijing Foreign Studies University and the Renmin University of China and giving lectures, speeches and conference papers in numerous other universities in China. His many research areas include Chinese modern history, theatre, ethnic minorities, past and present, Western images of China and Australia-China relations, and he has written widely on all of these. He began his association with Griffith University in 1974 as Foundation Professor in Modern Asian Studies. On retirement in 2004 he was appointed a professor emeritus of the University and later a Doctor of the University. He was the inaugural Director and now is the Honorary Director of the Tourism Confucius Institute at Griffith University. In June 2007 he was appointed as an Officer in the General Division of the Order of Australia. In 2012 he was given an award for ‘outstanding contributions and service to the Australia-China relationship” by Griffith University and Beijing University in recognition of the 40th anniversary of Australia-China diplomatic relations in October 2012. He won a Friendship Award from the Chinese Government in September 2014 and received a favourable mention in the speech Chinese President Xi Jinping made to the Australian Parliament in November 2014. In 2015 he won a Special China Book Award, given by the Chinese government to foreigners who have made outstanding contributions in spreading Chinese culture through their writings.