Chinmunism: Its Definition, Cultural-Behavioral Roots and Organizational Uncertainties

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(Work in progress, for discuss only. Please do not quote at this time.)

“The highest ideal and the ultimate goal of the Party are to implement Communism,” reads the second sentence of the Charter of Chinese Communist Party, the ruling group of 1.4 billion Chinese in mainland China. A clear mission statement, obviously not only in conflict with values hold by all democratic countries, but also against U.S. laws and public opinions which put Communism in the same class with Nazism and terrorism. How are the U.S. diplomats, strategic think tanks, foreign policy makers and multinational CEOs dealing with this conflict?

In this paper the author compares the characteristics of Communism in traditional sense with the characteristics observed inside China today, and identifies a set of discrepancies. From the cultural-behavioral perspective, the author argues that what the world faces inside China is no longer Communism, even though what is going on there does refer back to Leninism, Stalinism and Maoism from the last century. A comprehensive definition of “Chinmunism” – i.e., what can be observed from the currently Chinese society under the manipulation of CCP – is given and its key features are outlined, providing a possibly new perspective that points to both the threats and opportunities that China could bring to the U.S. and the world. The author maintains that whether China is a threat to or a peaceful participant of the world largely depends on how the international community would understand and interact constructively with Chimunism and its internal uncertainty.

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I. Background: Communism in A Nutshell

The term “communism” used in this paper excludes both its earlier root ideas (such as in times of Plato and Spartacus, or in writings of Thomas More and advocates of Diggers in 17th century) and its non-Marxist cousins (such as Anachocommunism and Christian communism), focusing only on the social phenomenon that started from Karl Marx’s writings till the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989.

The Marxist Communism has had 11 theoretical branches: Marxism, Leninism, Stalinism, Trotskyism, Maoism, Hoxhaism, Titoism, Eurocommunism, Luxemburgism, Juche, and Prachanda Path. Of them, some already diminished, some are active in a number of countries, and some are dominating as totalitarian ideology. Today, groups naming themselves communists are ruling in five countries (China, Cuba, Laos, North Korea and Vietnam) among the 200+ countries on this planet. Like it or not, communism has been one of the six major political systems in human history that worth everybody’s attention. (The other five are: monarchy, colonialism, dictatorship, socialism, and democracy (Link, 2005)). The numbers of people controlled by Communist Parties in their countries are: P.R. China, 1.338 billion; Vietnam, 85 million, North Korea, 24 million; Cuba, 11 million; Laos, 3 million. Therefore, the total population under communism (in that name) is about 1.461 billion, of which 91.6% are inside PRC.

There is no need in this world to have one more critique about Communism, neither for its theory nor for its practice in the 20th century. The former have been done by H. Arendt, F. Hayek, M. Friedman, L. Kolakowski and K. Popper, and the later have been done by A. Solzhenitsyn, V. Havel, A. Rand, R. Pipes and S. Courtois with his co-author team (Courtois et. al. 1999). The author in more than 20 years ago also published a critique of planning economy from the perspective of system theory (Hu, 1988, 1991). These critiques are already comprehensive and conclusive enough for us to understand the anti-humanity and immoral nature of communist movement.

Historians and sociologists have documented that communism in 20th century has caused the death of at least 91.7 million people (only counting 25 million in former Soviet Union, 65 million in PRC, and 1.7 million in Cambodia) (Courtois et. al. 1999). This figure is larger than the total of the casualties of WWI (17.6 million) and WWII (73 million) together (Wikipedia.com). In my opinion, the phenomena of communist movement and the fight trying to stop it, is actually the de facto Third World War, comparing the number of its victims with the other two wars. The only difference is that this war is not between countries but between people and their rulers within their own countries, and only one side is armed.

At the time of my writing of this paper, substantial political reforms are going on in Vietnam, and it has been reported that Fidel Castro told a visiting American Journalist, when asked if Cuba’s economic system was still worth exporting to other countries, that “The Cuba model
doesn’t even work for us anymore (Haven, 2010). Still, inside PRC the saying about political reform are repeated many times in recent years by CCP but no substantial actions are taken, and “The highest ideal and the ultimate goal of the Party are to implement Communism” is still written at the beginning paragraph of the Charter of Chinese Communist Party. The question is, is this mission statement still valid and believable?

The Chinese Communist Party is controlling the fate of 1/5 of people on this planet. If only the members of CCP would form a country by themselves, it would be equal to the 14th largest country in terms of population – Germany, 80 million. It would be larger than, say, Iron, France, U.K., or, it would be bigger than adding Iraq, North Korea and Cuba all together (31 + 24 + 11 millions). So, what exactly these people are doing to their country and to the world? I would like to discuss an overdue fact that what they are practicing is no more Communism in traditional sense, but something needed a precise definition and a different name.

The goal of communism in theory is said to include the following elements: (1), to eliminate private property ownership; (2) to build classless, stateless, and government-less society; (3), to liberate proletariat; and (4) to eliminate any privileges in society. In general, communism is supposed to be the opposite of, and to destroy, capitalism. None of these elements look like the actual direction that CCP is driving PRC towards today. Instead, a unique form of capitalism is observed in PRC. In next section let’s review what’s actually going on in PRC and highlight the inconsistencies between their saying and doing.

II. Changes Away from Communism in PRC

Inside PRC, it has been noted that the unnatural death toll of its second 30-year period (1979-2009) is much lower than that of its first 30 years (1949-1979) – an indicator that a lesser evil is replacing the original communist evil, and perceived by some as “progress.” “The Black Book of Communism” (Courtois et. al. 1999) estimated the casualties in China to be 65 million. A different source estimated that between 1949 and 1979, the first 30 years before Deng took power, when the political theme was “class-struggle” under Maoism, which contains strong elements of Leninism and Stalinism, more than 50 million innocent people died from various forms of “class-struggle”: direct killings, a man-made famine, torture and suicides, buried-live, etc. and at least 1/10 of total population were hurt one way or another (Mao, 2010). That was PRC’s “standard communism” period. What happened was similar to other communist countries. Using this data, PRC’s “massacre rate” was 1,666,666 lives per year (50 million averaged to 30 years) and “injury rate” was 2,666,666 people per year (1/10 of the population of 800 million averaged in 30 years).

As a contrast, the same source estimated that the number of political deaths happened during 1979-2009, the second 30 years of PRC ruled by Deng Xiaoping, Jiang Zeming, and Hu Jintao, was less than 100 thousands. This includes a war made to Vietnam, Tiananmen Massacre,
persecution, torture and abuse of police power (Mao, 2010). There is no data for “injury rate” for this period yet, but the “massacre rate” changed to 3333 lives per year, sharp drop from 1,666,666 per year under Chairman Mao.

A human life is still a human life. Innocent lives are still being killed and injured so this government is still an evil Leviathan. But I would like to point out, through two different “massacre rates,” that this is a different animal now. While a number of scholars call it “a progress”, we do not know if this change is for better or for worse because we do not know if PRC ruled by CCP is heading towards disasters worse than recorded in its first 30 years.

After Mao’s death and the coup to arrest his wife and other close followers, CCP has gone through a series of internal changes that steered them away from the standard communism in the tone of Leninism and Stalinism. Deng Xiaoping used his “White-Cat-Black-Cat” theory to abandon the old hysterical “class-struggle” ideology, which Mao requested to be conducted every day. The attention of CCP is shifted from persecuting enemy classes and dissidents to making money and getting rich – economic growth (not “development”). People’s status is changed from quasi-slaves into freed economic animals. (Political freedom was, and still is, far away on the horizon.)

Later, Jiang Zemin changed CCP’s status as from the representative of only “proletariat and oppressed class” into the representative of “(1) the development trend of China’s advanced productive forces, (2) the orientation of China’s advanced culture, and (3) the fundamental interests of the overwhelming majority of Chinese people.” Even nobody in China has ever elected any CCP member as such representative, and nobody knows what Jiang meant by “advanced productive force” and “advanced culture”, according to such new criteria, their ultimate enemies – the capitalists, now called entrepreneurs, are welcome to join the CCP.

Since Hu Jintao took power in 2002, “Scientific Outlook on Development” was posted out as his signature contribution to the evolution of Chinese communism. It “takes development as its essence, putting people first as its core, comprehensive, balanced and sustainable development as its basic requirement, and overall consideration as its fundamental approach.”

Back in 1978, Mr. Wang Zheng, a famous hardliner, then vice-premier, made an eye-opening visit to U.K. After seeing the basic situation of the U.K. society, he made a comment “…U.K. would already be the communist society in our ideal, if a communist party were governing here.” (Xin, 2008)
Overall, in addition to the major changes mentioned above, the following list of comparisons serves as my arguments that we should not continue perceiving what CCP is doing inside PRC as communism in its original sense.

(1) Communism is to eliminate private property ownership. Between 65% to 75% of the GDP are from private sector, according to “2006 Bluebook of Privately-Owned Economy” from All-China Federation of Industry & Commerce. (http://pv.autooo.net/htm/1/13790.html)

(2) Communism is to build classless, stateless, and government-less society. Figure 1 shows a severely strained social classes distribution measured with International Social-Economic Index in PRC (Li, 2005). As for the goal of “government-less society,” PRC government spending in 2005 was 26.5% of national fiscal spending. To compare, in the Germany was 2.7% (1998), U.K. 4.2% (1999), India 6.3%, Canada 7.1% (2000) and U.S. 9.9%(2000). (http://zhidao.baidu.com/question/131102670)

(3) Communism is to liberate proletariat. Early this year, a high-profile news broke out that a large factory in south China, FOXCONN, had in a few months 13 incidents of worker suicides via jumping off high buildings, which may be their last means to liberate themselves from the stressful work-life. After these incidents, strikes of various types were reported through grass-root media connections – cellular phone cameras and video recordings uploaded to the Internet. Proletariats in PRC are not liberated at all, they are simply re-slaved, and no independent work union organization is allowed.

(4) Communism is to eliminate any privileges in society. Reports about privileges and corruptions of CCP officials are too overwhelming to be cited here. Just one figure: In 2009, the CCP controlled CCTV acknowledged publicly that 30% of the government spending, the taxpayer’s money, are used for eating and drinking, oversea tours, and government cars used by officials all the time. RMB 900 billion per year, never authorized “by the people,” only on eating/drinking/riding/touring foreign countries. Such a figure never count other privileges enjoyed by CCP officials such as subsidized housing, special services in medical care, privileged treatment in court – and jails.

(5) Finally, communism is to destroy capitalism. Let’s face it. Today we observe a unique format of bloody capitalism run by CCP in PRC. Financial Times calls it “Market-Leninism” (www.Ft.com, June 18, 2005). In his new book The End of the Free Market, Bremmer calls it “state capitalism,” a system that “…has enjoyed double-digit growth for thirty years without freedom of speech, without well-established economic rules of the road, without judges that can ignore political pressure, without credible property rights—without democracy.” “…a system in which the state uses the power of markets primarily for political gain…,” which is “fundamentally incompatible with a free market system.” (Bremmer, 2010)

Figure 1: International Social Economic Index survey of PRC
III. What on Earth Is This Thing Called “Chinese Characteristics”?

Before we buy-in the perception that communism inside PRC is becoming State Capitalism under “Market-Leninism,” let’s examine CCP’s one important, but undefined so far, concept “Chinese Characteristics.” “Socialism with Chinese Characteristics” is an official phrase CCP frequently uses as the standard answer to describe what they are doing before reaching communism someday in far future. Please be aware that my purpose of discussing “Chinese Characteristics” is neither racial profiling nor stereotyping, but carefully analyzing the pathological sequela resulted from more than 2000 years of authoritarian/totalitarian culture, so that remedies could be found and reforms would be possible.

The space limit here won’t permit a detail review on the efforts to summarize “Chinese Characteristics.” Interested readers should at least browse through the following books that provided keys to the answer: “Chinese Characteristics” by Arthur Smith (1890, 1894); “Thick Black Theory”, also known as “Thick Face, Black Heart” by Lee Zhong Wu, originally written between 1911 to 1938, English version see (Chu, 1992 or 1995), and (Zhao, 2009); “The True Story of Ah Q” by Lu Xun (Lu Hsun)(1921, 2006); “My Country and My People” by Lin Yutang (1936); “The Deep Structure of Chinese Culture” by Sun Lung-kee, (1983, 2004); “The Ugly Chinaman and the Crisis of Chinese Culture” by Bo Yang (Po-Yang) (1985, 1992); “The Covert Rules” by Wu Si (2002); and “Learning the True Thinking” by Li Ming (2009). These eight books, in my opinion, are must-reads for anyone who is willing to grasp a basic understanding of “Chinese Characteristics.” Except the first one which was from an outside observer’s perspective,
the other seven represents profound reflections and critiques, sometimes painfully penetrating, from Chinese intellectuals. While it has been said that every U.S. President reads Arthur Smith, my suggestion is that every world leader should be aware of the core thoughts of these eight authors. I should also mention “The United States and China” by John Fairbank (1948, 1983) for readers interested more in history and politics. Nevertheless, in this paper I shall provide a condensed but brief model to capture “Chinese Characteristics,” from a perspective of Four-Dimensional System Thinking (4-DST) (Hu, 2004).

For any complex system, in our case “Chinese Characteristics” as a system, using 4-DST, we observe its three dimensions all together – that is, dimensions of procedure, structure, and culture. The procedure is a micro perspective, the structure is a macro perspective, and the culture is in between. The fourth dimension is time, but in system thinking, time translates into self-organizational processes. So, to use 4-DST is to see the mutually sustaining relationships among its procedure, structure, culture and time of the system being studied. For society, the three dimensions are political institution (structure), daily interactive patterns of behaviors of individual members (procedure), and “cultural genes” or memes that direct individual actions (culture). On the fourth dimension, the theory of self-organization views any automatically emerged order/structure in a system as the result of long time repeating behavior of the elements of that system. From this point of view, communism as a macro social phenomenon could be seen as a result generated (self-organized) via the repeating behaviors of the interactions of the individuals within that society.

Authors of the previously mentioned eight books created long list of characteristics that are frequently observed among Chinese people, in history or in today, in PRC, Taiwan, or anywhere in the world. Many of these descriptions are related. Many are negative, only a few sounds positive, and some are complicated. Instead of listing them all here, I shall leave it for the readers to find out and make their own judgment. Here I shall take a different approach from just listing pros and cons of Chinese characteristics. Since my aim is to define the connotation of “Chin-“ in the new term “Chinmunism”, I would like only focus on the very key characteristics that are vitally important to understand by people who need to deal with Chinmunism, i.e., world leaders, diplomats, cross-cultural communicators, managers of multinational companies, and students who want to gain global awareness. Furthermore, we need to capture such keys not as the results caused by communism, but deeply rooted within the Collective Unconscious (Jung, 1981) in Chinese society, with or without influence of communism. In other words, even one day when communism is completely abandoned by Chinese people, these “Chin-“ elements will perhaps still be the target of reflection and cultural-reform for China to become a responsible member of the world community.

Using 4-DST, we can identify the very root of the key Chinese characteristics on the three dimensions of procedure, structure and culture. From self-organization theory, “key” here means
the single seed behavior frequently repeated at the individual level that leads to the emergence of phenomenon at organizational or social level. Therefore, with only three key concepts, we can hopefully capture the essence of “Chinese Characteristics.”

1. Paltering Instead of Measuring

Let’s start from the procedure dimension. Procedure is about how things are being done. Workflows, steps to accomplish any goal, programs, production activities, etc are all procedures. One of the very important actions in any procedure is to take measurement. Getting data as accurately as possible, is the very root of rationality and science – generally speaking, to seek for the true, or to use one’s cognitive capacity to its upper limit, is a very key behavior in the development of human civilization. It is at here we identify the first key Chinese characteristics: Frequent observations reveal that, without Western education, or except in spy wars, Chinese people do not care about precision or accuracy of data.

John Fairbank reminded us: "China still is a journalist's dream and a statistician's nightmare, with more human drama and fewer verifiable facts per square mile than anywhere else in the world."( http://www.nytimes.com/ref/college/coll-china-overview-002.html ) Earlier then Fairbank made this comment, a Chinese thought leader Hu Shih, student of John Dewey, published a fable in newspaper in 1924 (ShenBao 6/24/1924, English translation at http://www.en84.com/article-197-3.html ), “The Story of Mr. About-the-same,” pointing the key characteristic of this Mr. About-the-same representing all the Chinese people, as never be able to be precise and accurate in doing anything. Sadly, this characteristic is still dominating PRC everywhere inside-out.

A recent folk saying about PRC’s statistics reads “the villages cheating the towns, the towns cheating the counties, all the way cheating up to the state department…” The “statistician’s nightmare” is still there, as a Reuters report described in 2009 (http://cn.reuters.com/article/columnistNews/idCNChina-3533520090123?pageNumber=1&virtualBrandChannel=0 ). PRC is still far from being able to really “mathematically manageable” as historian Ray Huang pointed out.

Other than the inaccuracy in counting numbers, the finger prints of Mr. About-the-same can be found in all lower quality “Made-in-China” products. Contractors and handypersons all know the fact that, if a Made-in-China screw driver meets a Made-in-Germany screw, the screw driver is likely to be broken. If a Made-in-China screw meets a Made-in-Germany screw driver, the screw is likely to be broken. When PRC boasts its total GDP overtaking Japan, it is very difficult to identify its products or services that could also overtake in quality, because the Chinese characteristic of not being able to measure precisely and implement precision in things they do. In fact, this characteristics is in many cases desirable as having a positive survival value, as noted in a popular calligraphic idiom “NanDeHuTu” (Where ignorance is bliss, it's folly to be wise) by Zheng BanQiao (1693-1765).
To make things worse, a lot of data about PRC society are declared as national secrets by CCP. A few high profile examples: How many people died of the man-made famine in 1958-1961? No clear number. How many people died in June 4, 1989 in Beijing? No accurate number. How many students were buried alive by low-quality school buildings in the earthquake May 12, 2008? No accurate number. In fact, a high-profile dissident, artist Ai Weiwei, was beaten by the police for trying to collect the names of victims and count an accurate number. Even the number of human lives is treated in this way, how believable are other numbers reported in PRC?

The incapability of taking reliable measurement causes all data in PRC suspicious, and “truth” impossible. It also leads to a lower quality of any products or services “made-in-China.” This is the first key Chinese Characteristics that has a number of severe consequences, that everyone dealing with PRC must be aware of. In fact, the fundamental function of human cognition is “to draw a distinction,” in the words of cybernetician Heinz von Foerster. Mr. About-the-same, the representing figure of Chinese people assigned by Hu Shih, unfortunately abandoned the capacity of drawing distinctions, and is therefore cognitively handicapped.

An immediate consequence for lack of objective measures in daily activities, is when two Mr. About-the-same meet in interaction, especially when exchanging some interests – trades, commerce, negotiate a contract, or forming a partnership. Since both have no objective measurement to their stakes, a long process of bargaining will doom to happen. “What is your psychological price” is often asked by street venders or small shop owners to shoppers. But the phenomena of bargaining, or trying to take more from others, can be observed widely beyond commerce.

2. Duping Instead of Keeping Integrity

While taking measurement is an objective capacity, to not saying what one really thinks, is a subjective characteristic that deeply rooted in Chinese culture. Again here I focus on the portion of Chinese without Western education – as many CCP members are for sure.

Let’s face it: “Integrity” as an ethical behavior standard has never gained a top position in Chinese education system. This English concept shows up in one of translations of the CCP official code of “Eight Honors and Eight Shames” on a lower priority (the sixth), but rarely gets clear definition and promotion in Chinese culture. From 2000 years ago Confucius said, "the father conceals the misconduct of the son, and the son conceals the misconduct of the father. Uprightness is to be found in this." The last sentence quoted here completely turned upside down the concept of integrity/uprightness in modern civilization. Later Confucian scholars extends such perspective of uprightness into that the ministers should conceal for the emperor and subordinates should conceal for their superiors (“为尊者讳，为亲者讳，为贤者讳。”《公羊传•闵公元年》).
To illustrate that the lack of integrity is a key Chinese Characteristics, the second role model I shall bring to reader’s attention, besides the previous Ms. About-the-same, is a highly popular fictitious person, Wei Xiaobao, created by the only billionaire writer Jin Yong (L. Y. Cha) in his last novel “The Deer and Cauldron.” I say highly popular, because this story of Wei Xiaobao, in his success story with Chinese Characteristics, accumulated 7 wives at the same time, has been made into movies 5 times – a rare record for the movie industry indeed. The characteristics that lead him to his success in later Qing Dynasty were lying, flattering, greedy, gambling, manipulating, lazy and loyal to his friends. It would be “too-naive-too-simple” (famous quote of Mr. Jiang Zemin) to perceive Chinese culture as a cradle of liars. The secret is that, as put by Wei Xiaobao in the novel, one should always mix 10% of lies with 90% of truth to get maximum benefit.

Instead of promoting integrity, Chinese culture emphasizes “face-saving” and “face-giving” through the behavior of “not telling what one really thinks” and only speaking “appropriate” words in interactions. There is little or not at all moral criteria or standard being practiced of being consistent of what one says between past and future, and between saying and doing. This is why that CCP in recent years has banned a book consists of editorials published by CCP themselves during the KMT time, before they obtain the ruling power of the PRC. This is also why a modification to the official dictionary was made for an Chinese idiom that Deng Xiaoping used to direct PRC’s foreign policy after Tiananmen Crackdown in 1989 – “to hide our capacities and bide our time.” Aware of the inappropriateness of such wording, the CCP choose not to acknowledge that Deng was probably wrong, but choose to publish another dictionary to announce another official meaning for the old idiom.

Consequences of this key Chinese Characteristics is terrifying and frustrating to those from the West who have any business with China. Habitually saying one thing and thinking another and telling different stories in different situations results in widely observable dual mentality of Chinese in PRC. Such dual mentality is perceived as “mature” or “smart” by them – “mature” so as to be able to taking more and giving less, by out-smart others in interactions. Contracts thus can be easily broken or re-interpreted, in both businesses and diplomatic relationships. This also explains the huge number of cases of fake products, poisoned foods, plagiarism, piracy of intellectual property, and corruption currently observed in PRC.

3. Ranking Instead of Demanding Equality

After Mr. About-the-same and Wei Xiaobao, here is the third representative, also a fictitious figure “Ah Q,” who was according to Lu Xun “the evidence that Chinese are the smartest of the whole world” (Lu Xun 1921, in chapter four, The Tragedy of Love.) The reason his name was written as Ah Q in the story, was because he was so belittled in his village that the author could not find his name.
The well known characteristics of Ah Q were (1) his perception that he was “previously rich”; (2) his main pass time was drinking to comfort himself and gambling to try his luck; (3) that he perceived things he didn’t see before or didn’t understand as “wrong” and “ridiculous”; (4) that he got angry when his shortcomings were mentioned by other people; and most uniquely (5), his ability of deluding himself into believing he was the victor every time he lose a fight, a form of mental masturbation to maintain his non-existent dignity. Once when he had a misfortune of being beaten and lost his money won from gambling, “he slaps himself on the face, and because he is the person doing the slapping, he sees himself as the victor. This deep-rooted need to maintain a victorious status even when actually defeated shows the Chinese obsession with maintaining a good appearance to all outsiders to be ridiculous at times.” (wikipedia.com)

“The True Story of Ah Q” was so widely read and discussed in the efforts of reflections on the Chinese culture. It also remained in school text books until this year. Here I use this story to highlight only the behavioral pattern that Ah Q interacted with others: He was always fearful and obedient towards anyone who was perceived as more powerful than him, and he was always arrogant and bully towards anyone who was perceived as weaker than him. What is missing here is a sense, or a desire, of being equal to others. This behavior, in self-organization theory’s point of view, leads inevitably a political-social structure featured by highly stratified ranks, hierarchical “pecking orders,” and totalitarianism.

The novella was written in 1921, about 130 years later after the emergence from France the concepts of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity between 1789 and 1795. Among these three concepts, in my opinion, Equality is the core. It’s the goal of Liberty as well as the foundation for Fraternity. Today, PRC is different from the end of the Qing Dynasty as described in Lu Xun’s story, but the traces of Ah Q’s spirit are still observable, especially the absence of the concept and behavioral characteristics demanding Equality among humans. Instead, as the die-hard heritage of Ah Q, the natural interactive behavior of Chinese people (with no Western education), when first met as strangers, is “Bi Da Xiao” (to compete for rank, ego fighting). The term has two sources, one from a popular poker game – whoever produces a larger card wins; another from an also popular dirty joke, about two men boasting and comparing the size of their male organs. This is similar to the well known animal behavior, such as when two stranger dogs meet, they confront each other until a rank is decided. Western business people may feel puzzled by the Chinese fussiness of arranging the order of seats whenever having a meeting, or may be amused by the Chinese leaders walking into the meeting hall in queues at precisely defined distance with each other. Now it is not a puzzle anymore. This behavior pattern, if not changed, could only produce an authoritarian or totalitarian organizational structure, with or without influence of communism.

To summarize this section, three key Chinese Characteristics are identified: Not being able or not willing to achieve precision in things they do; not willing to be consistent in thinking and saying; and not able to treat other human beings as equal. Seemingly tiny, sometimes unnoticeable
behavioral habits, they and their combinations create a number of pathologically social phenomena that were discussed by the eight authors mentioned at the beginning of this section. The severe consequences are (1) the absence of reliable data, truth and standards – which leads to large amount of uncertainties and surprises; (2) the absence of integrity and a government truly responsible to the people – which causes everlasting corruptions, injustices, failure of law system and social tension; and (3) the absence of mutual respect and a sense of equality among citizens – which in turn generates a “guan-xi” dominated society, with high Organizational Friction and low effectiveness and efficiency. Worst of all, these characteristics together form very vast and stable foundation for an authoritarian/totalitarian society, be it under any emperor or under an emperor-equivalent ruling group – the CCP. Table 1 summarize this group of concepts.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dimensions</th>
<th>Seed behavior</th>
<th>Macro organizational results</th>
<th>Main social consequences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Structural</td>
<td>Ranking (BiDaXiao), always searching for seat order or pecking order</td>
<td>Highly hierarchical organizations, absence of equality, slave mentality prevails and “Guanxi” mechanism dominates</td>
<td>Severe injustice cases, strong social tension near the collapse of dynasties,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Procedural</td>
<td>Duping (HuYou), trying to hoodwink or cajole others to gain for oneself</td>
<td>Absence of trust and integrity, high internal frictions and transaction costs, a lot of gaming, double-mentality</td>
<td>Severe corruption, wide spread of frauds, “Faked-in-China” phenomena</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural</td>
<td>Paltering (ChaBuDou), equivocating or fudging about facts, avoid being precise and accurate</td>
<td>Absence of objectivity, no standards, lack of quality, unpredictable organizational outcome and low quality products and services</td>
<td>Bad decisions from Groupthink, wasting resources and victimizing human lives</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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Table 1: Key Concepts of Chinese Characteristics

**IV. Chinnunism – The Crossbreed of Two Ghosts**

Cultural behavioral codes – cultural genes determine daily behaviors of individuals. The daily behaviors of individuals form the patterns of interactions, and the patterns of interactions – organizational behaviors - eventually form the social institutions. Different types of cultural
genes create different types of social system. The cultural value of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity create democracy. Chinese Characteristics discussed above create authoritarian/totalitarian system. And the social system in return enhances the cultural genes. CCP in the name of communism took hold of PRC society tighter than their old brother USSR, largely because the totalitarian feature of communism fits well with Chinese Characteristics.

With the same methodology of 4-SDT, we can identify the three key characteristics that are leftover by communism in China today, the “-munism” part, as the die-hard heritage of CCP’s 80 years of practicing communism since 1921. Besides the aspects that CCP changed away from communism, as mentioned in Section II, the aspects inherited till today, in the perspective of 4-DST, is Nomenklatura organization of the CCP (structure), Covert Rules of ruling by violence and information control (culture), and Covert process of monitoring and cracking down anyone with a voice different from those allowed.

1. Absolute obedience: The number one behavior code of CCP members is absolutely obedient to the order from the above in the organization, along with the commitment to guard its secrets and to be bind by its disciplines. No other parties or political organizations in any democratic society has such secret-society-like feature, therefore readers in the democratic countries might overlook this key characteristics that has many organizational consequences. One immediate result of this behavior code is the formation of nomenklatura within its organization as well as the government it dominates. Opposite to their claims as the representatives of the people and being “elected” through, CCP’s real organizational dynamics is that the most powerful group at the top make appoints to key positions throughout the whole government system. The original meaning of “nomenklatura” is a list of names. Here, in behind-the-curtains or closed rooms, key personnel decisions of who should be governing what are made, in more or less mafia-like ways. Therefore, all of officials are only responsible to their superiors, not “to the people” as they worded. This phenomenon was studied in detail (Voslesenki, 1984) in former USSR, and is still the rule of game today for CCP. One of important consequences is that this way of organization makes “checks and balances of power” a fairy tale, and an independent judiciary system impossible. Huge amount of injustice cases therefore emerge every day, and people being wrongly treated and abused trying to seek for justice from Beijing, are treated as enemies.

2. “By fair means or foul” is the only English phase I found to be closest to describe this character. In a pioneering study about the hidden algorithms of human ethical system, Lefebvre revealed the completely different perception about one’s ethical status regarding to whether an unethical means can be justified by an ethical end (Lefebvre, 1982). Communist Parties starting from Lenin adopt a thinking pattern which allows them to use any unethical means (killing, persecution, violence, lies or whatever) towards their goals if they perceive that goal as glorious (such as the ideal of communist society). This leads to their covert rules of ruling by violence and information control. Google the cases of
violence and media control in PRC, including the Great Fire Wall on the internet, I don’t need to say more here. For readers knowing little about this aspect, check out the movie “1984.”

3. The determination of controlling everything in the society. Planning economy, brainwashing in schools, reforming human nature (reforming world-view), and cracking down any possible dissent – these were common scenarios before Deng took power. After 1979, limited freedom in economic activities was given back to the peasants, and privately owned businesses and a quasi-market economy emerges. Nevertheless, the mentality of CCP of trying to control as many aspect of society still holds strong. Out-standing is their covert process of monitoring and cracking down dissent. This aspect is much subtle than the years of class struggle for sure, but still a fact determining the nature of the police state. “Being invited to tea” now is a term that the suspected dissidents are questioned by the secret police, sometimes pretty politely. High profile cases of jailing or harassing political dissidents, artists, lawyers, NGO leaders and even volunteers fighting the spread of AIDS, are available on the Internet, which are not the focus of this paper. Here I only need to highlight the fact that, even the CCP is not practicing communism in Karl Marx’s sense, they do carry on this governing behavior of Lenin, Stalin and Mao today.

Table II summarizes above.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dimensions</th>
<th>Seed behavior</th>
<th>Macro organizational results</th>
<th>Main social consequences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Structural</strong></td>
<td>Absolute obedience to superiors and top leaders</td>
<td>Domination by nomenklatura, no checks and balance among powers, absence of independent law system</td>
<td>Party-State, highly privileged ruling class, totalitarian, authoritarian, or “fragmented authoritarian” society (Lieberthal &amp; Lampton, 1992)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Procedural</strong></td>
<td>Any-means (by fair means or foul) to carry out orders from above</td>
<td>Rely on violence, information control, and even lies to rule; absence of human rights.</td>
<td>Brainwashed people appear ignorant and arrogant, uninformed. Persecution of dissidents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Cultural</strong></td>
<td>The Party, which is always right, should control everything</td>
<td>Cracking down any dissent “to harmonize,” absence of objective history records</td>
<td>No reflections to past mistakes and wrong doings, absence of correction-mechanism in society. Too much “secrets”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table II: Key Concepts of the Leftovers of Communism in PRC
The continuity of nation-wide traditional cultural behavioral characteristics, combined with the imported theory and institution of communism in 20th century, generates a crossbreed of a new ghost – or a new “spectre” in Marx’s term. Combine “Chin-“ and “-munism” together, we have a very interesting picture for the social system of Chinmunism:

Figure 2. Six key aspects of Chinmunism and their combinations

Beyond the first set of six key aspects, we have immediately a list of 15 features of Chinmunism through combination of any two of these key aspects. Here I borrow multiplier “*” to indicate that the interactions between any two characteristics are not simply additive but complicated mutual enhancement:

(1) Ranking * Duping = behavior of bullying and/or conspiracy to gain, no ethic bottom-line;

(2) Duping * Paltering = only God knows the truth of anything – but there is no God in PRC;

(3) Ranking * Paltering = large number of fraud or faking cases,

If one consider the (1) (2) (3) together, there is no where that a sense about absolute right-or-wrong can survive. This explains the recurring ill fates of people somehow developed and principled an ethical code different from the emperor’s, in of a number of cases in Chinese history, the latest cases would be Peng Dehuai, Hu Yaobang and Zhao Ziyang.
(4) Absolute obedience * Any-means = Crackdown any dissent

(5) Any-means * Control everything = fearful slavery society, Chinese style

(6) Absolute obedience * Control everything = totalitarianism and despotism

If one consider (4) (5) (6) together, there is no place for reflection of mistakes, wrong-doings, or checking for errors within the organization of CCP except at the very top, in “the emperor’s mind only.” When the emperor refuses to reflect, the whole system runs into disasters. I don’t need to list examples here, they are too many.

(7) Ranking * Absolute obedience = internal political struggles, especially severe when transferring power

(8) Duping * Any-means = widespread rent-seeking, institutionalized corruption top-down and inside-out,

(9) Paltering * Control everything = cases of violating people’s interests and rights, absence of effective justice,

If one consider (7) (8) (9) together, living under such a government, people become more fearful and stressful, and lost sense of security. (Remember that CCP started by plundering landlords in its early years, and now high-profile conflict cases are those between real-estate developers backed by government and people whose houses are being destroyed.)

(10) Absolute obedience * Duping = cheating behavior both towards the higher level superiors and lower level subordinates, ill fated decisions that causes huge loss

(11) Ranking * All-means = organizational frictions, office politics and internal fights

(12) Paltering * All-means = faking statistics or any data for one’s gain

(13) Duping * Control everything = information control, media control, lying to public

(14) Ranking * Control everything = Rent seeking behavior everywhere in governments and monopoly companies providing services

(15) Absolute obedience * Paltering = peaching behavior - widely spread during the Cultural Revolution - still observable in PRC society complete loss of universal human rights;

These 15 observations are only formed in considering two of the six basic characteristics at the same time. Readers are encouraged to consider more than two of these elements together to build their understandings – and explaining capacity – about the society in PRC today. The evolution from communism towards Chinmunism happened approximately Oct. 1976, when Mao’s close
followers were arrested shortly after his death, and June 1989, when “People’s Liberation Army” opened fire to the people they suppose to protect. During these 13 years of transition CCP gradually abandoned their previous ideology to pursue “world revolution,” and become focused in defending their own interests.

Obviously the above 15 observations will cause a lot of disagreements among readers. My purpose here is only to initiate discussions and draw attention to the possible internal structure of basic behavior characteristics underline a large number of phenomena. These phenomena, most negative, having been discussed extensively before in the format of “laundry-list”, are yet to be analyzed of their ontogenesis and their behavioral traces. We need to understand how the two nightmares (the self-closed and totalitarian traditional Chinese culture and imported Marxist-Leninist communism) are intertwined and mutually supporting with each other that generates the current reality of Chinmunism in PRC.

V. Embedded Uncertainties and Instability of Chinmunist China

New York Times recently has an article that expressed confusion over PRC’s “three faces” that “bullies, cajoles or sidesteps” on different situations. (http://www.nytimes.com/2010/09/26/weekinreview/26sanger.html) With the conceptual frame of Chinmunism, the phenomena of PRC’s multiple faces are easier to understand. More importantly, the anatomy of Chinmunism may reveal previously unnoticed or hard-to-understand behaviors of CCP, such as the high-profile surprises it brought to the world in June 1989 in Beijing or in December 2009 in Copenhagen. While “state-capitalism,” “market-Leninism,” communism in traditional sense, or even Daniel Bell’s phase “Chinese Confucian Party” (Bell, 2008) do not capture the reality in PRC today, a well discussed conceptual frame “Chinmunism” may help.

In Sino-U.S. relationship, and in the organizational dynamics of globalization of the world community, PRC is growing more likely at the problem side rather than the solution side. And nobody among the world leaders could afford to ignore PRC’s own problems, because they will soon become the world’s problems – environmental, biological, social, and ethical. How long its current unsustainable pattern of economical growth could last? When will its severe social tension between the rich and poor ignite dramatic change or chaos? What is the ruling group’s intention to boost its military? What is the feasible and believable vision of its development? Is there a clear mission among its leaders about what they’re going to do next? If not, what are the possibilities? The six key characters identified in this paper may add more clarity as well as more concerns towards the answers for these questions, but these will be topics for next paper. For closing this one, I shall only highlight two major concerns – i.e., the immanent uncertainty and instability of Chinmunism – their predictable unpredictability.
From what CCP highlight in their slogans, we may identify their real concerns. From their huge spending on “harmony- maintaining” budget, which is rumored as closing the budget of national defense, we know that they are paranoid of the instability of their ruling. Does this CCP government have a solid foundation to become “responsible stakeholder” as phrased by Robert Zoellick, head of the World Bank, of the international community? If the six key characteristics identified in this paper for Chinmunism are correct, we find no room in that ruling organization that responsibility can be effectively build upon – because there is no ethical bottom-line and no such thing as integrity, or consistency between what they say and what they do. The situation may actually be worse than an emperor system – under which the whole country is the emperor’s family property, therefore the emperor and his ministers are held (perceivably by the Heaven) responsible for people’s well being. Under CCP, the PRC is said to be “people’s” property, but how to define who the “people” actually are, and who have priorities to be benefited, are at the mercy of CCP. Look at the human right situations and the status of the judiciary system in PRC, one would know how responsible this government is to its people, and would get clues of how responsible this government could be to the world community. Furthermore, both internal and external responsibilities need clear-minded, rational decision making capacity. Looking back, CCP’s history is full of muddy-headed and irrational decisions which caused huge losses. Groupthink cases leading to disasters are numerals. Due to their inability to reflect on what they did wrong before, CCP keeps repeating same type of mistakes over and over again. If their organizational cognition capacity is low, (due to the lack of objectivity and the lack of integrity of its members, and their perceptions out of alignment with their reality), then, their decisions could not be effective in the long run.

On the other hand, even if a small group of elite members of CCP do manage to maintain a minimal level of responsibility of running the show, do they have enough time to resolve or dissolve the long list of crisis they are facing now? Growing social tension due to injustice and corruption, increasing number of local riots and violence, exhausted resources of water and clean air, skyrocketing unemployment, collapse of social moral and ethical constrains, failure of the education system, inflation, over population, aging, and sex imbalances due to higher death rates of female babies – there is no space here to accomplish this list inclusively. When these crises piled up with too much pressure, the danger of CCP resorting to war as a solution arises on the horizon. The readers might already familiar with the public threats made by Generals Zhu Chenghu, Xiong Guangkai and other hawks in the CCP military in recent years. An old Chinese saying goes like:”the barefooted are never afraid of those wearing shoes.” It’s better for the democratic worlds to err on the direction of unnecessarily preparation, than to err on the direction of unprepared.

At the end of my discussion, my question is how the democratic world should interact more effectively with Chinmunism to minimize its possible damage to this planet, and perhaps to facilitate its internal change and evolution towards getting rid of Chinmunism and embracing democracy. The not-so-visible battles inside PRC are going on: the awakening sense of rights of
the people versus the thousands-years-old despotism; the demand for equality or at least equality in opportunities versus the plunder and exploration in various forms from CCP; and the desire to adopt a universal value system of modern civilization versus the brain-washing and information control from the Department of Truth of CCP. In U.S. foreign policies dealing with PRC, I would suggest a stronger principled approach with uncompromising standard of objectivity and integrity. One thing to keep in mind is that, when Chinmunists are ranking, duping and paltering, they usually assume the other side is also doing the same. So if U.S. policy makers and diplomats interact wrongly, the result might not be the one desired for.

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