A Semantic Analysis of the Notion of Consultative Democracy: Xieshang Minzhu (协商民主) in the Chinese Official Political Discourses

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Abstract

Chinese politics are characterized by the complex issues of a large population and centralized political powers, which offers a distinct political model from the Western models. However, the last two decades have witnessed a sharp collision between Chinese and Western political thinking. In response, domestic authors have increasingly focused on the indigenization (bentuhua 本土化) of Chinese political theories and, therefore, defend the concept of politics with Chinese characteristics. In this article, the authors focus on the discourse of “deliberative democracy” within the Chinese language, namely, Xieshang minzhu 协商民主. In the current literature, almost no scholarly discussions have explored the semantics of the notion of Xieshang minzhu within Chinese politics. This article engages with this issue, both as a subject and a methodology, to better understand the political language that has been used in the official discourses in China¹ by 1) establishing a textual corpus by collecting relevant data into the Chinese and English groups through keywords; 2) conducting a statistical analysis based on the Word Cloud and Diagram analyses; and 3) using Word2Vec to calculate the relationship among other sub-keywords. The purpose of this contribution is to differentiate Xieshang minzhu as adopted by Chinese official discourses embedded in the logic of political reforms from the Western discourses. The semantic analysis presented here also serves as a methodology

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1 Official propaganda mainly includes five of China's most authoritative official media (newspapers): People's Daily (Renmin ribao 人民日报), Guangming Daily (Guangming ribao 光明日报), Xinhua Daily (Xinhua ribao 新华日报), China Comment (Banyutan 半月谈), Qiushi (Qiushi 求是, formerly known as Red Flag (Hongqi 红旗)), Xi Jinping's series of important speech databases and official documents on the subject of Xieshang or Xieshang minzhu in the Party-Building Database.

that systematically develops a conceptual model of *xieshang*, which further clarifies the misconceptions and errors in the existing literature. The authors also provide an outline of the polysemic notion of deliberative democracy, which not only exists within an authoritarian regime but is also present in other forms and other languages (such as Chinese). This serves to further maintain the legitimacy of the “socialist democracy *with Chinese characteristics*.”

Keywords

semantic analysis; Xieshang minzhu; Chinese language; indigenization; authoritarian rule

A Conceptual Model for Xieshang minzhu in the Chinese Context

The contemporary political study mainly involves formal ontological engagement, and it sometimes lacks semantic clarity. Ontologies, to some extent, are static, but with a limited role in reasoning about domains in which change matters,² especially facing a divided society with different political *status quo*, including language, culture, history, and so on, which usually presents multilingual polities. In particular, linguistic barriers are thought to pose obstacles to politics (Doerr Nicole, 2012), and they can also cause problems in democratic inclusion in linguistically pluralist polities.³ Thus, for a political term, it first comes to the *semantic and linguistic* lens and then travels to the *conceptual* (Mulieri, 2016), thus, for the “conceptual analysis,” it should function as the speech-acts that belong to ordinary life as a way of “exercise in language philosophy.”⁴ Its interpretations depend on the specific historical, social, and political contexts rooted in different linguistic experiences (Koselleck, 1979), which are simultaneously subject to continuous change. This means that the first effort that we should pursue in analyzing the concepts is to look at how a given word has been associated with different meanings based on a certain language. Thus, to the case of deliberation, it is not a concept fixed by its identical object nor is it the name of a thing, but it is rather a semantic and collocation expression⁵ that we can handle in different ways, according to the sense that it can take within a determined context.

2 Atkinson Katie M. et al (2011). Semantic Models for Policy Deliberation. Proceedings of the 13th International Conference on Artificial Intelligence and Law. ACM.

3 Fiket, I., Olsen, E.D.H. and Trenz, H.-J. (2011). Deliberation under Conditions of Language Pluralism. Insight from the Europol's Deliberative Polling Experiment. Arena Working Paper. Vol(9).

4 Pitkin, Hanna F. (1967). The Concept of Representation. Berkeley: University of California Press.

5 Hofmann Hasso (1964). Legitimität gegen Legalität: der Weg der politischen Philosophie Carl Schmitts. Neuwied: Luchterhand.

The variety of the semantic differences for the notion of deliberation is perhaps easier to articulate in those languages in which the different meanings correspond to different words. The semantic richness can be somehow regarded as a conceptual stretching of deliberation (Jürg Steiner, 2008; David Austen-smith and Timothy J. Feddersen, 2008). Thus, the deliberation *per se* should go beyond the standard understanding in political science and look for new theoretical models to deal with the emerging rise of transnational and polysemic of politics. This gap, which is especially highlighted among nations, is still fraught with linguistic and conceptual misunderstandings. For example, the mainstream Chinese discourse tends to describe China as an undemocratic state, thus leaving no room for deliberation, even though this view does not exist in China itself. China's authoritative definition of *Xieshang minzhu* is as follows:

Xieshang minzhu in China is an important form of democracy under the leadership of Chinese Communist Party (CCP) in which various sectors of the people conduct extensive consultation before and during the implementation of policy decisions on major issues concerning reform, development and stability, as well as practical issues concerning the vital interests of the people with the effort of forming the consensus.⁶

In China, the concept of *Xieshang minzhu* is derived from the speech of “three norms of democracy” that was made by Habermas in China in 2001. In line with the political consultation system in China, this overlapped and coupled at the time and immediately caused great interest from domestic scholars (Sun Dehai and Fang Shinan, 2015), with abundant academia achievements on the discourse. Thus, the mainstream in China holds the view that “China now, gradually formed China’s ‘indigenous consultative democracy discourse system,’ and therefore, finally entered the ideological discourse system of the CCP and state.”⁷ Nevertheless, our main contribution in this article is not to review the mass academia literature because they are sometimes discrepant with current policies, but instead, we aim to make an official discourse analysis. The second section of this article introduces the overall methodology and it will establish the corpus. The last section analyzes the official discourse of *Xieshang minzhu* in the Chinese context, and it is probably the best-fit form during the democratic transition (if any) and political reform in China.

6 Opinions of the CCP Central Committee on Strengthening the Construction of Socialist Consultative Democracy (2015). Available at <http://www.lyzzxs.gov.cn/zxzs.php?newsid=11756>.

7 Ma Ben (2014). “Xieshangminzhu yu xuanjuminzhu: yuanyuan, guanxi yu weilaifazhan. (Consultative Democracy and Electoral Democracy: Origin, Relationship and Future Development)”. *Wenzheshi. Literature, history and philosophy*. Vol(03): pp.21-26.

Key Differences Between Anglo-Saxon Literature and Chinese Indigenized Scholarship of Deliberative Democracy

To date, the Anglo-Saxon literature of deliberation largely excludes the experiences of (quasi)-*Xieshang* in China, that is, another different setting that attempts to reconcile *deliberation* within an authoritarian regime. In this article, although the authors try to adopt a fresh non-Western perspective for further analysis, we still try to highlight the authentic context of China's *Xieshang minzhu* by indicating the intrinsic differences between China and the West on deliberation and fill this void calling for a renewed attention to the indigenization of the local political studies and also for the better understanding the Chinese governance in non-Western societies.

Traditional politics assumes a strong affiliation between deliberation and democracy, but the “authoritarian deliberation” coined by He Baogang (2012) strongly indicates the coexistence of authoritarianism and deliberation in a nondemocratic state (with 20,932/13.1% of “deliberation” and 1,478/5.7% of “authoritarian”: in English, it is 0.89% as the high-frequency words, see Appendix 1). Nevertheless, the criticisms were also crucial; for example, Leib (2005) stated that “we were ready to call almost any participatory institution seemed too generous, given that this participation was occurring within a country without the most basic of democratic indicia: competitive elections on the national level and basic liberal rights.”⁸ Chart 1 and Appendix 1 indicate a quite large promotion with “party (with the correlated words like ‘monopoly’ (0.79), ‘dominate’ (0.76), ‘control’ (0.74), ‘leadership’ (0.71))” and ‘state’ (0.92), ‘regime’ (0.98) share 24.2% totally while democracy only share 13.10%. In addition, the debate between Jürg Steiner (2008)⁹ and David Austen-Smith et al. (2008) about the concept stretching for deliberation, which also showed the concern about the misunderstanding and misinterpretation for deliberative democracy, both theoretically and practically, in China.

Chart 1 WordCloud in Chinese and English

WordCloud in Chinese (top 20 key words)				
民主 (Minzhu, democracy)	社会主义 (Shehuiizhuyi, Socialist)	人民 (Renmin, People)	政治 (Zhengzhi, Politics)	改革 (Gaige, Reform)
协商 (Xieshang)	制度 (Zhidu, Institutionalization)	国家 (Guojia, State)	特色 (Te'se, Characteristic)	习近平 (Xi Jinping)
中国共产党 (Gongchandang, CCP)	发展 (Fazhan, Development)	建设 (Jianshe, Constriction)	基层 (Jiceng, Local)	领导 (Lingdao, Leadship)
群众 (Qunzhong, Public)	体制 (Tizhi, System)	问题 (Wenti, Problem)	治理 (Zhili, Governance)	团结 (Tuanjie, Solidarity)
WordCloud in English (top 20 key words)				
Democracy	Deliberation	Political	Participant	Power
Public	Policy	Government	Discussion	Chinese
System	State	Party	Politic	Regime
Citizen	Local	Reform	Consultation	Official

Note: Based the WordCloud, the differences that in the main keywords of the built Chinese and English corpus can be intuitively reflected, but the primary and secondary relationship of specific keywords cannot be examined for the moment. So, we set up a diagram in the top 20 words to reflect the primary and secondary relationship of keywords.

An authoritarian deliberation is both logically possible and empirically real.¹⁰ In the new formulation proposed by He, he continues to defend the ideas with various arguments in the last few years. The objectively *raison d'être* of *Xieshang* or *Xieshang minzhu* in China that distinguishes with the Western discourse is largely due to its functional orientation, namely *Xieshang minzhu* in China, which is the instrumental existence, that is “problem-oriented” (*Wenti* 5741 in Chinese). This is in line with the typical pragmatism in Chinese politics, that “for reducing social conflicts and the level of opposition, and facilitating compliance with and implementation of state policy, also, it can be an effective decision-making process, being an effective conflict-resolution device, and a means to overcome polarization” (He Baogang, 2016). First, authoritarian deliberation may merely exist in Chinese local governance, which is traceable especially in the coastal areas in China in recent years. The *so-called* deliberative experiments (e.g. Zhejiang Wenling, Shanghai, etc.) are far from generalizing the panorama of *Xieshang minzhu* in China. Including the inter-party consultations advocated by CCP, the Chinese People’s Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC) consultations centrally are merely formalistic. In addition, He thinks that the theoretical and practical tensions between deliberation and authoritarianism can hopefully be transformed into a driving force toward democracy (He, 2012, 2016).

The debate on deliberative democracy in Western academia views that liberal (representative) democracy is the foundation of deliberative democracy with electoral and competitive politics. However, it is acknowledged that competitive elections might inhibit genuine deliberation. Nevertheless, genuine democratic deliberation must be structured accordingly to elections, which are lacking in China. However, the local experiments that have even adopted high-technique methods still fail to be sufficiently deliberative and to be sufficiently representative (He, 2016). Against this background, Western theorists firmly stress the important role of a public sphere and civil society in developing deliberative democracy. Habermas (1994) and Dryzek (1990) stated that “[I]t can flourish only by creating, operating within, and confronting the state from an autonomous public sphere,” but these key factors may be problematic in the Chinese political context under a powerful state and monopoly party (as we mentioned before, the state-sponsored/official-background deliberative activities are quite narrow and limited within the authoritarian control), even with the hint that lack of active involvement of civil society and may, therefore, pensively lead to the authoritarian deliberation in China, but the hope is slim and unclear.

To date, based on the keywords distribution and proportion in Chinese and English in Chart 2 indicate, the key differences between the two lie essentially in the different polity that it relies on, namely liberal (representative) democracy and socialist democracy, that further shaped the different civil society (that with the key democratic elements within, such as freedom of speech, association, NGOs, etc.), as well as the manifold comprehension of the function toward deliberation. That is, *Xieshang* or *Xieshang minzhu* in China is largely affiliated to the conflict-resolution (see Appendix 1 with the high-frequency keywords like the noun “problem”>5,000, verb like “governance,” “solve,” “deal with”>4,000) mechanisms with the nature of instrumentality or somehow transition for further democracy. But in liberal (representative) democracy, being a form of democracy, it is the authentic “talk” among the public, at least ideally. These differences appeared in the charts with high-frequency vocabulary, which summed up as socialist deliberative democracy with Chinese characteristics (>29,200) and can also be found with vast differences through a comparison between Western and China based on a rustic view of democracy. Thus, this part is not for the sake of distinguishing the relative merits in either party but, also in the third part, to demonstrate how *Xieshang minzhu* is embedded in Chinese politics in its way.

Chart 2 Keywords Distribution in Corpus

Distribution in Chinese Corpus		Distribution in English Corpus	
民主 (Minzhu)	17.26%	Democracy	13.10%
协商 (Xieshang)	16.99%	Deliberation	13.10%
制度/体系 (Zhidu/Ti'xi)	12.01%	System	4.73%
群众/人民 (Qunzhong/Renmin)	11.63%	Society	4.84%
政治 (Zhengzhi)	6.94%	Political	17.46%
国家 (Guojia)	7.25%	state/regime	12.07%
治理 (Zhili)	2.96%	Governance	5.60%
基层 (Jiceng)	3.08%	Local	7.35%
社会主义特色 (Shehuizhuyi T'se)	13.84%	Party	11.25%
改革 (Gaige)	4.57%	Participation	4.80%
领导(Lingdao)	3.45%	Authoritarian	5.70%

Methodologies and Corpus Establishment

Foundation of the Acquire Documents

The textual analysis is based on a database that was established on the official propaganda after the 18th NPC (2013), which, for the first time, officially adopted *Xieshang minzhu*. Our data sources are originally derived from the official databases with the title=“*Xieshang minzhu* (协商 民主)” or keywords=“*Xieshang minzhu*” with a total of 2,018 items¹¹ through advanced (fuzzy) search.¹² Although the authors did not sort the data before 2013, clearly, before the 18th National Congress, the official interpretation of *Xieshang minzhu* was not systematically engaged; notably, it was mainly conducted by scholars within the academia discussion. In contrast, after the 18th National Congress, academic discussion and official propaganda increased positively. Three main axes will be involved from an official perspective, as follows: I. official propaganda (newspapers); II. leaders’ speeches, especially Xi Jinping’s discourses on *Xieshang minzhu*; and III. official documents related.

- I. The five most authoritative official media (newspapers) in China¹³ are the People's Daily (Renmin ribao 人民日报) for 458 reports, Guangming Daily (Guangming ribao 光明日报) for 560 reports, Xinhua Daily (Xinhua ribao 新华日报 447 reports), China Comment (Bnayutan 半月谈 320 reports), Qiushi (Qiushi 求是 37 reports, formerly known as Red Flag (Hongqi 红旗 86 reports)).
- II. The top leaders' series of important speech databases with 95 items.¹⁴
- III. Official documents on the subject of *Xieshang* or *Xieshang minzhu* in the Party-Building Database with 15 items.¹⁵

Although the antitheses between China and the West are not the focus of this article, we still carried out a rhetorical and semantic analysis of the Chinese indigenous studies with the English literature by establishing a database on deliberative democracy (the elucidation in the first part is a mirror case). Given that the Western literature of *Xieshang minzhu* does not appear in Pinyin, the keywords are “deliberative democracy,” or “deliberation,” or “consultation.” The main source of the database comes from the Bibcnrs¹⁶ and Google Scholar, with 124 articles (including overlap) related to the topic and processed in the same way.

13 To date, given that the *Xieshang minzhu* is a political term, thus, the authoritative official media chosen are target to the political newspaper and media by CCP. These China's largest-circulation newspaper and also known as the propaganda of the CCP (Dangmei 党媒), the published articles and reports that expressed the CCP's official views. To note, the overlapping part that among the various newspapers and social media have, for example, the *People's Daily* and the *Guangming Daily* may jointly report the same content at the same time. Although the selection of the newspapers that all belong to the central media, they also reprinted in the local media reports about *Xieshang minzhu*. *People's Daily* also quoted the related contents that from the local media such as *Guangxi Daily* (Guangxi ribao 广西日报), *Tibet Daily* (Xizang ribao 西藏日报), *Shandong Daily* (Shandong ribao 山东日报). Therefore, the target data selected in this study cover almost all reports and analyses of *Xieshang minzhu* by central and local media from 2013 to 2019.

14 This is mainly Xi Jinping's important discourses on *Xieshang minzhu* since the 18th National Congress, within which also includes Zhao Leji-member of Standing Committee of Political Bureau of CCP Central Committee in the 2013 survey in Shanghai: *vigorously promote the construction of grassroots service-oriented party organizations and strengthen the communication and consultation between grassroots party members and the public*, the emphasis in 2013 by Liu Yunshan-member of Standing Committee of Political Bureau of CCP Central Committee that *strengthened and improved the party's leadership over comprehensive and deepening reforms, and deepen inter-party consultations*. Available at <http://djsjk.people.cn/search/index/338979> and <http://jhsjk.people.cn>.

15 The official documents include an official document on *Xieshang minzhu* released by the CCP central committee, as well as relevant meetings, theoretical explanations and case analysis in the Party-building database. Available at <http://djsjk.people.cn/cover>.

16 BibCnrs is the portal that providing access to the CNRS (Le Centre national de la recherche scientifique Francais)'s digital document resources. It was developed in 2016 and replaces the previous scientific information portals BiblioPlanets, BiblioSciences, BiblioSHS, BiblioST2I, BiblioVie and TitaneSciences, namely, one of the biggest digital libraries in Europe.

The first two steps set the foundation for the semantic analysis, but there are far more underlying concepts and metaphors behind the propaganda. Thus, Appendix 1 gives a further keyword correlation analysis to avoid overfitting by focusing on out of sample prediction and selects the best model for the underlying data from a set of candidate models (Van der Vaart, Dudoit and van der Laan, 2006). Correlation analysis based on the feature of the Chinese language can categorize the synonymy or the expressions with a similar meaning, such as the high-frequency words of “Chinese characteristics (*Zhongguo te'se* 6537),” “characteristics (*Te'se* 5444),” “socialism (*Shehui zhuyi* 11608),” “socialism with Chinese characteristics (*Zhongguo te'se shehui zhuyi* 12380)” can be classified as the Chinese characteristic with the correlated sub-keywords “CCP (*Gongchandang* 2503),” “party leadership (*Dang de lingdao* 4255),” “political reform (*Zhengzhi gaige* 5632),” “problem-oriented (*Wenti/Wenti daoxiang* 5741)” as the high-frequency words in Appendix 1; keywords like “system/mechanism (*Tizhi, Jizhi*, total with 15793),” “initialization (*Zhiduhua* 3717)” and related adjectives can be classified as the institutionalization of the Chinese *Xieshang minzhu*; The third category is “democracy (*Minzhu* 21262),” “forms of democracy (*Minzhu xingshi* 20932),” and “socialism democracy with Chinese characteristics (*Shehui zhuyi te'se minzhu* 8551).”

Facing simply too many political texts, scholars are rarely able to manually read all the texts in even moderately sized corpora. Hence, in this article, we try to conduct a systematic analysis of the large-scale text collections based on the automated content analysis outlined, within the following three stages:

- I. Establishment of the corpus (see the aforementioned description of the foundation of the acquired documents both in Chinese and English for the official discourse).
- II. Statistical analysis (1): WordCloud-Pre-treat the Chinese data: decoding, tokenizing, cleaning stop or functional words in the data, analyzing the texts, and visualizing the keywords according to the frequency in the text by Logiciel R and Python. The cloud that filled with massive words in different sizes represents the frequency or the importance of the keywords¹⁷; 2). histogram to filter the 20 most used words and their

17 We use the rate keywords appear in a text to classify documents into categories or to measure the extent to which documents belong to particular categories. The methodology is not merely dichotomously classified as the positive or negative attitude of the official tone. The words “frequency” and “quantitatively analysis” can also identify words that separate categories and measure how often those words occur in texts. For some recent examples that use dictionaries to measure a variety of concepts, those results will be further validated within the standard evaluations in Chinese language, possibly providing an overall comprehension of Chinese *Xieshang minzhu* in terms of distributing complex attributive concepts and rhetoric issues.

frequency in the data with the third-party support for the histogram in Python—Matplotlib, with the occurrence frequency above 3,000 and also removes the miscellaneous words within the text; 3). Word2vec of correlation network to produce the word embeddings where words or phrases from the vocabulary are mapped to vectors of real numbers, quantify and characterize semantic similarities between linguistic items based on their distributional properties in large samples of language data within continuous skip-gram architecture. Then, adopt the t-SNE to visualize groups of the most similar words in high-dimensional Word2Vec Word Embeddings, which are located in multidimensional space.¹⁸

III. Semantic results (from the aforementioned analysis, draw the conclusion interspersed with specific numerical analysis).

In the third part, the authors will conduct the semantic analysis based on the following three main categories: I. *Xieshang minzhu* with Chinese Characteristics (general description; debate of electoral and deliberative democracy in China; and party leadership); II. institutionalization of *Xieshang minzhu* (participatory devices; *Xieshang* in the center and local) with various participatory devices; and III. *Xieshang minzhu* under Chinese democracy discourse. Note that a comparative study with the mirror case and induction of sub-related words within the main categories will also be conducted.

Semantic Results of the Chinese Political Discourse of *Xieshang minzhu* ***Xieshang minzhu* with Chinese Characteristics**

The authors adopt Chinese Pinyin with *Xieshang minzhu* for further demonstration instead of English or other linguistical translations, mainly because the *Xieshang minzhu* per se is quite ambiguous in translation, especially the correspondence and affiliation between Chinese and other languages.¹⁹ Indigenization of Chinese political scholarship is also increasingly inclined to abandon the rhetoric and linguistic disputes and turn to the analysis of *xieshang minzhu* with *Chinese characteristics*. It can be seen from the WordCloud and Histogram above that “Specialism (*Tè'se* 特色)” and

18 We thus, also draw scatter diagrams, as shown in Tables 1 and 2. The diagrams showed the correlative words of the keywords and also give a clearer visual effect on how the sub-keywords distributed both in the constant X and Y coordinates.

19 A number of words and notions have been proposed in the last 15 years to describe the consultative, deliberative, or participatory devices that have developed in China. In English, the authors use terms such as consultative democracy, deliberative democracy, authoritarian deliberation, and authoritarian consultation. In Chinese, the most common word officially used is *xieshang minzhu* 协商民主, translated differently according to the authors by consultative democracy or deliberative democracy—but another translation of the later English notion of deliberative democracy is *shen yi minzhu* 审议民主, a term more commonly used in Taiwan and sometimes adopted by Mainland Chinese writers.

Table 1. Correlation Words and Expressions in Chinese Context

Table 2. Correlation Words and Expressions in English Context

“socialism (*Shehui zhuyi* 社会主义)” account for the largest proportion, with a frequency of up to 17,500. In addition, according to the correlation map, we divide this part into three sub-subjects with a correlation rate up to 0.6,²⁰

20 For example, as a keyword of “institutionalization” in Appendix 1, the correlated words that include, according to Appendix 2, “top design” (0.658), “perfect and promotion” (0.572), “management system” (0.568), “full process” (0.573), and so on, but we only select the related words with the correlations more than 0.6 for the text analysis.

namely: 1) overview of the *Xieshang minzhu*; 2) controversy of the electoral democracy and *Xieshang minzhu* in China; and 3) party-dominant.

Both the Western doctrine of deliberative democracy in the Chinese-style deliberative context democracy²¹ and *Xieshang minzhu* rooted in the Chinese traditional political culture and thought, nevertheless, meet the requirements of netizens' freedom of speech and association, interaction between society and government. Also, *deliberative* experiments in local China that flourished these years has aroused extensive discussion domestically and even internationally (Li Fan, 2014; e.g., the deliberative institutions in the test case of Wenling city) that indicated the consistency and reconcilable paradox the *Xieshang minzhu* within China's authoritarianism. But to note, the giant repercussions always with the oppositions, on the one hand, although inspired by the Western deliberative democracy theory, Chinese propaganda and academia lopsided engaged to draw restrictive demarcation with the Western academia in the hope of soliciting the socialist *Xieshang minzhu* with *Chinese characteristics*. This trend has been further confirmed by a recent book that discusses 协商民主 *Xieshang minzhu* (officially translated in foreign languages as consultative democracy) and concludes that it better suits China than multi-party representative democracy.²² At the same time, officials and even academia have not yet reached a consensus on the definition of *Xieshang minzhu* with Chinese characteristics, or the widespread practice of *Xieshang* or quasi-*Xieshang* experiments at the local level, which largely lack the necessary theoretical support.

"Election" is a sensitive word that did not appear in the map (see Appendix 1, the authors extended the word frequency to 50 times, still, no (quasi)-"election" was found in the list). In the 1990s, local elections in China came to a halt and slid in a seemingly nonreciprocal manner, while the governments at all levels showed a clear refusal to move to electoral democracy. The direct election of cadres at the very local level in Chengdu, which was regarded as

21 In 2003, "*Dangdai xifang zhengzhi lilun de redian wenti* (hot issues of contemporary western political theories)" published by Yu Keping introduced the Western deliberative democracy theory for the first time, which aroused the wide attention and enthusiasm in the related studying.

22 Zhou Tianyong, Wang Changjiang and Wang Anling (eds) (2008). "Gongjian shiqidahou zhongguo zhengzhi tizhi gaige yanjiu baogao (Storming the Fortress: A Research Report on China's Political System Reform after the 17th Party Congress)". Xinjiang shengchan jianshe bingtuan chubanshe. (Journal of the Xinjiang Construction corps). pp.32-35; Shangli Li (2003). "Xieshang zhengzhi Dui zhongguo minzhu fazhan de yizhong sikao (Consultative Democracy: A Thinking of the Development of Chinese Political Democracy)". Xueshu yuekan (Academic Monthly). No (4): pp.19-25; Shaoguang Wang (2008). "Jianli yige qiangda de minzhu guojia (Building a Strong Democratic State)". <http://www.aisixiang.com/data/15048.html> (accessed 16 December 2016); Guangbin Yang (2014). "Xishi minzhu de kunjing yu zhongguo minzhu de weilai (The Predicament of the "Western Democracy" and the Future of the "Chinese Democracy")". Gongshiwang (21ccom.net), 17July 2014, http://www.21ccom.net/articles/zgyj/xzmj/article_20140716109514.html (accessed 10 October 2015).

a prototype, was thus eliminated. The uncertain future toward democracy in China pressurizes the CCP, as well as the Chinese people, to find another form of democracy, rather than electoral (representative) democracy; namely, *Xieshang minzhu*. This is the congenital flaw of *xieshang Minzhu* in China, with the legitimized ignorance in official propaganda, also for some Chinese intellectuals, that deliberative and consultative style of democracy is much better than the electoral and conflictual model of liberal democracy (Lin Shangli, 2003).

Nevertheless, the CCP shows no signs of taking a democratic turn, which leaves little room for the discussion of “representative system” and “election” in the Chinese context, especially within the one-party rule. Thus, to the governmental-led sense, *Xieshang minzhu* is presented with the hope to skip the electoral (representative) democracy in China, and this trend is further confirmed by the top leaders in several speeches²³ that were more broadly endorsed as a way of reforming the political system in the official document of the Central Party Committee.²⁴ In the official framing, the two main forms of socialist democracy in China where elections and voting on the one hand, and full consultations of the people before major decisions are conducted to reach consensus on public issues.²⁵ In September 2014, Xi Jinping tackled the sensitive topic of democracy²⁶ and stated that: “Democracy is defined not only by people’s right to vote in an election but also the right to participate in political affairs on a daily basis.”²⁷ To say the least, China does not prepare to pursue any kind of democracy, thus mass participation and deliberation are a priority for the short term.

From this lens, the official intention is very obvious, but not absolute. For example, at the local level in China, with village elections, consultative democracy is also required. Rural areas where competitive elections have developed in recent years may contain a genuine consultation of which voting was used in the final stages of public consultation. Thus, elections are the

23 At the celebration of the 65th anniversary of the establishment of the Chinese People’s Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC), Xi Jinping emphasized that socialist *Xieshang minzhu* is the unique form and unique advantage of China’s socialist democratic politics and an important embodiment of the mass line of CCP.

24 People’s Daily. (2 March 2006).

25 The Opinions of the CPC Central Committee on Strengthening the Work of the CPPCC. Available at: <http://cppcc.people.com.cn/GB/34961/60987/>.

26 Cary Huang (2014). ‘China’s Xi Jinping supports “democracy” ... but not in the Western sense’, South China Morning Post, (24 September 2014), available at: <http://www.scmp.com/news/china/article/1599068/xi-supports-democracy-not-western-sense> (accessed 15 May 2017).

27 Xinhua Insight: What does China-Style Democracy Matter to Its People?. Xinhua Net. Available at: http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2017-03/10/c_136118749.htm (accessed 15 May 2017).

basis of public consultation that applies only, and more concretely, in the very local context, if any.

Against this background, among all the discourses on Chinese *Xieshang minzhu*, keywords, such as “party leadership (*Dang de lingdao*),” “core (*Hexin*)” and “central place (*Zhongxin*),”²⁸ are high-frequency words and show the paradoxical affiliations between the party and democracy in contemporary China. *Xieshang*, per se, positively prompts the party leaders to be more responsive and accountable but indicates that how to keep this option or the basic elements in a one-party authoritarian state is still unclear. At one time, the CCP maintained control in an indirect or invisible way. For example, according to the interview with the secretary of the Party Affairs Office in *Shuixiu* Community, Wuxi indicated that the local community is generally autonomous, local party cadres will not intervene with the internal affairs including various voting meetings. However, if the local issues need mass of funds or under tension, then the director of the neighborhood committee still needs to report to the higher-ups for admissions; namely, the decision-makers are not the participants who voted but the cadres in the office.

Institutionalized and Systematic of *Xieshang minzhu*

Official discourses of *Xieshang* or *Xieshang minzhu* before the 18th National Congress usually accompanied with the misinterpretation (even in official documents) of “consultative democracy with Chinese characteristic,” “socialism consultative democracy,” “Chinese-style consultative democracy,” and so on. Thus, since Xi’s era, that institutionalization has become the focus of official efforts for further promoting *Xieshang minzhu*, responsibly, institutionalization is also one of the high-frequency words with a total frequency of 2,601. Traditionally, Chinese political culture pays little attention to procedure and institutionalization. Decision-making, therefore, is made by the leaders themselves due to authoritarian reasons with the convictions that procedures are inferior to efficiency. Thus, authorities with strong monopoly expect to achieve the ultimate goal without real deliberation. They even show no interest in deliberating openly (if any, the pressure from the higher-ups).

Further institutionalization of *Xieshang* or *Xieshang minzhu* in China is the priority, at best-forcing cadres to follow the deliberative rules in the governance. Such thoughts can be traced back to Mao’s mass line, which

28 *The Speech at the 65th Anniversary of the Founding of the CPPCC National Committee* (2014), Xi Jinping stressed that to develop socialist consultative democracy, we must uphold the leadership of the party. *The report of the 19th National Congress of the Communist Party of China* (2017) pointed out that consultative democracy is the realization form of the party leadership. Also, the unique form and advantages of China’s socialist democracy, etc.

emphasis on deliberating, listening to, and valuing the voice of the masses politically. Socialist system and culture encourage deliberation, the new type of deliberative governance in Xi's era, that more of the revival of political mobilization adapted for further dealing with the rapid change of economic and civil society, in which cadres and masses jointly solve practical problems, those can also be found in Table 1 as the high-frequency word "problem-(oriented)." Thus, *Xieshang* in China can both solve social conflicts without compromising central authority in a moderate democratization manner, and it can also be regarded as a new form of governance through the integration of executive orders and democratic consultation mechanisms.

Against this background, the CCP intends to design deliberative democratic institutions in a state that was seemingly more open to institutional innovation than many Western democracies, which are set in their ways. He Baogang (2013) summarized various forms of *Xieshang* system with "democratic talkfest," "citizens' councils," and "urban or village representative assembly." Obviously, the fact that those *so-called* democratic experiments exist at the local level shows that large-scale institutional design does not seem to be on the agenda. Thus, the deliberation (if any) is carried out under the centralized political structure, and this may cause the inherent tensions; namely, the elites control the deliberative process. As we have seen, the correlative words to institutionalization are mostly present with "top," "discourse power," "whole-process" and "dual leadership," for example, that all with the correlation over 0.6. These might be partial summaries centrally but are far from the whole picture of local deliberation. In addition to the decision-making functions of the village committees, the municipal consultative bodies do not have their decision-making mechanisms, which merely functioned for further soliciting public opinions.

Xieshang minzhu Under Chinese-Style Democracy

Further interpretations of socialism with Chinese characteristics and *Xieshang minzhu* in Xi's era are all based on the seemingly paradoxical concept of *Chinese-style* democracy. To date, it is not exactly a political term for just a matter of fact, literature²⁹ on the Chinese democratic discourse or

29 See Brantly Womack (1989). *Party-State Democracy: A Theoretical Exploration*. Issues and Studies. Vol (25). pp.37-57; Baogang He (1996). *The Democratization of China*. New York: Routledge. pp.40-55; Young Nam Cho (2009). *Democracy with Chinese Characteristics? A Critical Review from a Developmental State Perspective*. Issues and Studies. Vol(25). pp.71-106; Zhiyue Bo (2010). *China's Model of Democracy*. International Journal of China Studies. Vol(1). pp.102-124.

conceptions³⁰ is quite large, notwithstanding, some fundamental conclusions that can be drawn from the diverse definitions, that is, Chinese democracy is by no means of the Western-style democracy, namely, multi-party system, open elections, judicial independence, etc., say it, the key factors of modern democracy are not taken into account. The author is more inclined to compare China's democracy as a hybrid type than a merely autocratic one, as criticized by many authors, given that China still maintains a Communist party-state regime and the capability of national mobilization³¹ and limited political participation locally. Ultimately, there can be no political reform that can erode the party dictatorship. Following this logic, it is easy to understand the intention of the CCP for further pioneering *Xieshang minzhu*, as a form of democracy with *Chinese characteristics* that can also result in the "fallacy of electoralism."³²

We took the 18th National Congress as a watershed of *Xieshang minzhu* in contemporary China, within which *Xieshang* officially embedded in the theoretical system of socialism with Chinese characteristics and became a core component of the democratic thinking in Xi's era. According to Tong's³³ semantic study of the 19th Report of National Congress, "*Xieshang*" and "*Xieshang minzhu*" appeared with a total of 12 times accounted for 9.01% of the report, "The essence of China's democracy is public affairs should be deliberated by themselves." *Xieshang minzhu* had been becoming the fifth major democratic form of socialist democracy "as an important way to realize the party leadership" along with the democratic election, democratic management, democratic decision-making, and democratic supervision.

30 See Lu Jie, Shi Tianjian (2015). The Battle of Ideas and Discourses before Democratic Transition: Different Democratic Conceptions in Authoritarian China. *International Political Science Review*. 36(1): pp.20-41. To be sure, Lu and Shi did provide several alternative democratic discourses in China. For example, from the lens of state craftsmanship based on the Confucius philosophy of guardianship or state-endorsed Leninism, that of following the political doctrines come from the parentage directly or indirectly of the several generation of leadership propaganda like democratic centralism, democracy with Chinese characteristics, 'Three Represents', and 'Harmonious Society'. Also, in the working paper series jointly published by global barometer with a contextualized analysis of the democratic conceptions in East Asian societies, see Lu Jie (2013). *Democratic Conceptions in East Asian Societies: A Contextualized Analysis*. *Taiwan Journal of Democracy*. 9(1): pp.117-45. From a more practical perspective, among the diversion democratic conceptions in authoritarian China, a large majority of people are quite satisfied with the practice of democracy rather than pursuing the Western style democracy with free of speech, association, etc., to conclude, the current political scholarships with its discussions are largely within this framework.

31 Tsai Wen-Hsuan (2011). The Concept Construction of Chinese-Style Democracy. Available at SSRN 1904726.

32 Terry Lynn Karl (1995). The Hybrid Regimes of Central America. *Journal of Democracy*. Vol(6). p.73.

33 Tong Dezhi (2019). The Main Body Empowerment, Procedure and Democratic Effect of Grassroots Consultation in China. *Study on Modernization of National Governance*. Vol (3).

Although democracy has always been a sensitive topic in China, it is still the most frequent keyword in Appendix I (21262), while deliberation following with 20,932 is the second place. For understanding China's *Xieshang minzhu*, it must be placed into the considerations of *Chinese-style* democracy sphere anyway. At the same time, in the correlative words in Annex II, the democracy-related works like "liberal democracy (0.72)," "replacement (0.66)," "argument (0.65)," "democratic election (0.65)" strongly shows that Chinese-style democracy is distinct from Western-style democracy-liberal democracy. Neither the authorities nor academia conceals the formulation with the "socialism with Chinese characteristics" as a hot topic in domestic academic research.

The interpretation of China's *Xieshang minzhu* in this dimension cannot be isolated against this backdrop. That is, CCP reinforce the path of Chinese democracy by reaffirming *Xieshang* or *Xieshang minzhu* in Chinese politics.³⁴ This can also be found in appendix 1 with the high-frequency keyword like "people (*Renmin* 人民 9595)," which as the core concept in Chinese democracy with the doctrine of the "people are the masters of the state," despite criticized by its utopian idea and not yet widely recognized as a kind of democratic theory. Nevertheless, Chinese democracy does provide the theoretical support for the political consultation and deliberation, and also clearly state the relationship between the deliberative democracy and electoral democracy in China from this lens. Interpretations like "China model (*Zhongguo moshi* 中国模式)," "China Road (*Zhongguo daolu* 中国道路)"³⁵ that are presented in a seemingly more firmly permeable manner in the political discourse, strongly engaging the deliberation within. Simultaneously, "political consultation (*Zhengzhi xieshang* 政治协商)," "intra-party deliberation (*Zhengdang xieshang* 政党协商)," "political consultative conference (*Zhengxie* 政协)" as the high-frequency (sub) keywords also indicate China's basic political system, namely the political consultation system with the CPPCC as the main body. As Yan Jirong (2017) put it, "China's political consultation system will not regard

34 *Opinions of CCP Central Committee on Strengthening the Work of the People's Political Consultative Conference* stated that: "People exercise their rights through elections and voting, and also fully deliberations before major decisions, are two important forms of socialist democracy in China," which means that political consultation and deliberation are seen as an important form of democracy alongside with elections (voting) democracy. Yan Jirong, professor in Beijing University, also put that, in the modern China, CCP focuses on the democratization from "referendum" and elections to the free and equal debate and consultation.

35 On July 1, 2016, Xi Jinping clearly stated in his important speech at the 95th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of China that, "the whole party should ultimately adhere to the 'Four Confidences' of 'road confidence, theoretical confidence, institutional confidence, and cultural confidence.'" for the first time, juxtaposition the party-leadership as the core and the 'Four Confidences' as a whole.

the free elections, open party bans, military nationalization and separation of powers as the prerequisite and merely approach to advance China's democratization. Democracy is a thing that should be able to quickly reflect the will of people, namely, management performance is therefore, priority than democratic elections.³⁶

Sometimes, it may be unpersuasive and ironic about the official discourse "democracy with Chinese characteristics" or the other synonyms, within which the CCP disguised itself with an authoritarian rule through pseudo-democratic political reform. But interestingly, from a duplex perspective, Chinese authorities successfully doctrine its people with such preset democratic model to distinguish it with the Western democracy thus further highlight its priorities in a nonelectoral and less-noxious manner; also to note, the democratic conceptions among the Chinese people do provide the regime support, although this article does not engage the discussion on how Chinese people shape their ideas of democracy, or concretely, deliberative democracy, it turned to be, according to the arguments of He Baogang (2014) on Chinese conception of deliberation, deliberation is more like the moral codes that solving conflicts in a peaceable way from a historical and cultural perspective. This is also well explained by the interaction between the state and society in a nonofficial perspective through the deliberative approach.

Conclusion

The CCP faces great pressure when confronting the wave of democratization worldwide. At the same time, the fission and degradation of the late-developing state (socialist regime) after adopting the liberal democracy also strongly alert China to the need to find its path. Scholarship on China studies focuses on the democratic transformation and authoritarian resilience, which rarely size up China's political reforms in a non-Western perspective. The criticisms—namely, China's so-called democratic reforms are far from satisfying democratic demand, or, the extremely inconsistency between China's political reform and economic development—to some extent, may make sense. It does not necessarily lead to the legitimacy of China's "authoritarianism" through some short-term economic achievements and superficial political reforms. Thus, from this lens, using the term democracy to describe such ventures seems to let the Chinese government off too easily.

Anyway, rather than immerse in the conceptual disputes of deliberative democracy in Chinese context, we thus adopted the official description of

36 Yan Jirong (2017). Democracy: Is it elected or Deliberated? - On the value and enlightenment of deliberative democracy. Conference paper.

consultative democracy for further avoiding the semantic and rhetorical ambiguities. At the same time, contributions of this article are more likely to reinterpret the official discourse following the CCP's original intention rather than academic misreading by adopting semantic analysis within the Chinese language. Technical means like Word2 VEC, python further contribute to a more precise text analysis base on the preset corpus. In short, *Xieshang minzhu* is different from the Western deliberative democracy, nevertheless, in line with the current China's governmental innovation by calling for limited participation and consultation within the one-party rule. Second, amazing yet true, it was the authoritarian rules who feel the need to establish more thoroughgoing institutional design in the political reforms, which included the establishment of central and local consultative/deliberative institutions and the wildly preexisted democratic experimentations in the local. Finally, against the background of the Chinese style democracy, *Xieshang minzhu* itself, as well as other political discourses, therefore, would ultimately be an integral part within the Chinese socialism design and further serve for the CCP's legitimacy. Whether *Xieshang minzhu* can eventually become a driving force for China's truly democracy or an expedient choice for evading elections as a transformational option, it always provides a fresh non-Western-centered perspective for with both scholars and practitioners to further discuss the political envision of China.

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Appendix 1 Word Cloud Map and Numerical Quotients

Word Cloud Map in Chinese

Word Cloud Map in English

Graph of Chinese Word Frequency with Numerical Quotients

Note: The translation of each index of the abscissa is: democracy, Xieshang, development, socialist, institution, construction, people, state, society, politics, problem, reform, characteristic, Xi Jinping, system, leadership, mass, local, systematic, governance.

Appendix 2 Comparison Table of Chinese and English Word Frequency

Appendix 1 Comparison Table of Chinese and English Word Frequency

Chinese Key Words	No	English key words	No	Chinese Key Words	No	English key words	No
民主 Minzhu	21262	Political	4526	群众 Qunzhong	4135	System	1225
协商 Xieshang	20932	Public	4344	基层 Jiceng	3795	Regime	1210
发展 Fazhan	17412	Chinese	3588	体系 Tixi	3717	Participants	1200
社会主义 Shehuizhuyi	11608	Democracy	3397	治理 Zhili	3647	Politics	1181
制度 Zhidu	11075	Deliberation	3345	中国共产党 Zhongguo gongchandang	3461	Media	1147
建设 Jianshe	10224	Government	2939	形式 Xingshi	3083	Information	1138
人民 Renmin	9595	Party	2916	人民政协 Renmin zhengxie	3077	Internet	1137
国家 Guojia	8932	Social	2316	进行 Jinxing	2940	Level	1133
社会 Shehui	8754	Policy	2162	作用 Zuoyong	2906	Power	1114
政治 Zhengzhi	8551	State	1918	意见 Yijian	2844	Law	1071
问题 Wenti	5741	Local	1905	重大 Zhongda	2831	Discussion	1002
改革 Gaizhe	5632	Democratic	1500	保障 Baozhang	2767	Consultative	985
特色 Tese	5444	Authoritarian	1478	全国 Quanguo	2735	Process	952
习近平 Xi Jinping	5082	Governance	1452	政府 Zhengfu	2712	Citizens	948
机制 Jizhi	4718	Society	1256	基本 Jiben	2690	Economic	867
领导 Lingdao	4255	Participation	1242	思想 Sixiang	2671	Consultation	837
要求 Yaoqiu	2633	Rule	801	理论 Lilun	2250	Number	560
委员会 Weiyuanhui	2602	Reform	779	实施 Shishi	2250	Elections	538
历史 Lishi	2599	Institutions	778	作为 Zuowei	2488	Analysis	661
时代 Shidai	2593	Decision	768	建立 Jianli	2464	Civil	637
委员 Weiyuan	2574	Case	706	参与 Canyu	2454	Discourse	635
不断 Buduan	2518	Legitimacy	699	决定 Jueding	2445	Time	623
中央 Zhongyang	2503	Theory	670	提高 Tigao	2387	International	616

Appendix 2 Comparison Table of Chinese and English Word Correlation

Appendix 2 Comparison Table of Chinese and English Word Correlation

Word	Similarity	Word	Similarity	Word	Similarity	Word	Similarity
协商		Politics		事务	0.641609251499176	Discussion	0.8995268940925600
民主协商	0.8089141845703130	Troubled	0.918056668510440	直接参与	0.6348832845687870	Citizen	0.8835697770118710
含义	0.7068020701408390	Democratization	0.8979698419570920	集思广益	0.6341352462768560	Decision	0.8792120814323430
参在	0.7020663022995000	Modern	0.8977453708648680	流动	0.633746862411499	Concretely	0.8678337931633000
问计	0.698516309261322	Authoritarianism	0.8972874879837040	基层		Results	0.8595625162124630
恳谈	0.6975975036621090	Chinese	0.8943853378295900	农村基层	0.7411943078041080	Debate	0.8589524626731870
政治协商	0.6728807687759400	Contemporary	0.8924946188926700	直属单位	0.6840132474899290	Quality	0.8583760857582090

还权	0.6650855541229250	Politics	0.8865674138069150	村级	0.6666668653488160	State	
民主		Transition	0.88164353706665	社区	0.6605402827262880	Organizations	0.8911443948745730
自由民主	0.7239042520523070	Resilience	0.8791048526763920	高校	0.6557683944702150	Dominates	0.8696194887161260
民主协商	0.699310839176178	Chinese		社会		Intensifies	0.8693302869796750
含义	0.6693841218948360	Political	0.8943853378295900	次要矛盾	0.70363450050354	Reshaped	0.8481143712997440
代替	0.6643035411834720	History	0.8781710863113400	集体经济	0.66102910040180910	Refined	0.8456662893295290
政党政治	0.6631795167922970	Modern	0.8713786602020260	政局	0.6012859344482420	Reconfiguration	0.8441237211227420
论争	0.6594923138618470	World	0.8670737147331240	村级	0.5989202857017520	Exerted	0.8388341665267940
民主选举	0.6566796898841860	Contemporary	0.8652957081794740	民族团结	0.5977252721786500	Watchdogs	0.8375169038772580
发展		Reformed	0.8605055212974550	职业性	0.59515380859375	Participation	
布局	0.6825392246246340	Transition	0.8569412231445310	改革		Relevant	0.9934195280075070
上层建筑	0.6645612120628360	Democratization	0.8557011485099790	各项改革	0.6006082892417910	Decisions	0.9887282848358150
转型	0.6419936418533330	Democracy		体制改革	0.5904462337493900	Recruit	0.9877291917800900
制度		Authoritarianism	0.8976691961288450	改革方案	0.5679440498352050	Directly	0.986531556526180
顶层	0.6586638689041140	Democratic	0.8858753442764280	先行	0.5634280443191530	Makers	0.9865061640739440
制度性	0.593192994594574	Theories	0.881677508354187	便民利民	0.5542479753494260	Regime	
话语	0.5914607048034670	Governance	0.876510739326477	发展性	0.552341878414154	Regimes	0.9800976514816280
出谋划策	0.5803865194320680	Search	0.8716925978660580	领导		Legitimacy	0.9723701477050780
不断完善	0.5727893114089970	Representational	0.8714632391929630	党政领导	0.7945212125778200	Peripheries	0.9629878997802730
全过程	0.570304274559021	Practice	0.8691146373748780	大力支持	0.7663915753364560	Stemming	0.9494221806526180
管理制度	0.568493127822876	Theory	0.8681017160415650	领导核心	0.7478739023208620	Stabilize	0.9482384324073790
建设		Deliberation		不称职	0.7188001871109010	Precarious	0.9469283223152160
事业心	0.6145085096359250	Permitting	0.9235591888427730	管理权限	0.7130711674690250	Prolong	0.9407248497009280
创建活动	0.5990373492240910	Precursor	0.900804877281189	机制		Indoctrinate	0.9394563436508180
革命化	0.5978469252586370	Participation	0.9000261425971990	障碍	0.6824522018432620	Capacity	0.9361817836761480
物质文明	0.5966802835464480	Empirical	0.8940379619598390	财政管理	0.6783745288848880	Liberal	0.9330846071243290
人民政协		Sphere	0.8865604400634770	弊端	0.668919026851654	Media	
试金石	0.7864826917648320	Concept	0.8797206878662110	双重领导	0.6387591361999510	Internet	0.9272285103797910
统一战线	0.7859411835670470	Theoretical	0.8736478090286260	网络系统	0.6317857503890990	Social	0.8961520195007320

政协	0.7128431797027590	Discourse	0.87296462059021	保障机制	0.6247758865356450	Information	0.8778412342071530
中心环节	0.7117583751678470	Surviving	0.8670330047607420	指标体系	0.6204280257225040	Network	0.8620261549949650
多党合作	0.7084617018699650	Party		人民		Environmental	0.8553221225738530
政治协商	0.6972354054450990	Leadership	0.9166043996810910	各族人民	0.7423746585845950	Affairs	0.8402619361877440
参政党	0.6908050775527950	Communist	0.8983123302459720	依靠职工	0.6845540404319760	Security	0.8381603956222530
实打实	0.6881098747253420	Consults	0.8872755765914920	劳动者	0.6781016588211060	Ngos	0.8368843793869020
中国共产党		Intra	0.8717651963233950	密切联系	0.6722688078880310		
共产党	0.8240038156509400	Cpc	0.8638969659805300	党和人民	0.6714665293693540		
核心作用	0.7259838581085210	Personages	0.8632273674011230	劳动	0.6709963083267210		
抗日民族统一战线	0.7077821493148800	Prescribes	0.8571782112121580	农民	0.6610420942306520		
绝对	0.6976900100708010	Decaying	0.8556762933731080	保障人权	0.6514425277709960		
集中统一	0.6934772729873660	League	0.8511752486228940				
干部带头	0.6879535913467410	Government					
社会主义		Agencies	0.9279177188873290				
物质文明	0.7218929529190060	Commercialized	0.9238135814666750				
共同理想	0.7146956920623780	Officials	0.9151060581207280				
特色	0.7031674385070800	Publicize	0.9081112146377560				
理论体系	0.6979420781135560	Administrative	0.9021355509758000				
必由之路	0.6930296421051030	Levels	0.8990692496299740				
群众性	0.6925210952758790	Policies	0.8978558778762820				
参与		Policy					
参与度	0.7344537973403930	Consultation	0.9275849461555480				
获取	0.6573069095611570	Analysis	0.9166003465652470				
积极参与	0.6523089408874510	Process	0.9009864330291750				