Modernization and the Decline of Citizen Diplomacy in China from the 1920s to the 1940s

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Brief Background

China was a member of the victorious alliance, but scored few actual gains in the First World War. It was also a country deeply immersed in one of the main battlefields of the Second World War. Thus, China received great impact from the two World Wars, which was reflected on its circumstances at the time. Externally, it was faced with the imperatives of "national salvation" (*jiuguo*) (Schwarcz 1985), so that protecting its sovereignty and independence was China's top priority. Internally, it was experiencing difficult revolutionary changes and a transition from a traditional country to a modern one.

Meanwhile, the public started to get involved in diplomacy, so-called "citizen diplomacy". Although its precise meaning differed, according to the changes in the national situation, citizen diplomacy was a manifestation of democratization of diplomacy. It can be defined as ordinary citizens supervising, supporting and affecting their own government's foreign policies and diplomatic activities by means of public opinion and mass movements, so as to achieve the public's aspirations and demands for the interests of the country.

Both when it comes to modernization and citizen diplomacy in the first half of 20th century, China experienced significant changes, especially during the period from the 1920s to the 1940s, owing to the two World Wars.

1.2   Research Question

According to the modernization school, there exists a division of firstcomers and latecomers due to the way in which societies are involved in this process (Black 1966, Eisenstadt 1966, Levy 1972, Sanderson, 1995). For instance, England, France and North America represent firstcomers where the challenge of modernity emerged from below and within. By contrast, Japan and China belong to the latecomers, because their modernization was stimulated externally, taking the firstcomers as models. From the experience of most firstcomers and Japan, it seems that democratization of diplomacy was a *comme-il-faut* consequence of modernization of the society. Therefore, this thesis is devoted to answering two research questions:

1. *What was the relationship between China's modernization and the changes in citizen diplomacy from the 1920s to the 1940s?* In Chapter Four, I find that China's modernization progressed while citizen diplomacy declined during the period. A negative relationship is suggested.

2. *Why was the relationship between China's modernization and the changes in citizen diplomacy in this period negative?*

This thesis examines the correlation between modernization and democratization of diplomacy, and seeks to explain the negative relationship found in China.

1.3   Literature Review

In terms of studying China's modernization, both Western and Chinese scholars have produced a great deal of literature. Rozman (1981) portrays China's modernization from the 18th century to the 20th century, going through the imperial dynasties, the Republic era and the rule under the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). He adopts an analysis model by which five aspects of

modernization are considered: international context, political structure, economic structure and growth, social integration, and knowledge and education. Similarly, Spence (1990) also makes a significant contribution to the topic within the same time spam, but he much emphasizes the most obvious feature of every period, such as "fragmentation and reform", "envisioning state and society" and "war and revolution". The volume edited by Xu and Chen (1996) present Chinese scholars' research on China's modernization from 1800 to 1949, which is organized in the form of special projects. Wasserstrom (2003) approaches this period in the Chinese history from perspectives that have been ignored before, such as newspaper analysis and gender studies.

Besides such overall studies of China's search for modernity, some scholars focus on specific parts. Lieberthal (1995) traces political reforms and revolutions from imperial China to the People's Republic of China (PRC). Nathan (1997) focuses on China's transition in terms of democracy and institution building. In contrast to these efforts on central power, Rankin (1986, 1993) highlights the local administration and the rise of public sphere and civil society. Inglehart and Welzel (2005) summarizes the emancipative effect of socio-economic developments on the redistribution of resources. Regarding the awakening of the Chinese public, Fitzgerald (1996) analyzes how China struggled for political liberation by revolutions respectively led by the Nationalists and the Communists in a socio-cultural frame. The May Fourth Movement[1] is of crucial importance in intellectual revolutions. Zhou (1967) maps the whole process of the movement and gives in-depth comparative studies of different interpretations of main intellectual currents. Schwarcz (1985) accesses this issue from the perspective of enlightenment and the tension between national

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[1]The May Fourth Movement was an anti-imperialist, cultural, and political movement growing out of student demonstrations in Beijing on May 4, 1919 protesting the Chinese government's weak response to the Treaty of Versailles, especially the Shandong Problem. These demonstrations sparked national protests and marked the upsurge of Chinese nationalism, a shift towards political mobilization and away from cultural activities, and a move towards populist base rather than intellectual elites. The broader use of the term "May Fourth Movement" often refers to the period during 1915-1921 more usefully called the New Culture Movement (Zhou 1967).

salvation and social enlightenment. More specifically, she (1978) also accounts how the Chinese intellectuals, as the leadership of enlightenment and the New Culture Movement, grew into the Chinese intelligentsia. Furth (1976) contributes to presenting different researches on the Nativism, which was one of the currents that shaped Chinese (conservative) thinking in the beginning of the 20th century. However, debates also took place inside the Chinese intelligentsia. Luo (1990) collects amount of primary documents written by the Chinese intelligentsia in the 1920s-1940s. To illustrate this debate concerning the clash of Western values of modernity and traditional thoughts, Tong (1993) and Zhang (1999) discuss conflicts between Confucianism and modernity.

Another important element involved in China's modernization from the 1920s to the 1940s was the rise and rivalry of the CCP against the KMT (*Guomingdang*). Eastman (1984) claimed that the struggle between the two parties and the failure of the KMT were rooted in the weak centralization of the Nationalist government. Van de Ven (1991) further explains how the two parties experienced collaborations and breaking up twice. Pertaining to the outbreak of the civil war, both external situations and internal factors are studied by Westad (1993, 2003).

In contrast to the enormous literature on China's modernization, citizen diplomacy is a newly developed topic. Nowadays, researches on China's citizen diplomacy during the first half of the 20th Century have progressively emerged but still not sufficiently developed. It also needs to be mentioned that citizen diplomacy in most Western literature, as the equivalent of "track two" diplomacy (Sharp 2001), is different from the citizen diplomacy in the Chinese context. The resources of studying China's citizen diplomacy in the first half of the 20th century mainly rely on Chinese scholars' researches. However, most of the current literature on citizen diplomacy is still in the form of degree dissertations and journal articles, which may be categorized into four main strands:

The first strand concerns the meaning of citizen diplomacy, such as indexing the development of the concept (Liu 1995, Ren 2006), comparing the definition with other kinds of diplomacy (Zhou 2008), and focusing on the practice and

organizations in different regions (Guo 2005).

The second strand is dedicated to the analysis of the relationship between governmental diplomacy and citizen diplomacy, such as (1) the dynamic relations between diplomats, the public and the diplomacy (Ma 2005), and (2) the legitimacy of citizen diplomacy (Xiong 2007).

The third strand of literature relates citizen diplomacy to China's governance during specific years, like the Beiyang government and the Warlord era (1916-1928) (Yin 2004).

Finally, the fourth strand relates citizen diplomacy to China's conduct in a specific international conference, i.e. such as the Paris Peace Conference, or the Washington Peace Conference (Deng 2007).

Although the literature mentioned above quotes a lot of primary documents of the intellectual advocacy and contribution to the diffusion of citizen diplomacy among the public, there are three shortcomings of existing literatures:

1. Most of the literature is historical studies, and merely covers citizen diplomacy during the early Republic era. Only Yin outlines citizen diplomacy after the 1930s. Nevertheless, she does not go further into this period.

2. Citizen diplomacy is more treated as a static phenomenon than as a "process". Few efforts are made to see how citizen diplomacy developed in the course of China's social transition in the 19th and the 20th century.

3. Analysis by the Chinese literature is expressed in normative statements and from the perspective of communist interpretation, which failed to hold relatively objective perspectives. For instance, definitions given by Deng, Xiong and Guo regard the nature of citizen diplomacy as an anti-imperialist and anti-feudal movement.

Apart from these problems with the existing literature on citizen diplomacy, attempts to relate citizen diplomacy to China's modernization is almost completely absent. Thus, there are two improvements could be made in this thesis. First, rather than historical studies, it is worthwhile to adopt a perspective from political science. For instance, relate citizen diplomacy to a framework based on the theories of modernization and democratization of

diplomacy. Second, despite the difficulties in accessing Chinese documents, combining Western and Chinese literature is valuable to complement the research on the topic. This thesis aims at fulfilling the two points on the basis of former researches.

1.4   Research Design

One should always be careful when using Western concepts such as "modernization" and "democratization" in relation to China. Admittedly, the process of China's transition shared some characteristics with the West[2], but there were also particularities that call for attention and researches.

To make these terms explicit and apply them to study modern China, Cohen (1985) notes the importance of "context" and the "conceptualization" of indigenous and endogenous sources of historical movements. Adcock and Collier (2001: 529-546) suggest two methods concerning this issue of contextual specificity. One is contextualization – formulating a systematized concept through reasoning about the background concept, in light of the goals of research. The other is operationalization – on the basis of a systematized concept, develop one or more indicators for scoring or classifying cases. Both methods help apply terms appropriately. In other words, defining terms in the context and consistently adopting indicators of evaluation are two fundamental instruments to eliminate or at least reduce potential threats toward validity as differences exist in context.

Therefore, at first, both methods will be applied to introduce the two main variables in this thesis: (1) China's modernization. The definition of mod-

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[2]In this thesis, the West refers to an essentialized conceptual category used by Chinese intellectuals rather than an objective unified entity. In reality, the industrial systems of Western nations, while sharing basic traits of liberal capitalism, also differed significantly. The various experiences of developments of Western industrialized countries thus cannot be collapsed into one monolithic model. Most Chinese intellectuals, in fact, perceived Japan as having successfully adopted Western-style economic and military modernization. For this reason, their discourse on China's modernity and nationalism continued to rely on an essentialized notion of the "West" (Zanasi, 2004: 143-144).

ernization in China will be based on how the course was initiated. Then, I will adopt Rozman's analytical model to describe five main areas of China's modernization in the first half of the 20th century. (2) Citizen diplomacy. The contextual connotation of China's citizen diplomacy will be examined firstly. Then I take a closer look at three characteristics of citizen diplomacy: the change of leadership, interactions with the government, and the improvement of main instruments.

After introducing the two main variables of this thesis, I will answer the first research question: what was the relatinship between China's modernization and the changes in citizen diplomacy from the 1920s to the 1940s. I use three criteria to look at China's modernization, namely the leadership, the establishment of constitutional institutions and redistribution of resources. Regarding citizen diplomacy, I consider three aspects: the main task, its relationship with governmental diplomacy, and the main instruments. Also, cases of the Paris Peace Conference and the Washington Peace Conference will be studied to support the arguments. Therefore, I find that China's modernization obtained certain progress while citizen diplomacy declined during the period. A negative relationship is concluded.

Finally, I try to explain the negative relationship between China's modernization and the changes in citizen diplomacy, to answer the second research question. Huang (1991) points out the problems of employing unspoken assumptions that ignore the obvious differences between the West and China. For example, "commercialization must usher in capitalist and modern development", and 'employing the concept of "civil society" to characterize social-political changes under the reforms development'. I will start to clarify the correlation between modernization and democratization of diplomacy first. Then, an analysis model will be formulated to explore the conditions of forming a positive relationship between modernization and democratization of diplomacy, referring to Black's theory of "four phases of modernization". Then I use this model to analyze to what extent China fulfilled or failed to fulfill these conditions, and thus to explain the negative relationship between China's modernization and the changes in citizen diplomacy from the 1920s to

the 1940s.

1.5 Plan

The thesis is organized as follows:

Chapter Two provides an overview of China's modernization during the Republic era, which began at the end of the Qing dynasty (1911) and terminated when the PRC was established (1949) in Chinese history. Also the term "modernization" is contextualized here, in order to avoid disputes of the meaning of this concept, and to produce appropriate indicators for the analysis in Chapter Four.

In Chapter Three, I look at the concept of citizen diplomacy in the context provided in the previous chapter. To clarify the meanings of citizen diplomacy, I compare it to other similar conceptions, such as "track two" diplomacy and public diplomacy.

Chapter Four demonstrates the negative relationship between China's modernization and the changes in citizen diplomacy. I offer a diagnosis of China's social conditions, in particular the changes that happened in China's situation in the two decades (1920s and 1940s). Then, using case studies of the Paris Peace Conference and the Washington Peace Conference, I consider how modernization progressed, compared with the decline of citizen diplomacy during the periods.

Chapter Five aims at explaining why such a negative relationship existed. An analytical model that contributes to discovering the conditions influential to the relationship of the two variables will be built, so as to account for the Chinese case in a historical context.

Finally, the Conclusion summarizes the whole thesis and lists main findings.

Chapter 2

The Process of China's Modernization

This thesis considers the Republic era beginning at the end of the Qing dynasty (1911) and terminating when the People's Republic of China was established (1949). Due to the two World Wars and China's civil war, this was a period that suffered instability and fragmentation. Nonetheless, it also witnessed China's modernization through political revolution, increased prosperity of national industries and social enlightenment in the Chinese society. This chapter provides an overview of this period in Chinese history.

This chapter is divided into two parts to portray China's modernization. Section 2.1 will first provide a definition of modernization that fits into the specifically Chinese context, and then will present the four stages of China's groping for modernization from the mid-19th century to the beginning of the 20th century. Section 2.2 will, by adopting Rozman's analytical model, articulate five main areas of China's modernization during the first half of the 20th century respectively.

2.1 An Contextual Definition of "Modernization"

In order to avoid disputes of the meaning of concepts and to produce appropriate indicators for cases, conceptualization and operationalization of theoretical concepts merit some attention. When studying China's modernization during the first half of the 20th century, providing a definition of modernization that fits into this context is essential.

2.1.1 Modernization: Firstcomers and Latecomers

According to the modernization school, modernization is thus a multifaceted process by which societies are transformed under the impact of the scientific and technological revolution, signaling a stage of cognition in which it is believed that human control over nature increases. It implies a dichotomous distinction between "modernity" vs. "tradition", and more importantly, a tendency of societies to converge (Sun 2008). In the words of S. N. Eisenstadt (1966), "historically speaking, modernization is a process of transition toward Euro-American social, economic and political systems"[3]. This assertion indicated the spectacular difference among modernizing societies. The firstcomers are countries such as England, France and North America – societies for which transformation was primarily intrigued by indigenous factors such as culture and values, and experienced over a long period. In contrast, the latecomers that relied more heavily on borrowing from foreign models and on rapidly adding to or replacing existing structures, for instance, Russia and Japan (Levy 1972).

China belongs to the latter category. For modernization of a latecomer to be successful, there are two ways of responding to the challenges from the

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[3]According to this view, all modernized societies share the following characteristics: an industrial market economy, sustainable economic growth, an extensive bureaucracy, a high rate of literacy, popularization of formal education, reduction of overall inequality, increasing social mobility, a relatively low birth-rate, urbanization, decreasing influence of religion, an adaptable social structure, and a modern value system.

model countries – either borrowing without undermining, or creating internal conditions conducive to modernization. Japan, for instance, was successfully modernized in a relatively short time by adopting a highly centralized political regime. It created a solution that drew support from the Japanese loyalty to their emperor - the "Tenno system", which enhanced coordination and control in the course of modernization. Nevertheless, these two options generated diverse attitudes among the intellectuals towards the West in modern China, rather than tangible outcomes. Debates concerning to what extent China should be "westernized" had been initiated since the 19th century, which will be further illustrated in section 2.2.5.

Admittedly, the process of China's modernization shared characteristics with the West, but there were also particularities. He (2002) argues that the normative content of the project of modernity is centered on universalism, which affirms the moral unity of the human species and accords secondary importance to specific historical associations and cultural forms. China's uniqueness was mainly among notable cultural ideas, and associated with the perception of the inalterability of China's cultural norms. These were the legacy of China's long history, but also were "internal barriers embedded in the societies that impede development (Sun, 2008: 89). The implementation and content of China's modernization remained conservatively Chinese in spite of the great impact exerted by the foreign experience.

2.1.2   Four Stages of China's Groping for Modernization

Since the mid 19th century, China had been strongly impressed with the advanced technology and strong military strength of the West, the firstcomers of modernization. Invading wars, exploitation of resources and unequal treaty system were endowed upon China by the Great Powers. Externally, it lost the position as an influential empire that it used to have; internally, during the late period of the Qing dynasty, China's intellectuals commenced their searching for the way of national revitalization, which in fact started China's groping for modernization. This process can be broadly divided into four stages:

STRATEGY. The Opium War (1839-1942) and the Treaty of Nanjing started the "opening of China". Chinese worldview of self-centrality needed adjustment as China was faced with Western gunboats. The intellectuals started reviewing the new position of China in the world on the strategic level. For instance, Wei yuan, an outstanding reformer and patriotism thinker at that time, raised slogans such as "learning the advanced technology from foreigners in order to deal with the foreigners" and "open eyes to look around the world" (Leonard 1984).

TECHNOLOGY: The advanced technology signaled the power of the Western countries. Moreover, as the Kingdom of Heavenly Peace born out of an 1850 uprising known as the *Taiping* Rebellion, the Qing government was compelled to make compromise with foreign forces in order to import technology and industry to repress the uprising. The temporarily harmonious complexion served a pretty good outer environment to the springing-up of the *Yangwu* Movement in 1860. Its English translation used to be Westernization Movement, but this translation did not share the same connotation and denotation with "*yangwu*". "*Yangwu*" was related to Western technology and industry. The movement was dedicated to national self-strengthening in this field. China built the first state-owned factory in 1863 and developed more bureaucratic institutions that aimed at developing technology and industry.

POLITICAL REFORM. In the late 19th and early 20th century, external intervention wars and unequal treaties signed after the loss of wars had been placing severe threats to the existence of the country. After the failure of the Boxer Rebellion and the "*Xinchou* Treaty" signed by the Qing government in 1901 with the Great Powers, a series of attempts at political reforms started - the 1895 Joint Petition of Imperial Examination Candidates to the Emperor (*gongche shangshu*), the Reform Movement of 1898 (*wuxu bianfa*) and the Hundred Days Reform in 1898 (*bairi weixin*). Although such top-down political reform did not work in China at the time, but it did pave the way for large-scale transition in the Chinese society after the 1911 Revolution.

CULTURAL AND SOCIAL ENLIGHTENMENT. Based on the former

stages, a public sphere[4] was preliminarily created in the Chinese society at the beginning of the 20th century (Rankin 1993). The cultural and social strand of modernization was reached in the process of public enlightenment. In 1915, in the face of Japanese encroachment on China, young intellectuals, inspired by "New Youth" (*Xin Qingnian*), a monthly magazine edited by the iconoclastic intellectual Chen Duxiu, began agitating for the reform and strengthening of the Chinese society. As part of this New Culture Movement, they attacked traditional Confucian ideas and exalted Western ideas, particularly science and democracy.

2.2 Mapping China's Modernization in the First Half of the 20th Century

To present the overall picture of the process, Rozman's (1981) analytical model containing five main areas is adopted here. It has to be mentioned that these areas are not isolated from each other. For instance, in economically advanced areas, a rapid and permanent expansion of elite-managed, quasi-governmental local activities was reinforced by the growth of other public and private activities as a result of foreign trade (Rankin 1986: 3).

2.2.1 International Context

During the half-century period before 1949, foreign factors shaped the course of China's modernization in two different ways. On the one hand, modernized countries were considered comprehensive resources of means of modernization as already mentioned. China's opening to the West, although it was enforced by unfair treaties and mainly served for commercial trade,

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[4]Rowe (1993) suggests the existence in the Qing and Republican eras of something related but not identical to the civil society, which call the "public sphere". This concept firstly refers to a variety of emerging "public utilities" and "public services" outside direct state control, and later further appropriated to legitimate a "critical" public sphere of extrabureaucratic political debate.

benefited the public with the import of modern ideas. On the other hand, increasing contact with foreign countries brought about threats toward China's national survival (Xu and Chen 1996). National salvation remained essential and fundamental to the process, which resulted in the popular perception of a hostile international environment. Rozman (1981: 444) portrayed an evolutional picture of Chinese popular mood towards the outside world:

> "In the 1910s the onerous foreign presence corroded the idealism and naivet of the 1900s. The Japanese Twenty-One Demands and the Versailles peace treaty in particular worsened the perception of modernized countries. Images of rapacious neighbours and dishonest governments in China were strengthened. In the 1920s, the period in which Chinese unity was least threatened by new acts of imperialism, the mood was more strongly anti-imperialist than ever; there was more indignation with less cause. And in the 1930s and the first half of the 1940s, the preoccupation with Japanese aggression nurtured the psychology of endangerment from abroad. This new world view created a national consensus and a feeling of participation, a sense of urgency in all activities."

This kind of double-edged influence exerted by international context featured other internal aspects of China's modernization. China met the challenge of modernity externally, but "borrowing without coordination" provided debates and conflicts inside the Chinese society. This problem will be further discussed in Chapter Five.

2.2.2 Political Structure

Following the reform decade of the 1900s and the collapse of the Qing dynasty, political disintegration persisted for almost half a century. After the 1911 Revolution, imperial rule for over two thousand years was ended in China by the establishment of the Republic of China. During the decades

afterwards, the Republic era went through the Beiyang period[5], warlordism, the Nationalist government, Japanese invasion, and the civil war between the KMT and the CCP.

Nonetheless, the first formal president of the Republic of China Yuan Shikai shortly restored the imperial system respectively in 1915 and 1917, which deeply disappointed the public and aroused strong dissatisfaction with the Beiyang government. In 1926 the KMT initiated the Northern Expedition to militarily overthrow the Beiyang government, and commenced the Nanjing decade on April 18, 1927. Nationalist rule acceded to power on a wave of popular enthusiasm, but lost the support of virtually every stratum of society in less than a dozen years later. Meanwhile, the CCP's advanced from strength to greater strength (Eastman 1984). But the army of the CCP only outnumbered that of the Nationalists by mid-1948. Thus, China's modernization in the first half of the 20th century received little guidance from the central government or other stable organizations due to frequent regime changes during the decades.

Despite these struggles for or short success of unification occurred, divisive regional powers prevailed. Absence of national leadership coexisted with profound changes of local political structure. The conservative gentry was gradually eliminated as a meaningful social category, but the regional administration structure dominated by them was not coordinated into central regime. Instead, new regional and local holders of power emerged, such as modern merchants and warlords. They replaced the conservative gentry to rule the Chinese rural society. After the 1920s, this kind of diversity drifted toward unified control of the CCP.

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[5]The Beiyang period collectively refers to a series of military regimes that ruled from 1912 to 1928 in Beijing. It was internationally recognized as the legitimate government of the Republic of China in this period. The name came from the Beiyang Army that dominated China's politics during this period with the rise of Yuan Shikai and his successors.

2.2.3   Economic Structure and Growth

Rozman (1981) takes industrial development during the first half of the 20th century as a general phenomenon: "...Under the Ch'ing government[6] in the last years of the nineteenth century, important steps were taken to launch industrial development. During World War I and over much of the next two decades, modern industries appeared in Shanghai, in Manchuria, and in cities elsewhere near the coast and the Yangtze River, where foreign and Chinese capital, technologies, and managements mingled freely". He concludes that "the considerable industrial growth that did occur, even given the absence of political stability". Two characteristics of China's industrialization needs to be highlighted:

First is the interaction between foreign investment that occupied Chinese markets since the late 19th century, and the so-called Chinese national capitalism. But the "mingling" of the two was not really "free". The pressure of foreign commercial competition never eased in China's market until the outbreak of the First World War. From 1914 to 1920, Chinese light industries such as textile and flour mills developed rapidly, but this short-lived Golden Age of prosperity of Chinese industries faded away with the return of the West to the Chinese market (Zhou 1967: 6-8). Chinese national capitalism only obtained a breathing space and an opportunity to grow when the West was immersed in the Great War. This correlation implied that the long-term penetration of Western capitalism exerted negative impact on the development of Chinese national capitalism.

Secondly, as Rozman emphasizes, the economic growth "was centered in coastal and riverine cities linked more closely to each other, and to foreign places, than to most of the Chinese interior." But China's traditional self-sufficing agricultural and village economy as a whole was quickened to change after the opening of China by the West.

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[6]Another translation of the Qing Dynasty.

2.2.4   Social Integration

Due to the unbalanced changes taking place in political and economic structures, China's modernization was more presented as an urban experience. Zanasi (2004: 113) accesses this issue from a relatively unique perspective – "attempts to define China's identity and its position among the world powers led to the creation of two competing tropes. On the one hand, the treaty ports came to represent a China integrated in the world and pursuing a Western-style path toward modernization. The rural village, on the other hand, came to be perceived as the locus of a pristine Chinese identity, uncontaminated by foreign imperialism".

"Treaty ports" as Shanghai, which from the 1840s through the 1940s were subdivided districts containing mixtures of Chinese-run and foreign-run, had been forced open to foreign trade and settlement by the Opium War. Consequently, those cities became the main places where Western (also Japanese) ideas, products, and technologies of communication entered China. And within them, a "public sphere" took shape (Harrison 2003: 83102). This does not mean that no changes were undergoing in rural areas. In contrast, since decades before the Second World War, hundreds of local rural reform programs had appeared in China. But the reforms were mainly to claim general superiority for rural Chinese life and society. For instance, the representative of neo-Confucianist, Liang Shuming, also promoted his agrarianism in rural reconstruction and spoke for rural reform in the 1930s (Alitto 1976: 213-241).

Moreover, destroying the old order outstepped the building of a new one during this period, especially in the rural areas, which hastened the social disintegration and widened the gap between the urban and the rural. For instance, the KMT national government established in 1927 forged a social infrastructure in the regions it controlled while the rural areas were left almost untouched, which reinforced the gap between the rural land from the urban sector. Critical task still remained in involving the village in the urban-led intensification of modernization.

2.2.5   Knowledge and Education

In the first decade of the 20th century, two new phenomena appeared in the field of education. The first one was the abolishment of imperial examinations[7] in 1905, and consequently, so was the pre-modern educational system. However, traditional education and literatures exerted quite long-lasting influence and invisible power upon the Chinese society, even without the system it was based on. Secondly, reformers imported a new and western system on a nationwide scale and sponsored young students to study abroad, expecting the new education to contribute to the attainment of modernization. This substitution of educational system was proved poorly aligned with social realities owing to inadequate central direction and overly foreign orientation, but it prepared the dramatic break with previous modes of intellectual activity in China. 'Changing self-perceptions of intellectuals who pioneered new modes of "eloquence" in the 1910s and went on to transform themselves into an intelligentsia that has functioned as "practical persuader" in the Chinese revolution from the 1920s onward' (Schwarcz 1978: 1-18).

Nevertheless, the Chinese intelligentsia was not a unified group. As mentioned in section 2.1.1, debates took place between two main camps. One dedicated to criticizing Western modernity, and exhibited a strong desire to preserve Chinese cultural characteristics. Furth defines this camp as cultural conservatism and outlines two styles of it. First, there were the followers of national essence who were secular-minded and placed value in the ideal of culture rather than in forms of social custom or political practice. In the 1920s Cai Yuanpei, the head of Beijing University at the time, spoke for treating cultural products as a substitute for religion. Second, there were the neo-Confucianists who insisted upon the rationality of the Confucian faith. An example is Liang Shuming's effort on exploring elements of "modernity" in Confucianism in his

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[7]The imperial examinations (*Keju*) determined who among the population would be permitted to enter the state's bureaucracy. The Imperial Examination System in China lasted for 1300 years, from its founding during the Sui Dynasty in 605 to its abolition near the end of the Qing Dynasty in 1905.

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Imperial_examinations, last accessed March 29, 2009

Eastern and Western Cultures and Their Philosophies.

The other main camp concentrated on critique of Chinese tradition. Admirers of Western culture advocated "westernization". An extreme claim towards was Chen Xujing's (1934) idea of "wholesale Westernization" written in his book *The Future of Chinese Culture.* Another more moderate claim was Zhang Zhidong's "*Ti-Yong* Formula" in the 1890s, which was an abbreviation of the phrase, "Chinese learning for the essence, Western learning for practical development". It expressed the idea that there was a deeply Chinese moral and cultural foundation to society that would remain, even as China adopted technology from the West to strengthen its own economy and military (Spence 1990: 223-229). Ti-Yong advocates were "selective modernizers", to use Lieberthal's term (1995). A late perspective on the influence of the West on China's modernization, mainly propagated by the CCP, followed Marxist interpretation, which regarded Western penetration as the first step for China towards modern development (Inglehart & Welzel 2005).

2.3 Summary

This chapter has pictured China's modernization during the Republic era from 1911 to 1949 in three steps. Firstly, the term "modernization" was defined in the Chinese context by dividing modernizing societies into two categories as firstcomers and latecomers. Second, four stages of China's groping for modernization since the mid 19th century were analyzed in retrospect, to show how it started from strategic level, then through technological and political reforms, and finally to public enlightenment in the beginning of the 20th century. And thirdly, five intertwined main areas of China's modernization were considered: international context, political structure, economic structure and growth, social integration, and knowledge and education. The overall picture of China's modernization serves as a historical background for introducing citizen diplomacy in Chapter Three.

Chapter 3

Conceptualization of China's Citizen Diplomacy

An important phenomenon accompanying China's modernization was the emergence of citizen diplomacy. As concluded in Introduction, citizen diplomacy means ordinary citizens supervising, supporting and affecting their own government's foreign policies and diplomatic activities by means of public opinion and mass movements, so as to achieve the public's aspirations and demands for the interests of the country. However, the literature review also suggests that the connotation of citizen diplomacy is a matter of constant construction and reconstruction, following to the changes in China's national situation. There is no definite conclusion for its definition, but through contextualization and comparison, a thorough understanding of citizen diplomacy in the first half of the 20th century in China can still be achieved.

This chapter will examine the contextual specificity of China's citizen diplomacy in section 3.1. Then, section 3.2 will highlight three aspects of it. And in section 3.3, I provide a further understanding by comparing it with related concepts. The changes in China's citizen diplomacy, which was closely linked to the two World Wars during the first half of the 20th century, will be discussed in detail in Chapter Four.

3.1 Contextual Specificity

Citizen diplomacy in current research, especially by Western scholars, mostly refers to informal interaction between members of adversarial states or practice of unofficial persons to explore the possibility of negotiating solutions in the form of people-to-people communication (Muldoon et al. 2005; Jönsson & Langhorne 2004c). It functions as supplementary instruments of traditional diplomacy, or tools of breaking the ice when official contact is in a stalemate. As this unofficial channel can pave the way for the official "track one" diplomacy[8], it is also called "track two" diplomacy. This type of citizen diplomacy has been practiced in the field of culture, education, trade and investment to promote better understanding and relations since the late half of the 20th Century (Eastwood 2007).

The citizen diplomacy that featured China's diplomatic activities during the first half of the 20th Century followed a different pattern. It is essential to distinguish these two kinds of citizen diplomacy even though they share the signifier[9] and overlap in functions such as complementing official diplomacy.

3.1.1 Interpretation of "*Guomin*"

"Citizen" here is translated from "*guomin*", the form in the new romanization system for Chinese characters, which originally means the common people. There also exist other translations, such as "civil" (Deng 2007) or "national" (Ren, 2006). The diversity of scholars' translation of "*guomin*" in English is due to the social conditions in which it was proposed by the intellectuals and spread among the public.

"*Guomin*" was used as a broad concept in ancient Chinese literature such as *The Zuo Commentary (on The Spring and Autumn Annals)*[10] and *The*

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[8]http://www.colorado.edu/conflict/peace/treatment/citdip.htm, last accessed on 9 March 2009

[9]Noun used in linguistics, means a sign's physical form (such as a sound, printed word, or image) as distinct from its meaning. Compare with signified.

[10]In Chinese, *Zuo Zhuan*. A famous historical book recording the history of the Spring and Autumn Period (770-476BC), and is one of the three commentaries to the book of *Chunqiu*

History of the Han Dynasty (Yin, 2004). The first use of "*guomin*" was in *The Zuo Commentary, Zhao Gong 13*: "The spirits gave their command in his favor, and the people of the state trust him *(xianshen ming zhi, guomin xin zhi)*." Its connotation covered both subjects of dynasties and plebeians in the charge of feudal states. Nevertheless, subjects and plebeians were more frequently used in ancient literature, owing to their reflecting inferiority and superiority of social classes in ancient China.

The concept of "*guomin*" as a modern political term appeared in China during the last period of the Qing dynasty. Here, as Liu (1995: 302-308) points out, "*guomin*" is an item of "return graphic loan" that "refers to classical Chinese-character compounds that were used by the Japanese to translate modern European words and were reintroduced into modern Chinese". In the late 19th century, Japan's rise after the Meiji Restoration aroused a strong wave of Chinese youth studying in Japan, which facilitated the import and spread of loan items. In other words, the reconceptualized "*guomin*" in modern China was the correspondence to national crisis in the shadow of Western views of civil rights. On the one hand, it reflected evocations for public concerns of the survival and interests of the country; on the other hand, it expressed the influence of Western ideas on China's transition. Consequently, the meaning of "*guomin*" in modern China was closely related to its counterpart in modern Japan.

The first to use "*guomin*" in the modern sense was Kang Youwei. He did not clearly redefine the meaning of "*guomin*" in his works, but closely related it to Western-style education and China's revitalization. These two key points, the assimilation of Western values and concerns for national salvation, turned into two dimensions of the meaning of "*guomin*" in modern China. Another representative of China's intellectuals, Liang Qichao, described his ideal image of "*guomin*" in *Collected Writings in the Ice-Drinker's Cell (Vol. 4)*, which promoted ideas of independence and responsibility, consciousness of being members of the nation, and political participation into national affairs. Thus, "*guomin*" was referred to as a kind of identity as "sons and daughters of

(Spring and Autumn Annals).

their country" instead of "the common people of dynasties or feudal states". "Citizen" in this thesis is used as the translation of "*guomin*" in the modern sense.

3.1.2 Formulation of Citizen Diplomacy

Citizen and diplomacy are two important concepts in Western theories of political science. The former means a member of a political community who enjoys the rights and assumes the duties of membership[11], and the latter is generally referred to the conduct of relations between states and other entities with standing in world politics by official agents and by peaceful means, which implements foreign policy through negotiation (Sofer 1988).

However, the formulation of "citizen diplomacy" is from Japan. In modern times, Japan was the first Asian country that emancipated itself from the shackles of unequal treaties through diplomatic negotiations, and then joined the imperialist competition in the world. During the process of treaty revision, citizen diplomacy made undeniable contributions to the outcome (Yin, 2004). Japanese scholars firstly employed "*guomin*", "*kokumin*" in Japanese romanization system, to indicate the idea of popular sovereignty being taken into the field of diplomacy (Liu 1995). This concept was then introduced to China. The first article on citizen diplomacy, "On the Difference between Citizen Diplomacy and Bureaucratic Diplomacy"[12] published on *Diplomatic Review*[13], was translated from Japanese (Zhou, 2008).

Rather than a response to "revolutions in information and communication technologies" and "the worldwide rise in democratic expectations" in the late period of the 20th century (Sharp 2001: 345), citizen diplomacy of the time in China was more closely related to an earlier wave of diplomatic transformation

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[11]http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/citizenship/, last access April 4, 2009.

[12]This article written by Ariga Nagao was translated from Japanese, originally printed in June, 1909 (Meiji 42 in Japan)

[13]In Chinese, *Waijiao Bao*. It was the first newspaper in Modern China that commented on international issues, launched on January 4, 1902 in Shanghai. Zhang Yuanji sponsored the publication, pressed by the Commercial Press.

that arose in the end of the First World War. This trend was calling for open diplomacy and "democratic control of diplomacy" (Bullard 1917: 491-499) and opposing traditional secret diplomacy (Zhou, 2008). The most famous instance is the speech of the "Fourteen Points" addressed by the United States President Woodrow Wilson in 1918, in which he called for "open covenants of peace, openly arrived at, after which there shall be no private international understandings of any kind but diplomacy shall proceed always frankly and in the public view"[14].

International jurist Zhou Gengsheng also stated three stages of diplomacy based on his study of the process of diplomatic democratization after the First World (Yin 2004: 21). That is, following imperial diplomacy (also called court diplomacy) and governmental diplomacy (also called bureaucratic diplomacy), diplomacy of modern states had grown to its third phase, citizen diplomacy. In his view, the so-called citizen diplomacy did not mean that ordinary citizens conduct foreign affairs themselves. The main point of citizen diplomacy was to assure that a country's foreign policies were directly or indirectly (through representative institutions of the people) dominated by its citizens.

In short, modern politics required for democratization of diplomacy. The open diplomacy pioneered this trend. China's citizen diplomacy represented public participation into diplomatic affairs in a collective manner, and the "track two" diplomacy goes further to individual contacts in the field of diplomacy.

3.1.3   Response to National Salvation

One striking feature of China's citizen diplomacy was the overwhelming emphasis on national salvation, which generated a strong sense of crisis among the public and then prompted mass impulse concerning foreign affairs. Thus, the "stimulation-reaction" model characterized China's citizen diplomacy. In other words, China's citizen diplomacy tended to function as a reaction to situation, like a remedy for disease. Its main task altered according to the changes

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[14]http://wwi.lib.byu.edu/index.php/President_Wilson%27s_Fourteen_Points, last access April 10, 2009.

in China's national situation. Moreover, its interaction with governments and main instruments also adjusted with respect to the alteration of the main task.

As stated in Chapter Two, the so-called national salvation contained two dimensions: one referred to external threats to China's independence and sovereignty; the other was attributed to internal absence of central authority and unstable political patterns. When the national crisis transferred to both external and internal, the model of "stimulation-reaction" continued to work. Nevertheless, not until the 1920s did the public pay equal attention to the internal dimension together with the external. The turning point was the Paris Peace Conference. In the late 19th century, the failure of the Boxer Rebellion proved that traditional violent protests could not improve the circumstances of the country. Thus, to eliminate unequal treaties and to terminate colonial occupation of the Great Powers in China through diplomacy prevailed in the public. Additionally, the new trend of open diplomacy after the First World War in the West reinforced these hopes of the Chinese. Taking account of China's situation at the time, neither military nor economic strength could back the negotiations at international peace conferences. Diplomacy needs to rely on the public support. Citizen diplomacy emerged as the times demanded. However, the disappointing result of the Paris Peace Conference revealed the importance of solving domestic political chaos and backwardness at the same time. It was recognized that fundamental reforms inside China's society were necessary to achieve diplomatic goals in international community.

Consequently, the "stimulation-reaction" model without coordinative political instruction and organization constrained the development of China's citizen diplomacy. Moreover, limitations of the leadership and instruments of citizen diplomacy also constrained its effects. The next section is dedicated to investigating three aspects of China's citizen diplomacy.

3.2 Three Aspects of China's Citizen Diplomacy: A Closer Look

With the change of the main task of China's citizen diplomacy, its relationship with governmental diplomacy was correspondingly adjusted. Moreover, in this process, the leadership and main instruments of citizen diplomacy were affected by its practice. This section will highlight these aspects of citizen diplomacy, in order to deepen the understanding of it.

3.2.1 Relationship with Governmental Diplomacy

In terms of the interaction between governmental diplomacy and citizen diplomacy, the most significant problem was whether the government was the only accredited actor of diplomacy. Usually, governments are recognized as legitimate subjects of foreign affairs by other countries, so that governmental diplomacy dominates in diplomacy. Citizen diplomacy represented the rise of the public and their strong willingness of political participation in foreign affairs. Literally, the government should respect public opinion and citizens should have the right to supervise the government's diplomatic conducts.

However, China's citizen diplomacy experienced twists and turns owing to its relationship with governments, and correspondingly, so did its interaction with governmental diplomacy. In the early days, citizen diplomacy was conduct within the framework of existing laws and governmental regulations. Emphasis on peaceful means and obedience to governmental control made citizen diplomacy not form a strong diplomatic pressure towards governmental diplomacy, which reflected a more positive interaction. By the mid-and late 1920s, owing to the public's disappointment with the Beiyang government and local warlord factions, the internal dimension of national salvation was highlighted and it induced the change of the main task of citizen diplomacy. The Beiyang government lost political and diplomatic authority, but the loss provided favorable conditions for the public's participation of foreign affairs. Although citizen diplomacy played a relatively active role in diplomatic activ-

ities during the Beiyang period, it failed to form an independent path in the field of diplomacy during the Second World War.

3.2.2   From Merchants to Intelligentsia

The late period of the Qing dynasty witnessed great changes in foreign policies and strong cultural enlightenment of the public. Comprehensive commentaries in newspapers and periodicals advocated the rights of the public to supervise and to participate in diplomacy (Ren 2006). The transitional process of diplomatic thoughts was launched in China, and prepared the climax of citizen diplomacy around the 1920s.

Despite the great contribution of the intelligentsia to the diffusion of the idea of citizen diplomacy, their leadership was not as significant as merchants until the May Fourth movement. China's modern merchants led citizen diplomacy in the early era. In the process of social transition after the collapse of the Qing dynasty, they reached out for more regional power and broadened their conceptions of their roles in public affairs. As the lines between local and national concerns began to blur, modern merchants started to engage in competition with official representatives of the country (Rankin 1986). Citizen diplomacy offered a good opportunity. Their concerns about their own economic interests ensured that peaceful means of struggle would be adopted as main instruments of citizen diplomacy. For instance, boycott movements against American goods and Japanese goods during the 1900s used to be the most effective way of involving the public to participate in citizen diplomacy. Moreover, this characteristic of modern merchants also reflected the consciousness of civil rights in modern China, which was one effective component of China's safeguard of national sovereignty. However, in semi-colonial and semi-feudal China, slow and inadequate development of national industries determined that merchants could not lead citizen diplomacy for a long time.

Then, The intelligentsia became the leader stratum in citizen diplomacy in the 1920s. Although they debated internally due to their divergence of views of Western modernity, their propagation and advocacy in terms of the

construction of the pubic sphere were influential among the public. Their opinions dominated and they were regarded as representatives of the public. Moreover, the relationship between the intelligentsia and governments varied from decade to decade. Watershed appeared around the 1930s, after the KMT national government established. Since then, the intelligentsia was gradually incorporated into the bureaucratic system of the government. This partially contributed to the transformation of the nature of citizen diplomacy.

3.2.3 Public Opinion, Mass Movements and Cooperation with Overseas Chinese and Students Abroad

During the Beiyang period, citizen diplomacy entered a more mature stage. Despite the controversy about its definition, consensus was reached concerning the main instruments of it.

There were two main types: one was public opinion on foreign affairs, including comments or observations published by intellectuals or other influential individuals; the other was mass movements supported by large segments of the population, such as parades, speeches and assemblies. Although it seemed that the former worked through discourse while the latter stressed action, the two actually relied heavily on each other – the mass movements benefited from the propagation and support of public opinion. Meanwhile public opinion was implemented in the form of mass movement.

The relationship between public opinion and mass movements also highlighted the issue of the relationship between the intelligentsia and the public. The limitations of the intelligentsia were reflected on the practice of citizen diplomacy. As stated in Chapter Two, the supporters of Western modernity that received higher education abroad brought back norms and ideas that were entirely new to the traditional Chinese society, while the nativists and neo-confucianists debated on the opposite side. Both of the camps kept publishing magazines, newsletters or journals, which reduced the strength of the intelligentsia as a social force to lead China's citizen diplomacy.

Regarding influential scope, activities of citizen diplomacy developed from

unilaterally domestic movements into cooperation between domestic groups and overseas Chinese during the 1920s. After the First World War, the Citizen Diplomacy Association was originally established by the intelligentsia as a platform for discussions regarding agenda setting at the Paris Peace Conference (Guo 2005). Then, it grew to a national organization of China's citizen diplomacy and initiated more contact with overseas Chinese and students abroad at the Washington Peace Conference, which expanded the influential sphere of citizen diplomacy and also enhanced the effect of it.

3.3   Differentiation of Related Concepts

Some research categorizes citizen diplomacy into two strands (Deng, 2007; Yin, 2004). One strand uses basically the same definition as the one adopted in this thesis. In contrast, the second strand is overlapping with or even referring to other related diplomatic terms, such as "track two" diplomacy and public diplomacy. In fact, these concepts have similarities as well as differences. On the one hand, China's citizen diplomacy, "track two" diplomacy and public diplomacy "share the reliance on indirect communication rather than direct government-to-government communication (Jönsson and Langhorne 2004c)". On the other hand, their differences are easy to see with comparison of two elements: "by whom" and "to whom":

As mentioned before, China's citizen diplomacy was mainly conducted by the domestic public and to lobby their own governments. "Track two" diplomacy, another kind of citizen diplomacy in Western literature, is performed by unofficial people and to their counterparts in another country. And public diplomacy[15] is operated by governments and aims at citizens of other countries.

The real-world phenomena that two-level game modeling tries to explain, however, shares some similarities with China's citizen diplomacy. The model

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[15]Refers to government-sponsored programs intended to inform or influence public opinion in other countries, using instruments such as publications, motion pictures, cultural exchanges, radio and television.U.S. Department of State, Dictionary of International Relations Terms, 1987, p. 85, http://www.publicdiplomacy.org/1.htm, last accessed on 9 March 2009.

of two-level game has been developed into a very useful method of analyzing the interaction of domestic and international negotiations. The assumption that states are "unitary actors" has been relaxed to explore the consequences of leaders' attempts to balance domestic and international motivations. Thus, two institutional factors are pertaining to two-level games, the domestic decision-making process and the structure of the international negotiation (Kilgour & Wolinsky-Nahmias 2004). Regarding domestic politics, on the one hand, internal issues and decision makers' preference shape the negotiation strategies of governments; on the other hand, a democratic system with a parliamentary ratification procedure for international agreements is essential.

3.4 Summary

This chapter has examined the contextual connotation of China's citizen diplomacy, which contains three ingredients: traditional conceptions of citizen (*guomin*), Western ideas of civil rights, and public concerns for national salvation. A closer look was taken on three aspects of citizen diplomacy: relationship with governmental diplomacy, the change of leadership from modern merchants to intellectuals, and two main instruments as public opinion and mass movements that cooperated with overseas Chinese. In conclusion, although citizen diplomacy mainly worked in the way of domestically lobbying the Chinese government rather than foreigners, it represented the uncompromising stand of the public in terms of national revitalization. In Chapter Four, the changes in citizen diplomacy will be examined and related to China's modernization from the 1920s to the 1940s, in order to see the relationship between the two.

Chapter 4

A Negative Relationship: Comparing China's Modernization and the Changes in Citizen Diplomacy

From the 1920s to the 1940s, there had been some changes in China's situation. These changes were closely related to the two World Wars and affected the course of China's modernization and activities of citizen diplomacy. This chapter tries to identify the relationship between China's modernization and the changes in citizen diplomacy during this period.

In section 4.1, I provide a brief historical background of China in the first half of the 20th century, emphasizing the changes that happened between the two decades. Section 4.2 evaluates China's modernization by using three criteria, namely leadership, institution building and redistribution of resources. Moving on to section 4.3, three aspects and cases of two international conferences will be applied to examine the changes in citizen diplomacy. The relationship between the two important phenomena is concluded in the section 4.4.

4.1 Changes from the 1920s to the 1940s

Generally speaking, changes in China's situation during the decades existed in two dimensions. Externally, threats towards China's national survival declined. China started to exercise its sovereignty and independence in the modern era. Nevertheless, even thought it attended almost all of the important international conferences after the wars, China didn't exert great influence on the agendas or outcomes of treaties. Internally, various aspects of the social transition unevenly developed. Thus, progress took place somehow, but modern values hardly syncretized into the intrinsically dominant political and social norms. The clash lasted for years and wore down the process of transition.

4.1.1 International Environment

As a large but weak country in the first half of the 20th century, changes in China's international environment were not mainly reflected in China's position in the international society, but displayed in China's relationship with other foreign countries (Lieberthal 1995). Although the solution of the Shandong issue at the Paris Peace Conference mostly fell under the aftereffects of the nineteenth-century unequal treaty system, in 1922 at the Washington Conference, the Nine Power Treaty was signed to respect China's territorial integrity and political independence. The Great Powers that used to threaten China's national survival were weakened or even collapsed after the war, and thus the relationship between them and China seemed alleviated. However, this did not mean that foreign countries were prepared give up their privileges in China. Having legislated on the policies of the "Opening of China", Western exploitation continued in the port cities and equal commercial opportunity remained.

In terms of China's domestic political pattern, principle powers at the Washington Conference achieved consensus on taking cooperative moves to unify China. However, outcomes of foreign interventions were not satisfactory. In the early Republic era, the disjointed society of warlordism, the gap between

central power and regional administration structure, caused the shortage of domestic basis of such political unification (Esherick, 1976). The tension between the KMT and the CCP further deteriorated such situation. For instance, the Soviet Union was devoted to sponsoring and supporting the collaboration of the KMT and the CCP in the Northern Expedition, but sharp conflicts between the two parties in ideology and policy destined to their final split, which was hastened by the growing conservatism of the KMT and the growing radicalism of the CCP.

After the Second World War, the international configuration was reshuffled and altered the old patterns of Western exploitation in China. In 1943 the system of extraterritoriality was abolished by common agreement, and it was agreed that Manchukuo and Taiwan would be returned to Chinese Nationalist control after the war at the Cairo Conference (Spence 1990). But in 1945 Roosevelt, Stalin and Churchill met at Yalta, without Jiang Jieshi's (*Chiang Kai-shek*) participation, and made clauses betrayed these agreements reached during the wartime. Because the United States feared the struggle of the KMT and the CCP would come to the forefront after the surrender of Japan, it was seeking cooperation with the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, as Westad (1993) comments, China was the first of many Asian countries in the postwar period where Soviet-American rivalry influenced the course of domestic revolution. In fact, when the cooperation of the big two turned into confrontation after the Second World War, China's postwar aspirations of national unification were once again blown. The KMT-CCP enmity did not originally attribute to the rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union, but the latter led to and worsen the former.

4.1.2   Inside the Chinese Society

Regarding this dimension, Lieberthal (1995: 27) concluded that "as late as the 1890s Confucianism still dominated the ideological scene, foreign ways were suspected, and a military career held little prestige. By the late 1910s, all of this had changed. " At the end of the First World War, the nominal central government of the Republic of China, in effect the warlord Beiyang regime

truly demised after Yuan shikai's death. Although his successors, represented by the Primier Duan Qirui, who hold the real power, still regarded themselves the "national" government, the country actually had dissolved into regionally based warlordism.

Even this so-called central government lost the support of the public due to its yielding to the demands of turning German concessions in China's Shandong Province over to Japan instead of returning them to China at the Paris Peace Conference. Chinese public indignation reached its climax, which was reflected by the slogans of the May Fourth Movement – "externally, struggle for sovereignty; internally, throw out the traitors (*wai zheng guoquan, nei cheng guozei*)." The movement was initiated by students in Beijing who demonstrated in protest against the Duan government's humiliating policy towards Japan (Zhou 1967). Other social classes such as merchants, industrialists and urban workers later expressed their full support to students. And the voice of the intelligentsia, in spite of debates inside the institution, conveyed the public feeling of national humiliation widely throughout the country.

But shortly after this, the movement was allied with the Nationalists to overthrow the warlord Beiyang regime, which contributed to the reorganization of the KMT and the birth of the CCP during the 1920s. Sun Zongshan (*Sun Yat-sen*), the first leader of the KMT, played an instrumental role in the first collaboration of the two parties in order to fight the warlord rule. This KMT-CCP collaboration was named the First United Front (1924-1927). Nonetheless, after his death in 1925, the Northern Expedition finally freed the KMT from depending on the support of the CCP and quickened his successor, Jiang Jieshi's (*Chiang Kai-shek*) decision to break with the CCP.

The Second United Front (1937-1945) between the KMT and the CCP was formed to oppose Japanese aggression, and the Nationalist government participated in international negotiations and conferences as China's national government during and after the Second World War. Thus, both the United States and the Soviet were more willing to reach a China settlement that inducted the Communists into the government as a minority (Gupta 1971). In 1946 the United States mediated between the two sides. After the Chongqing

Negotiation, the Double-Ten Agreement between the KMT and the CCP was reached to solve the conflicts between the two parties and to construct a new China in a peaceful way. However, the agreement lacked practical discussions about the implementation of its decisions, for example, specific arrangements of the course of actions needed for taking over the liberated territory from the Japanese. Ultimately, an all-out civil war burst out in 1947, right after the Second World War. The CCP transformed its strategy of guerrilla war during the Second World War to a new strategy of conventional war, which showed its stopping obedience to central command of the Nationalist government and enhancing its core principles of decentralization and local initiative. And the Communists shifted the political line in late 1948 – a far milder land reform was adopted in rural areas and promise of long-period "new democracy" before an eventual transition to socialism was given to win national capitalists and intellectuals in China's major cities (Van de Ven 1991). Additionally, base areas and powerful military groups enabled the CCP's victories on battlefield against the KMT. In 1949, the communists replaced the Nationalist government on the Chinese mainland.

4.2   The Progress of China's Modernization

Rozman (1981) identifies China as a "lagging latecomer" of modernization. Xu and Chen (1996: 1-30) treat China's modernization before 1949 as a preparation stage for the period after 1949. However, this is too general and ignores the importance of relative growth of China's modernization in the first half of the 20th century. As I argued in Chapter Two, political reforms, industrial promotion, public political participation, and cultural enlightenment took place almost simultaneously in the process of China's modernization during the first half of the 20th century. But these aspects were unevenly developed, which makes it difficult to evaluate China's modernization. Here, three criteria are suggested to deal with this problem.

4.2.1 Leadership: the Rise and Decline of the Intelligentsia

After the birth of the Republic of China, continuous efforts were made to realize the transformation of traditional political power towards modernizing leadership by Sun Zhongshan and other Republicans. But central control and coordination were missing during the early Republic era (1912-1916) due to the collapse of the Beiyang government and the warlord wars afterwards (1916-1928). Thus, a powerful political leadership was largely absent in the development of China's modernization in the 1920s.

Chinese intelligentsia rose up in this situation. On the basis of the lessons learnt from the failure of the top-down political reform in the late Qing, Chinese intellectuals became conscious of the importance of the public in China's revitalization. Rather than politicians and bureaucrats, the Chinese intelligentsia indeed pioneered, propelled and backed China's social transition after the First World War. Schwarcz (1978:1-2) terms the transformation of the intellectuals into the "Chinese intelligentsia" the "history of consciousness", which "pressed beyond a concern with the content of knowledge to an investigation of its social uses and enlightened public opinion."

The role of the intelligentsia converted to the assistants and advisors, even members of the government during the Nanjing decade under the rule of the KMT. For instance, Hu Shi, the leader of the New Culture Movement, was appointed as Jiang Jieshi's envoy to the United States. And furthermore, after the Second World War, the intelligentsia became the lubricant between the KMT and the CCP. Spence (1990) recorded a "political consultative conference" in 1946, at which thirty-eight delegates assembled in Nanjing after the day the KMT and the CCP reached a cease-fire agreement. Among the delegates, over sixty percent were from the Youth party[16], the Democratic League[17], other smaller political associations, and the unaffiliated. But their voice and good intentions came to nothing eventually.

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[16]A powerful and vocal group promoted the peaceful reconstruction of China.

[17]The League spoke for many of China's liberal intellectuals.

The decline of the leadership of the intelligentsia did not pessimistically mean the decline of China's modernization. On the contrary, it bespake the increasing impact from political institutions. Moreover, China's intelligentsia only served a weak leadership in this process. This resulted from the gap between them and the public that bequeathed from traditional social structure, their extremist and idealist attitudes that proved unrealistic, and lack of executive power of their revolutionary proposals.

4.2.2 Establishment of Constitutional Institutions

In 1912 the Republican government was imposed in China, at least in form, after the failure of political reform that sought to make a compromise arrangement of a constitutional monarchy in the institution of the emperorship during the late Qing period. A meaningful constitution that guaranteed valid elections across China for the two-chamber parliament had been drafted as the Provisional Constitution of the Republic of China since the early 1910s (Wasserstrom 2003). But the designed republican political blueprint and its constitutional institutions were left only on paper for two major reasons. First, on the dimension of central governance, Yuan Shikai's abandoning the rules of the Provisional Constitution during the early Republic era, and the frequent regime alterations during the Warlord era made the implementation of the constitution lack driving force. Second, on the local dimension, political reforms in the countryside seemed peripheral and insufficient. Attention was paid to develop structures of local self-government by regional powers such as the conservative gentry. This made the constitutional institution building on this central dimension rootless (Schoppa 2003). Even the Constitutional Protection Movements were launched twice and the Nationalist Nanjing Government restored the constitution in 1925, these two problems still remained unsolved.

Essential changes had taken place since the establishment of the Nationalist government in 1926. It met the strategic needs of national unity, which was significant for program of China's modernization. China obtained unification to a certain degree in the charge of a modern central government for the

first time in the 20th century. Even lost power in the Chinese mainland in 1949, the Nationalist government once achieved "total victory" in 1945 – as mentioned before, the Nationalist government was recognized as the national government of China by other countries in the international society; moreover, its armies retrieved the coastal areas from the Japanese occupation after the Second World War (Lieberthal 1995). Thus, the CCP could only cooperate with the KMT as an opposition party before defeating it in the civil war. The bureaucratic system of the Nationalist government was staffed by modern-educated men from coastal cities that kept on serving the country until the establishment of the People's Republic of China.

However, the search for appropriate political institutions was more successful at the theoretical level. It seemed that appeals for institution building were fervent among the public, a preliminary civil society[18]. Foreign propositions and values were consciously used, modern techniques were adopted, and the administration of local elites was disrupted or even replaced by new elite activists (Rankin 1993). However, these modern values such as a national constitution and institutions hardly coordinated into the intrinsically dominant political norms.

4.2.3 Redistribution of Resources

As China was a latecomer that commenced the process of modernization under imperial rule, resources inside the Chinese society were divided between the Great Powers and the Qing government. When the imperial system collapsed and the quasi-colonial rule was transferred to less aggressive foreign interventions, there was a need for redistribution of resources. But the clash of wars lasted for years wore down the process of industrialization and social integration, which dramatically influenced the redistribution of resources inside

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[18]Rankin (1993: 159) defined civil society as 'a major theme of Western political theory since the early seventeenth century. It has been defined in many ways and has also assumed different historical forms under "weak" states like England or "strong" ones like France or Germany...an essential core seems to be the existence of social associations not dominated by the state and capable of affecting official policy.'

the Chinese society.

The development of China's national industries featured the new pattern of the Chinese society after the First World War. On the one hand, the new urban interest groups[19] rose up as an influential social class. So did urban workers. On the other hand, the gap between the urban and the rural areas was deepened. As a result, China's industrialization failed to develop into the Industrial Revolution[20] in the West, which had been treated as the "great divide" between the pre-modern world and the world of modernity. Sanderson (1995) believes that it was capitalism that introduced the modern world and made industrialization possible, so that capitalism was indispensable to relate the rise of modernity to the industrialization; also, radical changes in economic life and social organization, specifically the establishment of factory system and enormous increases in the productivity of labour were essential ingredients of industrialization. According to Sanderson's standards, on the one hand, China's industrialization happened with an infirm basis of national capitalism. Chinese national capitalism originated in private business of textile production in coastal cities as Suzhou during the late period of the Qing dynasty. Room of development was explored after the self-sufficing economic structure and the feudal ideology that traditionally held commerce in contempt gradually crashed by the logic of capitalist societies that require capital accumulation and capability of mass consumption. After the First World War, the Great Powers returned to Chinese markets but their quasi-colonial rule in China decreased after the Washington Peace Conference. Although Chinese national industries experienced a sharp decline right after the war, they were strong during the Golden Age of prosperity (1914-1919). On the other hand, China's industrialization was limited in the scale and degree, because the revolution in technology did not convert to the revolution of economic organization. Decentralized administration and alienation between the urban and the rural

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[19]Mainly consist merchant, elite activists and industrialists.

[20]Given the definition by Stearns (1993), is "a massive set of changes that begin when radical innovations in technologies and organizational forms are extensively introduced in key manufacturing sectors and that end, in the truly revolutionary phase, when these innovations are widely, though not necessarily universally, established in the economy at large."

areas disabled the economic changes in cities spilt into the countryside. Although new elite activists started to replace the local conservative gentry to dominate the administration in the rural areas (Rankin 1986), however, the peasantry kept being excluded from resources share.

During the Second World War, China's industrial production expanded significantly, and commerce grew fast. And many a "bottom-up" economic and social organizations developed in various locales, such as chambers of commerce and trade unions, which brought about significant experiments in social and economic reform in some rural counties. China attained its peak levels output in industry, agriculture, and commerce in the late 1930s. (Lieberthal 1995: 34). Although the economic crisis and inflation confronted China after the war, the destructive impact was relatively finite due to the limited scope of China's industrialization and rural reforms.

Meanwhile, social integration was to some extend improved with the rising influence of the CCP. After Jiang Jieshi's breaking up with the CCP in the late 1920s, the Communists encountered great failure and suppression in the big cities. They realized that their greatest allies were the poorer peasants and the landless farm laborers in the intuitionally weak rural areas. In the year following the Japanese surrender the Communists intensified their land-reform program that promised to sought the elimination of tenancy and the equalization of property within the villages (Spence 1990: 492). Taking the rural base as the shield and buckler, the CCP returned to big cities to exercise its municipal powers by mobilizing urban workers to back the People's Liberation Army. No matter whether the new urban interest groups and urban workers or the peasantry, the majority of Chinese, enjoyed the fruit of the redistribution, it was the CCP that eventually succeeded in integrating resources as well as the whole Chinese society after its victory in the civil war.

4.3   The Decline of Citizen Diplomacy

It is necessary to state that, during the late period of the Qing dynasty, there had been mass movements attempting to influence national foreign rela-

tions, for instance, anti-foreign religious struggle throughout the country from 1860 to 1890, and the Boxer Rebellion. However, fundamentally, those struggles could not be incorporated into the activities of China's citizen diplomacy. It is because those movements aimed at restoring the tributary system before modern times, which was rather different from the pursuit of peaceful solutions to conflicts and disputes by modern diplomatic means in the international community – the purpose of citizen diplomacy. Also, essentially speaking, China's citizen diplomacy could only base on the emergence of citizen in modern sense.

To compare the development of citizen diplomacy after the two World Wars, according to Chapter Three, three aspects could serve as indicators for comparison. First is the main task. As stated in Chapter Two, China's citizen diplomacy emerged when China faced severe threats towards its national survival. As the respond of the imperatives of national salvation, the main task of citizen diplomacy was adjusted according to changes in international and domestic situation of China. A second aspect is the relationship between citizen diplomacy and governmental diplomacy. Two points need to be considered here: who were the principal actors of China's national diplomacy? And how did these two kinds of diplomacy interacted? Furthermore, as the leading role played by merchants in the early 20th century had been taken over by the Chinese intelligentsia since the May Fourth Movement, this criterion also correlated to examine the relationship between Chinese intelligentsia and the government. The third aspect is the main instruments of citizen diplomacy, especially the expansion of its influential scope. The Paris Peace Conference and the Washington Peace Conference are used to illustrate the changes.

4.3.1 The Embryonic Stage: from 1900s to the Early 1910s

China's citizen diplomacy emerged in the beginning of the 20th century. Several anti-foreign boycott movements, the Rail-Rights Recovery Movement[21]

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[21]Railway building was not the main concern of China's industrial development until 1895. Realizing the importance of railroads, the Qing government began to build its own railways,

and resistant movements against the Twenty-One Demands characterized China's citizen diplomacy in the beginning of the 20th century as follows:

MAIN TASK. Protest at external threats against China's survival was the main purpose of citizen diplomacy at this stage. There was no doubt that either in the late Qing dynasty, or in the early Republic era, dissatisfaction with the central government existed among political parties, organizations and individuals. But they had been showing a strongly convergent intention of supporting the government when national survival was threatened externally. In the resistance movement to the Japanese Twenty-One Demands, all the parties and non-governmental organizations expressed their full support of the Yuan Government regardless of uprisings against Yuan Shikai before. This, on the one hand, reflected a public consensus of national supremacy, but on the other hand, also reflected the immature side of citizen diplomacy. At that time, to lift these external threats was the one and only main task of China's citizen diplomacy.

RELATIONSHIP WITH GOVERNMENTAL DIPLOMACY. The government was seen as the only principal actor of national diplomacy, whose diplomatic activities were uncritically supported by the public. It was agreed that foreign affairs ought to be conducted by the representatives authorized by the government. Various non-governmental organizations and individuals considered themselves reinforcements of the government. In most cases, the government did take advantage of the public support to negotiate with the Great Powers. In the 1905 anti-American boycott, Liang Cheng, the envoy of the Qing dynasty in the United States, put forward an argument in his note to the Department of State, which alleged that "popular sentiment could not to suppress strongly" (Ren 2006).

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but only by borrowing loans from foreign countries and mortgaging Chinese revenue system. This contributed to the rise of economic nationalists to recover these rights. Provincial gentry and merchants pulled together not only against state control but also foreign encroachment. It therefore developed into a conflict against the state control of industrial activities as well as a battle for national sovereignty. The most controversial ones were the disputes over the two railway lines: the Canton-Hankow Railway (Yuehan) and the Shanghai-Hanchow-Ningpo Railway (Huning) (Esherick 1976).

MAIN INSTRUMENTS. The scope and effectiveness of citizen diplomacy were rather limited in the beginning of the 20th century. Overseas Chinese showed strong willingness to support both the boycott to American goods and the boycott to Japanese goods. However, merchants and chambers of commerce, as leaders of citizen diplomacy at this stage, did not initially coordinate the overseas support with domestic public opinion to advocate propositions of the Chinese people (Yin 2004). Consequently, achievements of citizen diplomacy were restricted by the failure of influencing opponent countries' China policies from within.

4.3.2 After the First World War: around the 1920s

The Paris Peace Conference[22] was an international meeting convened in January 1919 at Versailles to establish the terms of the peace after the First World War. President Woodrow Wilson was a strong advocate of "open diplomacy" as he believed it would prevent future wars. At the end of the First World War, secret diplomacy and secret treaties were condemned as real causes leading to the war. Thus, because of the enormous destruction brought about by the war, promotion of public diplomacy had become a trend of the time. Democratization of diplomacy was advocated worldwide, which greatly enhanced the influence of the common people on foreign affairs.

Though nearly thirty nations participated, the representatives of Great Britain, France, the United States, and Italy became known as the "Big Four", who dominated the proceedings that led to the formulation of the Treaty of Versailles. These agreements tended to focus on postwar redistribution of territories, and Article 156 transferred German concessions in Shandong to Japan. The Duan government expressed that it was "pleased to agreed" on the solution to Shandong Problem in the exchange letter of China and Japan, which directly resulted in China's failure of diplomacy during the Peace Conference (Guo 2005). And this recognition became the fuse of the May Fourth

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[22]Definition of the Paris Peace Conference, see http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ho/time/wwi/ 89875.htm, last accessed May 23, 2009

Movement. Since the end of the 1910s, the Beiyang government had been struggling to hold on to power, which step by step deteriorated the Provisional Constitution of the Republic of China. Yuan Shikai signed the Japanese Twenty-One Demands despite public opposition in 1915. On a *quid pro quo* basis, he shortly restored the imperial regime and proclaimed himself the emperor with the assistance of Japan. The Beiyang government became widely criticized. Yuan Shikai's successors internally surged waves of regime change due to factionalism, and externally sacrificed national interests in exchange for the support of imperialists. Incompetent in handling domestic disturbance and unequal treaties, the Beiyang government eventually not only lost public trust and support, but also sank into a crisis of legitimacy. In this situation, the public voice in opposition to the government became increasingly strong.

Citizen diplomacy progressed along with the rising appeal of "diplomatic self-determination". Moreover, owing to the accumulation of practical experience of diplomatic movements, it was realized that relying solely on traditional means as assemblies, parades and boycotts were no longer enough for the public to participate in foreign affairs. Consequently, practice of citizen diplomacy and public concerns of foreign affairs jointly prompted the transformation of citizen diplomacy. In 1921 representatives of the world's great powers met at the Washington Peace Conference to establish a naval arms control regime and to bring stability to East Asia. The performance of China's citizen diplomacy featured China's diplomatic success at the conference (Deng 2007).

MAIN TASK. After the Paris Peace Conference, internal struggle against warlord government was added to the main task of citizen diplomacy besides protest at external theats towards national survival, which brought about alteration of the main task of citizen diplomacy. Ineffective diplomatic activities and humiliating compromise of the Beiyang government at international conferences resulted in public dissatisfaction and opposition of it. Furthermore, regarding the causation between the failure of national diplomacy and the rule of the Beiyang government, the public realized that foreign affairs and internal affairs were intertwined with each other. After the establishment of the Nationalist government, the KMT clearly put abolition of unequal treaties down

in its own guiding principles. For a period of time, complete abolition of unequal treaties system not only served tactically as a policy of the KMT, but also strategically as a way of the KMT's developing new political resources from industry and agriculture (Sigel 1978).

RELATIONSHIP WITH GOVERNMENTAL DIPLOMACY. Responding to the actions of the Chinese government at the Paris Peace Conference, the public became strongly resistant to governmental monopoly in diplomacy and desired more diplomatic self-determination. Government was no longer the only principal actor that conducted foreign affairs; citizens also shared this role in diplomatic field. On the basis of domestically based lobbying the government, the public started to seek supervision of the government and to conduct diplomatic activities on behalf of the country themselves (Sharp 2001). Before the commence of the Washington Conference, Yu Rizhang and Jiang Menglin were elected citizen representatives for the Conference at the meeting of the Pacific Association organized by Shanghai General Chamber of Commerce and eight other commercial societies. Shortly afterwards, the two were once again elected on behalf of China at the joint meeting held by the country's two largest federations – Federation of Chambers of Commerce and Federation of Education. Yu and Jiang, with the delegates of the Beiyang government, went to the United States to attend the Washington Peace Conference. Their participation in the Conference signaled the transformation of the role of citizens in foreign affairs, from supporters of governmental diplomacy to being part of the principal actors of national diplomacy (Xiong 2008).

MAIN INSTRUMENTS. The instruments of citizen diplomacy also diversified, from merely domestic publishing and movements to interaction with overseas Chinese and students abroad, and the scope of citizen diplomacy expanded correspondingly. Failure of taking advantage of the strengths of overseas Chinese to advocate propositions of Chinese people during the Paris Peace Conference in 1919 taught the public a big lesson. Besides the government's compromises and weak national strength, it was believed that ineffective publicity abroad also contributed to the failure of China's diplomacy. The importance of influencing other countries from within was highlighted after the

May Fourth Movement. Thus, at the Washington Peace Conference, strength of publicity abroad was obviously increased, and various domestic groups tried to provide manifold channels for the outside world to understand the views of the people at home, which could be divided into three main categories:

Firstly, domestic groups voluntarily and directly sent telegrams to foreign national leaders and representatives who were capable of influencing the outcome of the Conference. Second, citizen representatives functioned as agency between governmental delegates and the domestic public, exchanging opinions of both sides and updating the progress in Washington for the public. The third channel was publicity through the contact between citizen representatives and overseas Chinese and students in the United States, which drew great attention of foreign media and representatives. All the instruments improved the effects of domestic-foreign interaction (Guo 2005).

4.3.3 During and after the Second World War: around the 1940s

Since the late 1930s, during the years from the 1937 Sino-Japanese War to the civil war, fundamental changes had happened to citizen diplomacy. With the political centralization and unification, though not complete, and severe theats of national survival of the war, citizen diplomacy was integrated in governmental diplomacy to serve China's national foreign policies. The leadership, the relationship with governmental diplomacy and the main instruments of citizen diplomacy were changed correspondingly. At this point of time, China's citizen diplomacy underwent fundamental changes and differed to the citizen diplomacy before the 1930s.

MAIN TASK. The establishment of the Nationalist government and the burst out of the Sino-Japanese War requested adjustments of the main task of citizen diplomacy. On the domestic side, the Nationalist government obtained a certain degree of centralization and established relatively modernizing bureaucratic system. Moreover, public recognition of its legitimacy and authority enabled it to play a guiding role in public opinion, which was helpful for the

government to implement foreign policies. On the external side, the nationwide anti-Japanese war symbolized national unification and cooperation. Thus, the main task of citizen diplomacy returned to mainly focus on the external dimension. However, this did not mean that citizen diplomacy at this time was just the restoration of what it used to be. In fact, the transformation of its main task brought about fundamental changes of its leadership and thus the relationship with the governmental diplomacy, which dramatically diminished its function of public supervision of the government. Even in the situation of the civil war, protest at postwar unequal treaties was much stressed, as achieving national unification and cooperation were the top priority of the Nationalist government internally.

RELATIONSHIP WITH GOVERNMENTAL DIPLOMACY. The public became the principal actor of diplomacy, not in official foreign activities, but in people-to-people communication. It seemed that citizen diplomacy was transformed to another type of diplomacy, "track two" diplomacy, the implementation of which was primarily through private interactions between various social classes, individuals from all walks of life and non-governmental organizations. Nevertheless, this kind of China's citizen diplomacy had a semi-official nature, which made it different from "track two" diplomacy in the West. Individual activities were under the guide of the government, or even directly led and organized by the government. Citizen diplomacy as a whole became an integral part of governmental diplomacy, which served as one of the main instruments of the government to carry out its foreign policies. Thus, who would participate in these diplomatic activities was determined by the government. In fact, preference was given to elites and celebrities, which further enlarged the gap between the intelligentsia and the common people. For instance, in 1938 Song Qingling established "China Defense League" in Hong Kong, aiming at wartime medical relief and child health work. She adopted various methods and channels to raise funds from overseas Chinese and the international community, purchasing medicines, medical equipment and other materials to support the war. However, her identity as the wife of Sun Zhongshan and the mother of the country enabled her to employ governmental resources in her

individual activities (Yin 2004).

MAIN INSTRUMENTS. The main instruments became much milder as the role of citizen diplomacy was mainly the assistant of official contact, which ranged from individual contacts to non-governmental meetings of organizations. Hu Shi, as the Dean of the Philosophy Department of Beijing University, conducted citizen diplomacy in Western countries as the United States, Canada, the United Kingdom and Switzerland during the Second World War. He gave speeches to the public and the governments of these countries, introducing China's wartime situation, demonstrating resolve of the Chinese to resist against Japanese aggression, and illustrating the significance of the anti-Japanese War, in order to win the support of the West (Ma 2005). During the same period, there also exited demonstrations, parades and other mass movements that represented public concerns of national situation, but they obviously were no longer the main category of the instruments of citizen diplomacy.

4.4   A Negative Relationship in Terms of Changes

In retrospect of the course of China's modernization, progress took place in some aspects; meanwhile, frustration happened in others. Comparing its development from the 1920s to 1940s, a unified central government was preliminarily established, and the KMT gradually substituted for the intelligentsia as the leading stratum of China's modernization. Modernizing political institutions were built to some extent, while mainly in the urban areas along with industrialization. The rise of the CCP, although intensified internal political struggle, improved social integration and coordination of resources inside the regions under its control. China's modernization was incomplete as a whole and unbalanced in respective aspects, but China's transition towards a modern society progressed. Its absolute achievements declined in amount sometimes, but from the perspective of relative changes, the level of China's modernization increased.

Citizen diplomacy, as a historical concept, underwent fundamental changes

in the late 1930s. Its connotation in the 1920s differed from that in the 1940s. At the end of the First World War, citizen diplomacy primarily referred to public supervision, support and impact on the government in terms of foreign policies and diplomatic activities, so as to achieve the public's aspirations and demands for the interests of the country. Its main instruments were public opinion and mass movements, which expanded from domestic activities to cooperation with overseas Chinese and students abroad. In 1940s, due to the integration of citizen diplomacy into governmental diplomacy under the rule of the Nationalist government, it transformed to something else comparing to citizen diplomacy in the 1920s. Seemingly, it resembled "track two" diplomacy in the form of people-to-people communication; essentially, it functioned as an official instrument in foreign affairs in the name of diplomatic democratization.

In conclusion, China's modernization achieved a certain degree of multi-faceted progress from the 1920s to the 1940s, although the accomplishments were not significant. Inversely, citizen diplomacy experiences a transformation to an integrative part of governmental diplomacy, reducing to a shadow. Demands of public participation into diplomacy declined, as opportunities and channels of such participation decreased. Thus, a negative relationship was presented by comparing China's modernization and the changes in citizen diplomacy during the decades.

4.5 Summary

In this chapter, China's modernization was examined and compared to the changes in citizen diplomacy from the 1920s and the 1940s, on the basis of a brief introduction of the historical background. Indicators as leadership, institution building and redistribution of resources were adopted to look at the program of China's modernization. Regarding the issue of citizen diplomacy, three aspects as the main task, its relationship with government and the main instruments are used with cases of the Paris Peace Conference and the Washington Peace Conference to show the development of it. It is concluded that there was a negative relationship between China's modernization and the

changes in citizen diplomacy. Explanation of this negative relationship will be provided in Chapter Five.

Chapter 5

Explaining the Negative Relationship

Both citizen diplomacy in China and Japan and "track two" diplomacy in the West are manifestations of "democratization of diplomacy". The experience of Japan and Western countries suggests that democratization of diplomacy tends to evolve simultaneously with modernization, regardless of whether the country is a firstcomer or a latecomer in this process. Paradoxically, China's citizen diplomacy *declined* as modernization *progressed* from the 1920s to the 1940s, as concluded in Chapter Four.

This chapter aims at explaining this negative relationship. Section 5.1 will start by criticizing the unspoken assumption of the causation between modernization and democratization of diplomacy, and will then proceed to developing an analysis model to examine the correlation between the two, on the basis of Black's theory of "four phases of modernization". In section 5.2, the model will be applied to explore the conditions of a positive relationship between modernization and democratization of diplomacy by means of generalizing the experience of countries that underwent such a pattern. In section 5.3, I will analyze to what extent China fulfilled or failed to fulfill these conditions, in order to explain why China experienced a negative relationship.

5.1   Correlating and Modeling

As mentioned in Chapter Two, modernization is a multifaceted process by which societies are transformed under the impact of the scientific and technological revolution, signaling a stage of cognition in which it is believed that human control over nature increases. And according to Chapter Three, citizen diplomacy in this thesis refers to public consciousness and their advocate of political participation into national foreign affairs by supervising, supporting and affecting their own government's foreign policies through public opinion and mass movements, so as to achieve the public's aspirations and demands for the interests of the country. It represented the trend in "democratization of diplomacy" that began in the early 20th century, which was pioneered by open diplomacy and went further to "track two" diplomacy.

The Chinese case shows that a positive relationship between modernization and democratization of diplomacy cannot be taken for granted. And as mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, whether the relationship is positive or negative cannot simply attributes to whether a country belongs to the firstcomers or the latecomers. Despite the division between these two categories, countries in the same group might perform differently and establish different institution systems in the process of modernization. Nevertheless, universality still exists in the functions of institutions when societies are transformed towards modernity (Black 1966), which enabled countries that belong to both categories and with different political regimes to produce analogous societal consequences. Therefore, it is more appropriate to explore conditions of forming a positive relationship by generalizing the experience of the countries of which modernization evolved simultaneously with democratization of diplomacy. That is, under what conditions promotion and implementation of democratic values in the diplomatic field will happen as modernization goes on. Then, the negative relationship between China's modernization and of the changes in citizen diplomacy could be explained by examining to what extent China fulfilled or failed to fulfill these conditions.

To observe how modernization commenced and evolved, Black theorizes

four phases of modernization, which are allegedly applicable to all modernizing societies:

> "...(1) *the challenge of modernity* - the initial confrontation of a society, within its traditional framework of knowledge, with modern ideas and institutions, and the emergence of advocates of modernity; (2) *the consolidation of modernizing leadership* - the transfer of power from traditional to modernizing leaders in the course of a normally bitter revolutionary struggle often lasting for several generations; (3) *economic and social transformation* - the development of economic growth and social change to a point where a society is transformed from a predominantly rural and agrarian way of life to one predominantly urban and industrial; and (4) *social integration* - the phase in which economic and social transformation produces a fundamental reorganization of the social structure throughout the society."

Although the challenge of modernity in most cases initiated the process of modernization regardless of whether it occurred internally or externally, it is neither supposed that all other phases have to take place in proper order, nor that the transformation is sufficient and complete in each society. In the real world, how societies undergo the four phases and to what extent previous gains are digested decide to what extent modernization evolves and whether the democratization of diplomacy develops simultaneously. Therefore, on the basis of Black's four phases of modernization, I develop an analysis model to probe the correlation between modernization and democratization of diplomacy. Three main steps are listed as follows:

1. Tracing the emergence of modernity, *not* to see whether they emerged internally or externally to the society, but to see whether the challenge of modernity was overcome. In other words, how they confronted traditional thoughts that were originally dominant in the society, and what kind of impact they exerted on the course of modernization.

2. Mapping the patterns of modernization, *not* emphasizing the specific course of modernization, but to figure out to what level countries were modernized and why they achieved such accomplishments. Three criteria of evaluating modernization are again adopted, for the sake of comparison.

3. Highlighting implications for democratization of diplomacy, or citizen diplomacy in China, and thus to explain why democratization of diplomacy grew in some modernizing societies but faded away in others.

5.2 Generalization of the Experience: Forming a Positive Relationship

After the First World War and Wilson's speech of the "Fourteen Points", open diplomacy became populated across the world. Democratization of diplomacy evolved simultaneously with modernization in countries that belong to both firstcomers and latecomers, and with different institution systems. This section is dedicated to exploring conditions of forming such a positive relationship by generalizing the experience of these countries.

5.2.1 Overcoming the Challenge of Modernity

No matter whether there is only one modernity that is limited to describe the characteristics common to countries that are most advanced in technological, political, economic and social development, say firstcomers, or there are many, emergence of modernity brought about challenge to the traditional structure and norms in all societies (Gule and Storebø1993).

In the Western context, modernity represents a set of social values emerged from within, rooted in traditional Western philosophy. Modernization thus is widely based in, or at least easily spread and accepted by the people. It is also an age-long experience. In most respects, these firstcomers in the West had the easiest time of modernization, for they were able to digest the new knowledge and technology over a considerable period of time and to absorb the impact

gradually. Japan, by contrary, met the challenge of modernity externally. But only after a short time, it accepted and adapted itself to the Western values. Debates concerning the import of Western ideas of modernity did take place, but not lasted for long. This helped Japan carry on political reforms at a fast pace, and therefore got modernized in other aspects of society.

This does not mean that modernization of these countries was a smooth process. They encountered crises as well as stable periods during which modernity was converted to every aspect of social life. But thanks to overcoming the challenge of modernity, these countries were able to develop moderate patterns of modernization according to the characteristics of their own societies.

5.2.2 Patterns Based on Coordination and Control

The three criteria proposed in Chapter Four, leadership, establishment of constitutional institutions and redistribution of resources, are also adopted here to evaluate the modernization of these countries that overcame the challenge of modernity, and to picture the scope and depth obtained in the process of social transition from the traditional to the modern stage.

LEADERSHIP. Black (1966: 64) suggests two sources of leadership of political modernization. The first source is the incumbent traditional leadership, who would accept the modern knowledge and undertake fundamental modernizing reforms. Japan developed high government centralization through political reform, which encouraged learning from the West and started in technology and industrialization. The second source consists of dissident members of the traditional political leadership and members of the legal, medical and business professions, who argue for influence on public policy commensurate with their substantive contribution to the society. They advocated for overthrowing the traditional ruling oligarchy, even by extreme revolution. France represents such modern governance that advocates relaxations of centralization and increases in laissez-faire arrangements (Levy 1972). No matter how political modernization is implemented, the nature of such implementation is coordination and control.

ESTABLISHMENT OF CONSTITUTIONAL INSTITUTIONS. The accomplishment of a political leadership of modernization laid the foundation of establishing constitutional institutions. A modern government would not operate without the rule of law maintained by a highly organized bureaucracy. Constitutional institutions shouldered the responsibility of consolidating regulations and procedures both in processing public affairs and emergency policy-making. Moreover, it helped to build a closer relation between the modern government and its citizens. Channels of communication were set up to connecting the two sides, by which citizens would get more information about the government's policies and thus improve their understanding and supervision. The implementation of the rule of law guaranteed such public participation into political affairs, which benefited the rise of the civil society.

REDISTRIBUTION OF RESOURCES. Modern knowledge was brought to the public through literature, art and mass education. Therefore, it offered a wide and solid foundation for modernizing and transferring power from traditional institutions. Dramatic growth of science and technology underlay the Industrial Revolution in the early 19th century (Sanderson 1995). Resources like rural lands and consumer production were redistributed from traditional power holders to new rising forces from various walks of life. Therefore, economic developments, rather than political transformation, profoundly affected the daily life of the great majority of the people. After establishing political institutions, other institutions such as banks and business enterprises were also built to perform functions of allocating resources. For instance, investment and savings were two essential functions correlated with distribution of income. Associated with extension of literacy by education and a higher level of income, urbanization to a great extent eliminated the gap between the urban and the rural areas. Societies that were composed predominantly of peasants changed to societies in which a majority lived in cities with in a few generations.
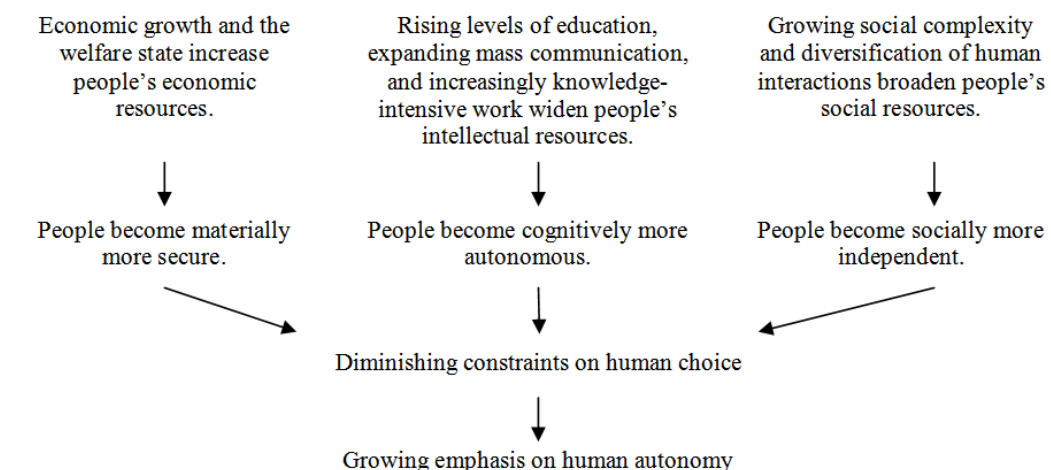
5.2.3 Implications for Democratization of Diplomacy

Countries that overcame the challenge of modernity and developed moderate centralized governance to coordinate and control the course of modern-

ization achieved relatively sufficient and complete redistribution of resources and obtained a high level of modernization. As shown in Table 5.2.3, Inglehart and Welzel (2005: 25) illustrate the emancipative effect of such socioeconomic development, and argue that as objective constraints on human choice relax, the desire for mass self-expression takes higher priority in a society. They (2005: 149) also point out that rising mass self-expression values transform modernization into a process of human development, which encourages the emergence and flourishing of democratic institutions. And the crucial element of democratization is that it empowers people, say provides civil and political rights, entitling people to freedom of choice in their private and public actions.

Therefore, firstly, public concerns and demands of their participation into national foreign affairs were aroused. The idea of democratization of diplomacy catered to this trend among the public. Second, the public had capability and opportunities to affect the government in terms of its policy-making and conduct in diplomacy. Finally, constitutional institutions were established to guarantee that the government would adopt reasonable advice from the public, and individuals were endowed with the freedom of expression. These three aspects can also be concluded as three basic conditions for the emergence and growth of democratization of diplomacy in the process of modernization.

Table 5.1: The Emancipative Effects of Socioeconomic Development

Economic growth and the welfare state increase people's economic resources.	Rising levels of education, expanding mass communication, and increasingly knowledge-intensive work widen people's intellectual resources.	Growing social complexity and diversification of human interactions broaden people's social resources.
↓	↓	↓
People become materially more secure.	People become cognitively more autonomous.	People become socially more independent.

Diminishing constraints on human choice

Growing emphasis on human autonomy

In short, the countries in which a positive relationship between modern-

ization and democratization of diplomacy was formed generally succeeded in coordinating and implementing modern values and ideas into moderate centralization and redistribution of resources, thus accomplishing a high level of modernization. Consequently, three conditions of democratization of diplomacy were fulfilled: (1) spontaneous appeals for public participation into diplomatic affairs; (2) capabilities and opportunities of implementing such concerns and demands; and (3) institutional guarantee of the interaction between the government and the public in terms of diplomacy. When modernization could create these three conditions as it progressed, democratization of diplomacy could emerge and grow simultaneously.

5.3 The Chinese Case: Why a Negative Relationship?

In Chapter Four, it was demonstrated that China's modernization had made some progress by comparing its development in the 1920s and in the 1940s. By contrary, citizen diplomacy underwent fundamental changes and reduced to a shadow of governmental diplomacy in the decades. China failed to form a positive relationship between modernization and the changes in citizen diplomacy.

But it was also noted that China still had a long way to catch up the countries that had achieved a high level of modernization. According to the conclusion in the previous section, the three conditions for the emergence and growth of democratization of diplomacy, citizen diplomacy in China, were not entirely met in the course of China's modernization. Therefore, to answer the question of why the negative relationship happened in China, one needs to answer the question of why China's modernization, with the progress of itself, was rather insufficient and incomplete firstly. And then, why the development of citizen diplomacy was frustrated as the modernization progressed could be explained.

5.3.1 Tensions Resulted from the Challenge of Modernity

Levy (1972: 5) proposes four propositions that maintained regardless of how modernization grew, which explains how the ideas of modernity spread.

> "First, with the passage of time it becomes increasingly probable that the people possessed these modernized patterns will come into contact with those who lack them. Second, once this contact is made C and quite regardless of whether force is used C it is increasingly probable that some of these modernized patterns will be taken up by those who have them not. Third, when those patterns are taken up, many of the indigenous (nonmodernized) patterns of the peoples concerned will come apart at the seams. Fourth, following those contacts, some changes in the direction of the modernized patterns will take place C but not necessarily successfully."

Correspondingly, the challenge of modernity came externally to the Chinese when the West started to explore new markets and resources across the world in the 15th and 16th century. As Tong (1993: 124) argues, "a nation's tradition plays a different role in an indigenously evolved modernization from that in an externally caused modernization". Unlike Japan, modern knowledge stimulated some social changes in the intellectual and technological fields from the late Ming and early Qing period, but its impact on the Chinese society was limited in scope and depth until the 1910s. Until the late Qing, many still thought that the Chinese cultural tradition was the only intellectual source that could provide the wisdom and norms to orient the human mind and social action, and that Western science and technology had developed from a Chinese origin. In the 1915 New Culture Movement, three types of tensions were provoked after the clash between modern values and Chinese traditional ideology lasted for decades.

The first strand was the tension inside the Chinese intelligentsia, between the Western admirers and the cultural conservatists, which was traced in Chapter Two. The former advocated modernization following model countries, but

the latter sought whether Confucianism could be blended with modernity or be found in neo-Confucianism.

The second strand was the tension between the intelligentsia and the public in China's enlightenment. As Schwarcz (1985) believed, enlightenment was defined as self-emancipation from religion dogma and Kant's answer to "what is enlightenment?" summarized the thoughts of an entire generation of philosophers in Europe; by contrast, the Chinese intelligentsia as the agent of enlightenment encountered an entirely different situation. Their desire for awakening the public was urgent and much specific due to the international and domestic situations China faced. And once awakening had been conceived as consciousness of the relationship between individuals and the country, the intelligentsia, self-regarded as custodians of the country, felt obliged to supervise and to direct the awakening more generally (Fitzgerald 1996).

However, traditional Chinese culture that flattered the intellectuals resulted in a gap between the intelligentsia and the public. In order to diminish the gap between themselves and the common people, after the May Fourth Movement, the intelligentsia tried to revise their images that used to be presented as already-enlightened leaders of new culture, and to accept more circumscribed role as fellow travelers among the public (Schwarcz 1985). Nevertheless, this kind of efforts received slight effects, not eliminating the gap but transferring it to a delicate tension. Therefore, the enlightenment movement was far from eradicating the roots of traditional culture and old habits of mind at the time. Hastiness of seeking quick success and instant benefits resulted in disappointment among the intelligentsia. After the establishment of the Nationalist government, the Chinese intelligentsia split. Some chose to join the government as consultants or bureaucrats, some stayed away from politics. China's enlightenment movement declined after its climax in the 1920s.

The third strand was the tension among the public in terms of the rise of the civil society in China. Although the external challenge of modernity aroused changes in the Chinese societies, these new ideas and knowledge from the West were only influential in a finite scope. People living in the rural areas were seldom involved in the enlightenment movement and the construction

of civil society, which undermined the patterns of the foreign countries that China learnt from. The peasantry formed the majority of the population but it seemed that no room left for peasants' engagement in Chinese modernization. Moreover, because the urban-rural relationship is as partial reality linking one part of China with another, it need taking into account how Chinese peasants appropriated urban elements ranging from consumer goods and modernist ideology and how they responded to and reflected on the urban and the foreign (Ip et.al. 2003).

Even though in the areas witnessed the debates of the intelligentsia and experienced enlightenment, Rowe (1993) argues "there was no discursive counterpart in imperial China for civil society, nothing to serve as an articulated subject of debate the way that theoretical construct, nebulous as it was, did in Europe. Even in the late Qing/early Republican tide of linguistic borrowing of the vocabulary of Western social and political thought, no neologism equivalent to civil society seems to have been introduced." Rankin (1993) stated that "some institutions and practices characteristic of civil society appeared in the late 19th century and expanded during the first three decades of the 20th century, but a full civil society did not emerge, in part because of the extremely unfavorable historical context of the 1930s and 1940s. Even if it had been successfully established, however, the form would have diverged from those in Western democracies". With China's enlightenment, independent social associations that capable of affecting official policy emerged in the big cities, (an example is the Citizen Diplomacy Association), although their impact on policy-making was not always direct or obvious. But weaknesses of the civil society during the Republic were also recorded: "politics were not defined by civil society. Legal protections were not strong, individual rights were not a major focus, topics of political import were aired openly but not debated with moderated rationality, parliaments were defenseless, and there were no effective constitutions to limit the coercive and intrusive republican governments (Rankin 1993: 170-171)."

These three tensions kept throughout the course of China's modernization, which impeded the creation of an innovative way that coordinated the challenge

of modernity with traditional social conditions. The internal friction of the intelligentsia caused their failure of being a consistent and unified social force to promote the modern values as well as to coordinate them into Chinese culture. Even though the KMT replaced the intelligentsia as the leading stratum of China's modernization after the 1920s, the gap between the urban and the rural areas remained a crucial problem. This tension not only hampered social integration, but also partially caused the weak centralization of the Nationalist government.

5.3.2 An Unstable and "Top-down" Pattern

In Chapter Four, evaluation of the development of China's modernization from the 1920s to the 1940s was given in terms of leadership, establishment of constitutional institutions, and redistribution of resources. This section is dedicated to answering why China's modernization, though with progress during this period, was still at a low level. These three criteria will be adopted so as to understand to what extent this progress made sense to the overall course of China's modernization.

LEADERSHIP. Besides the external stimulation of China's modernization, Rozman (1981: 444) suggests, "foreign factors shaped the course of China's modernization more directly". From his point of view, in the first half of the 20th century, the international context did not so much affect the actual modernization of China's economy or other social conditions, such as politics and the determination of who would lead modernization. Severe threats to national security and independence resulted in an urgent need of unifying China, and thus the Nationalists replaced the Chinese intelligentsia as the leading stratum of modernization in the late 1920s. When the KMT established the Nationalist government, China's modernization had begun to follow a relatively consistent "top-down" pattern. Although the KMT never unified the whole country as a national government, domestic politics functioned dominantly in the Chinese society.

Thus, the insufficiency and incompletion of China's modernization extensively attributed to the KMT's incapable of coordinating diverse segments of

the society and various aspects of modernization. Lieberthal (1995: 31-39) summarizes that internal weaknesses, domestic opponents and foreign adversaries distracted the KMT's attention to China's modernization.

"Internally, the GMD[23] had largely ceased to be an effective party. The absorption of northern warlords and the purge of left-leaning cadres stripped the organization of its ideological aplomb...but the armies in the north, northeast, northwest, and southwest remained loyal to Chiang's nominal allies instead of directly to the central government...While Chiang waged almost constant warfare to keep at bay the various warlords who had nominally joined the GMD, he focused his primary attention on completing the job that he had begun in April 1927 – that is, exterminating the communists...Chiang's concentration on the communist threat diverted his attention from the Japanese challenge that grew and became more ominous during the late 1920s...Strategic errors, military corruption, and factional infighting eroded the capabilities of the Nationalist forces...The GMD never successfully transformed itself into a disciplined political party."

No matter how the course of modernization moves, efficiently or indigenously, there is always a need for more centralization. Especially for the latecomers, coordination and control are matters of urgency from the beginning (Levy 1972). Failing to function as a central government that was strong enough to control and coordinate social forces to lift external threats, the KMT was short of capability to promote China's modernization by implementing the "top-down" pattern. These problems not only deteriorated KMT's leadership in the course of modernization, but also influenced its performance in the following two aspects.

ESTABLISHMENT OF CONSTITUTIONAL INSTITUTION. The legal system, which is seen as the hallmark of institution building in the West, was ignored and circumvented by the Nationalist government. The Provisional Constitution of 1912 was criticized for its failure of coordinating functions

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[23]Another abbreviation of the KMT (*Guomindang*).

among the branches of the government, but in 1923 and in 1946 two more constitutions were composed, which were praised by legal scholars. However, none of them was really implemented.

Nathan (1997) considers the administration of the Nationalist government as a phase of democratic experimentation in China. However, the era of liberalism occurred before the Second World War was more because of the weakness of government repression than because of a firm legal and customary basis for political freedoms, although these freedoms were listed in Chinese constitutions at the time. As stated before, civil society was not absent in those years, it was relatively weak as lacked institutionalized protection. Moreover, the limited-franchise institutions of the Nationalist government failed to function well. Although in 1947-1948 the Nationalist government held elections for National Assembly in those areas it controlled and suffrage was universal, due to the conditions during the civil war and the KMT's one-party dominance of politics, the elections were neither complete nor competitive. Under such circumstances, the constitutional institutions of the government did not begin to exercise their constitutional powers.

Moreover, constitutional institutions repeatedly failed due to internal and external wars. The problem of national security was always perceived as the core issue to the Chinese throughout the course of modernization. Even not really involved in wars, the environment was not conducive for building democratic institutions owing to the tension between the KMT and the CCP. The KMT increasingly relied on the military as the basis of the Nationalist regime. Correspondingly, the CCP's conventional principle, "political power grows out of the barrel of the gun", symbolized its emphasis on exclusive control of the Chinese military machine. The rural areas, which were quite prominent to accomplish a high degree of institutionalization, were left almost intact by the KMT. The ill-educated and poverty-stricken peasantry, the majority of the population, eventually became the reserve forces of the CCP's rising to power.

REDISTRIBUTION OF RESOURCES. Due to the imperatives of national salvation, China had to spend as little time as possible keeping up with its model countries. But it lacked capability of transforming skills and material

resources into those of the next level. Especially without coordination and control from a central power, redistribution of resources in the aspects of industrialization, western-style mass education and social integration were much restricted under the pressure of lacking convertibility and time (Walder 1979). It is said in the Cannikin Law that how much water a bucket can contain is determined by the shortest board, rather than the tallest board. Thus, the social disintegration was the shortest board of China's modernization.

This problem seemed solved by the CCP, at least on the surface. Westad (2003) considers the CCP as a party transformed from a Leninist party, via a charismatic sect, to a solidly centralist and modernizing national movement, of which the latter image maximized its support in the late 1940s. In fact, it was in the 1925-1927 period that the CCP finally became a mass political party with an internal culture based on Marxism-Leninism and a centralized organization. It started to replace warlord and local political institutions, growing to the replacement of China's dynastic system, providing the essentials of the country's political framework. Although this temptation encountered resistance, the CCP had endured. Its institutions proved anything but stable (Van de Ven 1991). Nevertheless, the rise of the CCP led to the acceleration of the conflict between it and the KMT, and furthermore the organization and legitimation of violence, which on the contrary intensified the instability of the society. In addition, the more successfully the CCP integrated human and material resources, the weaker were the centralization of the Nationalist government. As a result, China's modernization still stayed in a relatively preliminary stage, although progressed in the 1940s comparing to its status in the 1920s.

5.3.3   Implications for Citizen Diplomacy
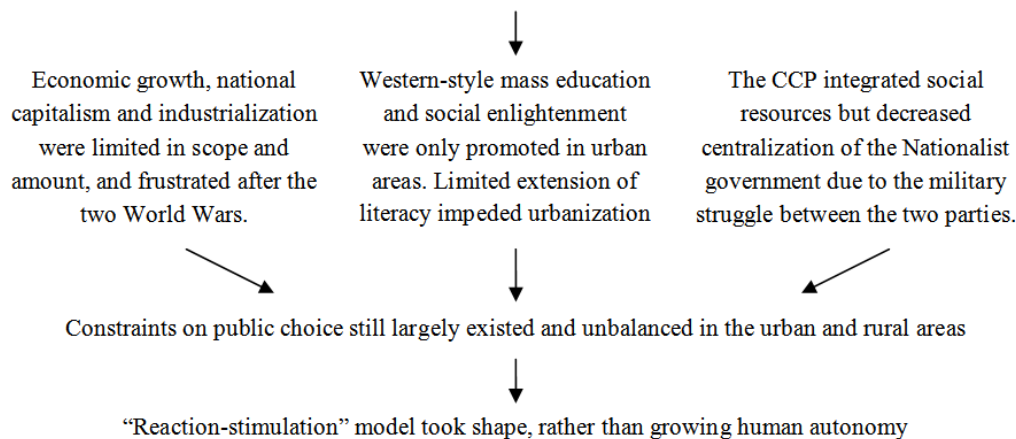
The three tensions generated when the challenge of modernity confronted China stayed unsolved throughout the course of modernization, which partially hindered the Nationalists to develop a highly centralized government to implement its "top-down" pattern of coordination and control. However, to say that the Nationalist government achieved a weak centralization, I refer to the

aspects of political administration and institution building. The KMT failed to exercise central power on unifying the country and on establishing institutional system, and to coordinate and control redistribution of resources. But it enhanced political control on social activities, if not say coercion or suppression (Xu and Chen 1996). Public opinion, publishing and press were restricted, which largely affected the development of the civil society and resulted in the weaknesses of the civil society during the Republic era as mentioned in 5.3.1.

Consequently, although progress was made from the 1920s to the 1940s, China failed to achieve a high level of modernization that transformed to human development, as shown in Table 5.3.3. The public was neither endowed with civil and political rights, nor freedom of participation into public affairs. Lacking the rise of mass self-expression values, democratization of diplomacy in China was rootless. Thus, China's modernization failed to fulfill the three conditions concerning the emergence and growth of citizen diplomacy.

Table 5.2: Socioeconomic Development in China from the 1920s to the 1940s

The KMT failing to eliminate the gap between the urban and rural areas caused relative isolation of the rural sector, and the majority of the population was not involved in the redistribution of resources

Economic growth, national capitalism and industrialization were limited in scope and amount, and frustrated after the two World Wars.

Western-style mass education and social enlightenment were only promoted in urban areas. Limited extension of literacy impeded urbanization

The CCP integrated social resources but decreased centralization of the Nationalist government due to the military struggle between the two parties.

Constraints on public choice still largely existed and unbalanced in the urban and rural areas

"Reaction-stimulation" model took shape, rather than growing human autonomy

Firstly, as stated in Chapter Three, public concerns and demands of conducting citizen diplomacy followed a "stimulation-reaction" model, rather than spontaneous appeal of mass self-expression. Two factors affected the formulation of this model. One was the enlightenment movement initiated by the intelligentsia and the civil society simultaneously emerged. The other factor

was the imperatives of national salvation, which generated a strong sense of crisis among the public and then prompted mass impulse concerning foreign affairs. These two interrelated factors did contribute to inducing the emergence of citizen diplomacy and arousing public consciousness of being members of the national community and disseminated relevant ideas and theories. This brought about the climax of citizen diplomacy during the 1920s, especially at the Washington Peace Conference. But as stated in section 5.3.1, once awakening had been defined as an awakening of membership in the country, talk of citizenship had never veered far from the claims of the state upon the citizen. Thus, China's modern awakenings were awakenings of a distinctly Chinese self that preferred to commune with its nation rather than awakenings to selfhood and individuality (Fitzgerald 1996). Without the rise of self-expression values, the public concerns and demands of political participation into diplomacy stayed as a reaction for stimulation. The basis of citizen diplomacy is fragile.

Second, although warlordism fractionized the society in the 1920s, free press and public opinion flourished during the period due to the absence of central restriction. Nevertheless, under the rule of the Nationalist government, such tend declined (Tang and Zheng 1996). The enlightenment movement was ended without completing its mission and a full civil society did not emerge. Moreover, the modest redistribution of resources limited public capability and opportunities of implementing their concerns and demands to influence the government's policy-making in diplomacy. Therefore, the public did not possess moderate capability and opportunities to conduct citizen diplomacy, which was reflected on the use of the main instruments: mass movements and public opinion. On the one hand, although mass movements were launched for certain purposes, its scope might lost control and its means were likely to be radical. On the other hand, public opinion tended to pursue immediate effect of negotiations at international conference and to be reluctant to agree on concessions made by the government, which was contrary to diplomatic principles.

Finally, institutional guarantee for the communication between the public and the government were absent under the rule of the Nationalist government. On the public side, it was difficult to achieve consensus in public opinion.

While lacking representitive institutions for regularing the communication between the public and the government, the communication became inefficient. On the governmental side, Eastman (1984) criticizes the Nationalists' political structure as it failed to create an effective political administration that would be sensitive to popular needs and capable of carrying out its proclaimed programs of political an economic reform. Contrary to its ignorance of the public and citizen diplomacy, the government's thought highly of the intelligentsia. However, this separated citizen diplomacy from its leaders. The intelligentsia became the representatives of the government instead of the public. This signaled the fundamental changes of citizen diplomacy. Since the late 1930s, the so-called citizen diplomacy actually had transferred to a kind of "elite diplomacy", no longer keeping its characteristics in the 1920s

Moreover, absence of spontaneous demands of participation into diplomatic affairs, limitations of capability and opportunities of the public in conducting citizen diplomacy and the shortage of coordinative guide from the central authority, caused the failure of citizen diplomacy transforming to a stable form of democratization of diplomacy as "track two" diplomacy in the West.

5.4 Summary

This chapter is devoted to explaining why China's modernization evolved inversely to citizen diplomacy from the 1920s to the 1940s. After clarifying the correlation between modernization and democratization of diplomacy by generalizing the three conditions of forming a positive relationship between the two variables, explanation of why a negative relationship happened in China was given in two steps. Firstly, I accounted for why China's modernization achieved relative progress from the 1920s to the 1940s but the absolute gains were far from a high level of modernization. Secondly, I explained why China's modernization failed to entirely fulfill the three conditions of forming a positive relationship.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

6.1   Summary

The purpose of this thesis has been to answer the two research questions proposed in Introduction: firstly, what was the relationship between China's modernization and the changes in citizen diplomacy from the 1920s to the 1940s? And secondly, why was the relationship between China's modernization and the changes in citizen diplomacy in this period negative?

I began by contextualizing the term "modernization" and providing an overview of China's modernization in Chapter Two. Then in Chapter Three, I defined citizen diplomacy in the context provided by the previous chapter. Also I compared it to other similar conceptions, such as "track two" diplomacy and public diplomacy, to deepen the understanding of citizen diplomacy. I then went on to consider how China's modernization evolved, compared with the changes in citizen diplomacy from the 1920s and 1940s. In Chapter Four, a negative relationship between the two variables was presented. I clarified the correlation of modernization and democratization of diplomacy in Chapter Five, in order to explain the negative relationship in the Chinese context.

6.2   Main Findings

- China is categorized as a latecomer of modernization. It consulted the firstcomers but lacked centralized coordination and control due to the specific social conditions. The process of China's modernization commenced in the late period of the Qing dynasty, and was accompanied by increasing threats towards its national survival and independence. Until the 1910s, China's groping for modernization underwent four stages: strategic awakening; technological learning; reforms of the political regime; and finally cultural and social enlightenment.

- In the first half of the 20th Century, especifically the Republic era beginning at the end of imperial governance (1911) and terminating as the PRC was established (1949), China's modernization simultaneously evolved in diverse aspects, such as political structure, industrial growth, social integration and intellectual revolution. As a latecomer, international context still exerted a certain impact on the course of China's social transition, but domestic circumstances dominated to what extent China was modernized.

- An important phenomenon along with China's modernization was the emergence of citizen diplomacy, which was a manifestation of democratization of diplomacy and featured China's diplomacy during the first half of the 20th century. China's citizen diplomacy is not the equivalent of "track-two" diplomacy, which functions in the form of people-to-people communication as defined in most Western literature. Instead, it means that ordinary citizens supervising, supporting and affecting their own government's foreign policies and diplomatic activities by means of public opinion and mass movements, so as to achieve the public's aspirations and demands for the interests of the country.

- China's citizen diplomacy was introduced from Japan. However, the Chinese context endowed China's citizen diplomacy in this period with a striking feature: the overwhelming emphasis on national salvation. This was reflected on its main task, which was adjusted as a response to the

national situation. This "stimulation-action" model was reflected on the changes of its relationship with governmental diplomacy, the leadership, and the main instruments.

- With the KMT replacing the intelligentsia as the leading stratum of China's modernization, constitutional institutions were gradually established and the redistribution of economic, intellectual and social resources was started. Although the military struggle between the KMT and the CCP did not end until 1949, the rise of the CCP in the mid 1920s still contributed to the integration of the Chinese society to some extent. Thus, China's modernization progressed from the 1920s to the 1940s. In contrast, citizen diplomacy achieved great accomplishments at the Washington Peace Conference in 1922 but underwent fundamental changes under the rule of the Nationalist government. It was eventually integrated into governmental diplomacy and lost its essential characteristics from the 1920s. In conclusion, there was a negative relationship between China's modernization and the changes in citizen diplomacy.

- The correlation between modernization and democratization of diplomacy implies that a positive relationship between the two could be formed only under certain conditions. Three conditions were generalized from the experience of countries in which a positive relationship was formed: (1) spontaneous appeals for public participation into diplomatic affairs; (2) capabilities and opportunities of implementing such concerns and demands; and (3) institutional guarantee of the interaction between the government and the public in terms of diplomacy. When these three conditions are fulfilled in the course of modernization, democratization of diplomacy can emerge and grow as modernization progresses.

- Although China's modernization achieved relative progress from the 1920s to the 1940s, the absolute gains were far from achieving a high level of modernization. The KMT failed to resolve the remaining problems resulted from the clash of external challenge of modernity and traditional Chinese values. Its internal weaknesses, domestic opponents (the CCP)

and foreign adversaries (Japan) caused the shortage of centralized authority to coordinate and control a "top-down" pattern of modernization. The public was neither endowed with civil and political rights, nor freedom of participation into diplomatic affairs. Lacking the rise of mass self-expression values, democratization of diplomacy in China was rootless. Consequently, the three conditions of forming a positive relationship were not fulfilled in China. Citizen diplomacy only obtained a short climax in the 1920s and then reduced to a shadow of governmental diplomacy.

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