

Engineering Interstate Democracy in a Historical Perspective

(Modernization in Europe, China, and Japan)

Draft lecture

Abstract

Modernization (democratization) is a complex historical phenomenon: It means industrialization, the emergence of a liberal capitalist world system, the necessary reforms of state and international organization, and the formation of an ideology of democratization and human rights. The lecture investigates Europe's future in a global context by comparing the democratization of the states and international relations in Europe with the similar processes in China and Japan in a historical perspective, trying to answer the following questions: How could China and Japan, both part of a Confucian tradition, be involved in the democratization of states and the international relations challenged by Europe in the 19th and 20th centuries? What were alternatives and necessary paths that moved the European, the Chinese, or the Japanese civilizations, and in which direction did they progress? How could China and Japan become modern without becoming Western? Could the European integration, Chinese and Japanese economic modernization contribute to the elaboration of alternative economic and legal international organization models for a peaceful international system through cooperation and mutual influences?

Contents

Introduction: Comparing Europe, China, and Japan

Values and principles of a Confucian moral state

The Western system of liberties corresponding to the state and international organization

Colonization, laissez-faire liberal market economic expansion, forced modernization in China and Japan

Japan facing modernization as a defense of independence – knowledge-based modernization

China facing modernization as a defense of independence – knowledge-based modernization

Crisis of the European system of liberties and the necessary reforms

New world organization: United Nations Organization

New Europe

New Japan

New China

Common future together in a reformed UN

Introduction: Comparing Europe, China, and Japan

This lecture deals with the modernization of the states and the international relations in the European, Chinese and Japanese civilizations in the 19th and 20th century. European civilization is based on ancient Greek political philosophy, Roman law, and Christian religious culture. It is characterized by diversity of states, cultures and languages. China belongs to the Confucian philosophical culture, and the Buddhist and Taoist religious culture. Japan adopted many Chinese traditions during the Han dynasty about 200 B.C. (about two thousand and two hundred years ago) because it regarded China as a developed civilization. Japanese adopted Confucianism as state philosophy. So, China and Japan are part of the Confucian tradition.

Modernization or democratization started with the industrial revolution in Europe (1760-1840). The Enlightenment and the democratic revolutionary process at the end of the 18th century and in the first half of the 19th century changed the feudal system, and gradually a liberal capitalist world system emerged. It demanded to reforming the state and the international organization, and to forming an ideology of democratization and human rights. This was a progressive development in Europe, the essence of which was (how Tocqueville expressed it) that the old regime was in losing power and the new economic forces gradually could gain power.¹ Gradually more and more people could participate in the organization of the society according to their own real needs and interests.

The modernization or democratization of the state and international relations was indicated by the different types of peace. Before the establishment of the European Union, according to the researches of Bruno Archidiacono, it was possible to differentiate among five types: 1. the hegemonic or hierarchical peace; 2. peace based on the equilibrium of forces of sovereign states; 3. peace based on political union or federal peace; 4. peace based on international law or confederal peace of sovereign states; and 5. directorial or oligarchic peace.² The sixth type of peace is represented by the European Union, a supranational peace based on the dichotomy of federalism versus confederalism (intergovernmentalism). Stella Ghervas, for example, believes that the European supranational organism

¹Alexis de Tocqueville (1990): *Democracy in America*. The Henry Reeve text as revisited by Francis Bowen, now further corrected and edited with introduction, editorial notes, and bibliographies by Phillips Bradley. vol. 1. Vintage Books Edition, A Division of Random House INC., New York, 6.

²Bruno Archidiacono (2011): *Cinq types de paix. Une histoire des plans de pacification perpétuelle (XVIIe – XXe siècles)*. Presses Universitaires de France, Paris, 397-399.

appeared to be a hybrid of federation and confederation in Kant's terms. However, it is "a stage on the road to peace – still far from the destination itself".³ Henry Kissinger, the well-known US diplomat believed that the world order continued to be dominated by the "Westphalian sovereignty", i.e. a peace based on the equilibrium of forces of sovereign states dominated by the great powers.⁴

China and Japan were involved in the state and international modernization in the 19th century after the Opium Wars (1839-1842, 1856-1860). They were closed countries at the beginning of modernization and did not want to cooperate with the Europeans. But they were open up by might: China was defeated by the British in the Opium Wars, and Japan by the fleet of the United States of America (Commodore Perry Expedition, 1852-1854). With the so called unequal treaties (Nanking, Tientsin, Kanagawa) raised the question how to answer the European challenge, and how to avoid colonization.

Among others, for example, the famous Japanese educator, Yukichi Fukuzawa tried to answer. As a member of the mission of the shogunate visited the United States, in 1860. Later, in 1862, as the official translator of the government, he was in France, England, Holland, Prussia, Russia, and Portugal. He realized that Europeans were industrial, commercial, business oriented, inventive, enterprising and free thinking. In comparison to them Japanese were agrarian and semi-developed.⁵

He raised the questions: How could Europeans become modern? Why did Japanese and Chinese remain semi-developed? How could the Japanese also become modern?

He discovered that the secret of European modernity was diversity (different state forms, different cultures, languages), pluralism, discussions, differences in meaning, and fight for freedom.⁶ There was not such kind of progressive development in Japan. Japanese lived according to thousand years old Confucian traditions. There was no change inside the caste system, and this is why they remained semi-developed.⁷

Fukuzawa could discover that the most important basic difference between the

³Stella Ghervas (2021): *Conquering Peace from the Enlightenment to the European Union*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts & London, 283, 347.

⁴Henry Kissinger (2023): *L'ordre du monde*. Pluriel, Paris, 33.

⁵Japanese, as semi-developed civilization, was agrarian. Japanese used book learning based on Confucian classics, like the Chinese, and did not learn practical things. They knew how to cultivate the old, but not how to improve it. They were slaves of customs. Yukichi Fukuzawa (2008): *Western Civilization as our Goal*. In: *An Outline of a Theory of Civilization*. Columbia University Press, New York, 18.

⁶Yukichi Fukuzawa (2008): *The Origins of the Western Civilization*. In: *An Outline of a Theory of Civilization*. Columbia University Press, New York, 161.

⁷Yukichi Fukuzawa (2008): *The Origins of the Japanese Civilization*. In: *An Outline of a Theory of Civilization*. Columbia University Press, New York, 175.

European and the Chinese Confucian state organization was that the European was based on the system of liberties, and the Chinese and Japanese on Confucian moral principles and values. But in both civilizations there was present the fight against absolute, unlimited rule, and the fight for humanization of power. There was also present the idea of universal peace. But the idea of liberty was a Western influence in China and Japan.

Values and principles of a Confucian moral state

The Chinese Confucian state was based on the Confucian moral principles. Confucius lived two and half thousand years ago, and his teachings are respected even today. These principles are: ancestor worship, filial piety, learning, education, self-perfection, virtue, moral, virtuous ruler and government.⁸

Imperial Chinese Government

The imperial Chinese government was a centralized order with the emperor and central government on the top. Beneath of the central government there were the provincial governments, divided into districts, prefectures, and villages and townships which had autonomy. The Emperor had the Mandate of Heaven: he represented the people in the Heaven, but his power was restricted by the Confucian ethics.

There were two institutions which were different from the European governmental system. These were the civil service examination (state officials were selected by examination testing them on Confucian classics); and the Censorate (censors controlled the emperor and the governmental officials in all level of the state regarding the correct usage of the Confucian principles). The independent Han Lin Academy interpreted Chinese classics, and nominated the censors. Social stability was based on the Confucian moral principles.⁹

It is very interesting that the famous Chinese Confucian modernizers, K'ang Yu-wei, Sun Yat-sen and Deng Xiaoping, when they were forced to modernize the old governmental and political system, parallel the adoption of the European representative parliamentary system, civic and fundamental rights, wanted to safeguard the Confucian moral principles, the civil service examination, and the Censorate, in a modernized form.

The Western system of liberties corresponding to the state and international organization

The most important internal and external principles of the Western system of liberties were the following:

Representative Parliament created by general elections, elected by the people

⁸Confucius (2000): *The Analects*. Translated with an Introduction and Notes by Raymond Dawson. Oxford University Press, New York

⁹T'ang Leang-Li (1927): *China in Revolt. How a Civilization Became a Nation*. Noel Douglas, London, 21-37.

for a specific length of time

The separation of powers

Executive branch that is either responsible to the Parliament, or subject to popular recall

Judiciary power independent of the executive branch

Free press

Freedom of conscience, thinking, assembly and other civic rights

Extensive local autonomy

This is how István Bibó formulated the Western system of liberties in his famous essay entitled *Reflections on the Social Development of Europe (1971-1972)*.¹⁰

In the field of international policy the aim was to establish democracy among states based on the system of liberties.

To democracy and popular sovereignty corresponding idea was personal federalism. It meant a from below association policy of persons and (by the persons created) states in all those fields of life which demanded common organization, based on the transfer of common fields toward larger, provincial, state, and regional units directed by the principle of multilevelism and subsidiarity. (Althusius discovered democracy, popular sovereignty and federalism in the 17th century).¹¹ The American Founding Fathers summarized the ideas of the Enlightenment on democratic state and international organization. As a result they could realize the idea of Montesquieu on a federal republic in the Constitution of the US (1787). Kant's confederalism was based on the sovereignty of democratic republican states, international law and legal harmonization.¹²

The figure of the peaceful world federation

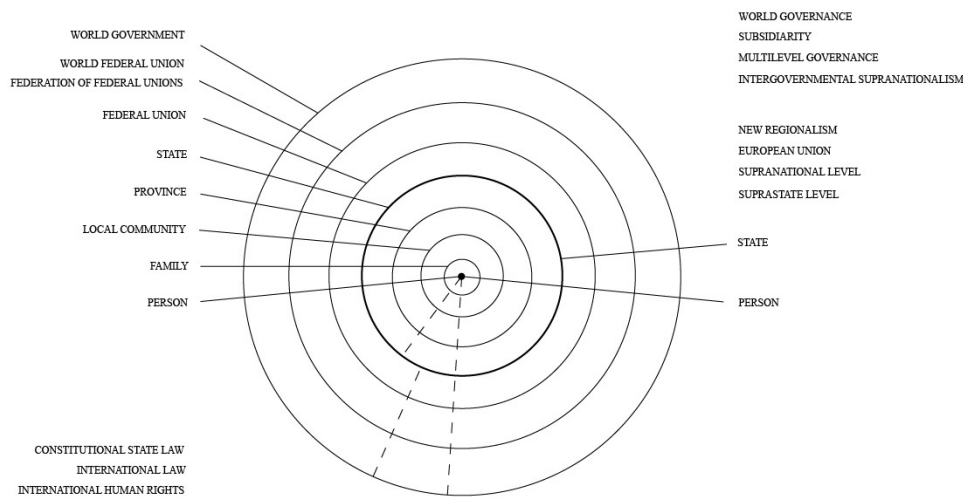
In the centre there are the free and autonomous persons (families). They create different associations in all those fields of life which they cannot manage alone, by transferring these common fields toward larger units to organize them: local community, province and state. So could develop around the persons different circles, different levels of cooperation. The state is the first level which is self-supporting and sovereign. States could also continue this association policy and

¹⁰István Bibó (1991): *Reflections on the Social Development of Europe (1971-1972)*. In: *Democracy, Revolution, Self-determination*. Selected Writings. Edited by Károly Nagy. Translation by András Boros-Kazai. Atlantic Research and Publications, Highland Lakes, Distributed by Columbia University Press, New York, 467.

¹¹Johannes Althusius (1995): *Politica*. Liberty Fund Inc. Indianapolis, Indiana, 89-90.

¹²The law of nations shall be founded on a federation of free states as a league of peace (foedus pacificum). It differed from a simple *peace treaty* (*pactum pacis*) because it could establish perpetual peace.

transfer to the supra-state (supranational) level common (exclusive) fields, and so create regional unions, with federal governments (like USA, Switzerland), or with open governance of federal and intergovernmental multilevel parts in one institutional system like in the case of the EU. The essential thing is multilevelism and the sharing of state (national) sovereignty based on subsidiarity in all those fields where common management is necessary, and remain autonomous in all other fields (practicing intergovernmental cooperation).



Development of the Western system of liberties

The development of the Western or European system of liberties and the corresponding international law had an impressive period during the Enlightenment in the 18th century, and in the first half of the 19th century parallel the emergence of the free market capitalism changing the feudal system. But its development slowed down in the second half of the 19th century with the strengthening of nationalism and colonial expansion. After the First World War started a serious crisis which led to the formation of totalitarian states (fascism, national socialism, communism).

The most important well known events of the development of the system of liberties were: the English Magna Carta, 1215 (barons received rights from the king); the English Glorious Revolution, 1688 (the constitutional monarchy was established eliminating absolutism); the Old Swiss Federation, 1291, the Union of

Utrecht, 1579 of the Dutch provinces; the American Revolution, the Declaration of Independence, 1776, and the Constitution of the United States of America, 1787 (federal republic under president; abolishing feudalism; the first realization of popular sovereignty and democracy); the French Revolution, 1789-1799 (unitary nation state) and the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen, 1789 (a human civil right document ensuring rights from discrimination, right to legal defense; right to safety; individual rights, like privacy and the freedom of thought, speech, press, assembly, movement and religion); Swiss Confederation, 1848 (federal republic under federal government). Among these events the Constitution of the Swiss Confederation was the most successful in establishing democracy and popular sovereignty together with the Constitution of the United States of America, 1787. They served as examples to follow when it was necessary to oppose, or fight against absolutist or totalitarian tendencies of state organization, against conquering and colonization, and against wars and world wars. These famous events resulted in a federalist and confederalist peace system based on international law in opposition to the hegemonic, the balance of power and the directorial oligarchic peaces. The members of the Paneuropean Movements and the Resistance Movement, for example, were for federalism in Europe, and democratic federalist functionalism became the driving force of the European integration after the Second World War.

Japanese and Chinese modernizers also used the American and Swiss federal republics as examples, first of all against colonization, in defense of independence; to modernize the old agrarian system, and to oppose the imperialist capitalist system (China).

One can say, that in the 19th century the new democratic forces and the old feudal forces pursuing power centralization, were in struggle against each other for power. The new forces of the emerging liberal capitalist system wanted to participate in power, the old forces did not want to lose power. In these circumstances the democratic reforms were not realized consequently in the different European states, and the democratization enthusiasm slowed down. Regarding modernization the less successful state reforms were the establishment of the Italian Kingdom, and the German Empire, the lifework of Bismarck. In their cases states - requiring a federalist modernization - were united by using wars under authoritarian centralized monarchical governments. They used falsely and two faced the democratic ideas. Sun Yat-sen, for example, criticized Bismarck for this.

Colonization, laissez-faire liberal market economic expansion, forced modernization in China and Japan

Liberal capitalism merged with the old regime, and created a controversial European nation state and national empire system. On the one side it represented the idea of liberty, democracy and human rights, and on the other side it was expansionist, pursued colonization and laissez-faire liberal market capitalist

expansion. All this resulted in an ideological confusion.

The colonial expansion of the liberal capitalist European great powers was in contradiction to the system of liberties and international law. European colonial powers did not have a colonization policy corresponding to the system of liberties. Colonization happened *laissez-faire*, every means were used, might, wars, *laissez-faire* free-market expansion, irresponsible legal agreements. So, in the first phase of globalization a fictive world economy emerged parallel with a centre-periphery system of rich and poor countries.

To legitimate colonization Europeans used the stereotype of civilizational mission, namely to civilize the less modern, backward people. It was untrue, the more racist.

So could happen that China, how Sun Yat-sen expressed it, became not only a semi-colony, but a “hypo-colony”: not a colony of one nation but of all; not the slave of one country but of all.¹³

The cartoon shows well what did happen with China: Queen Victoria, Wilhelm II, Nicolas II, the representative of the French republic and a samurai divide China after the country was defeated by the British in the Opium Wars, and had to sign the unequal treaties. Unequal treaties gave to the European colonial powers commercial advantages and concessions (extraterritoriality).¹⁴ So they could create commercial bases from where they could easily colonize China. The most favored nation clause meant that all the rights which the Chinese had conceded to one foreign state would be automatically ensured to the other states, too, in the treaties.

The Westerners profited from the cultural and diplomatic differences between the Western world and China. The traditional Chinese kowtow ritual and the tolerant tribute system and the modern Western colonization struggled with each other. The kowtow ritual symbolically represented China as the centre of the world. The representatives of the tributary states and of the Western states had to kneel before the emperor and touch the ground with their heads, symbolically expressing that they recognized the superior power of the emperor. The tributary system was a loose network of states around China acknowledging Chinese hegemonic rule based on kowtow ritual. The tributary states were autonomous and almost in all cases could act independently.

Chinese did not recognize the equal rights of foreign states and they wanted to remain separated from the foreigners. Accepting the unequal treaties Chinese politicians did not realize that they gradually transferred their sovereign rights to

¹³“China is not the colony of one nation but of all, and we are not the slaves of one country but of all. I think we ought to be called a “hypo-colony”. Sun Yat-sen (ca. 1960): *The three Principles of the People San Min Chu I* by Dr. Sun Yat-sen. In: Sun Yat-sen – Chiang Kai-shek (ca. 1960): *The three Principles of the People San Min Chu I* by Dr. Sun Yat-sen with two Supplementary Chapters 1. National Fecundity, Social Welfare and Education 2. Health and Happiness by President Chiang Kai-shek. China Publishing CO. Taipei, Taiwan, Republic of China, 10.

¹⁴An area within one country that is administered by another.

the Westerners who could act following their interests supported by arms.

China's and Japan's independence was strongly challenged by the European powers after the Opium Wars. But the Japanese learned from all those what happened with China.

The question arose, what to do. How to defend independence?

Japan facing modernization as a defense of independence – knowledge-based modernization

Yukichi Fukuzawa

The answer was given by Yukichi Fukuzawa (1835-1911), who strongly criticized and rejected the behavior of the Chinese towards the conquering Europeans. In his view Chinese did not dare to reform the Confucian system; they did not regard Europeans civilized because of their behavior during the Opium Wars, and because of they signed unequal treaties.

Fukuzawa launched the “Encouragement of Learning”, which was a knowledge based modernization project. The aims were: to change the Confucian teaching material and teach people useful knowledge (economy, military technic, technology, finances, history); to educate people how to become self-conscious with self-respect and independent mind.

His opinion was that Japan had to join the Western world. He criticized Chinese because they could not defend the independence of the country, and let the foreigners to colonize it.

He regarded civilization as an open-ended process, and he believed that it was necessary to join the most developed. In the past the Chinese civilization was the most developed and Japan joined. But in his age the European became the most developed, so it was necessary to join the European civilization by safeguarding Japanese culture, and saying good-bye to Asia.¹⁵

He was for a liberal reform of Japan continuing the example of the English constitutional monarchy; and advocated the introduction of capitalism, and capitalist enterprises. He himself was a successful educational entrepreneur, as the founder of the Keio University, in Tokyo.

Meiji Reform (1868-1912)

Japan successfully could realize the modernization of the country through the Meiji Reform (1868-1912), could avoid colonization and achieved the revision of the unequal treaties. In 1868, the imperial rule was restored, and Emperor Meiji

¹⁵Yukichi Fukuzawa (2008): *Plaidoyer pour la modernité*. Introduction aux oeuvres completes. CNRS Éditions, Paris, 43; Fukuzawa Yukichi: “Datsu-a Ron” (On Saying Good-bye to Asia) reprinted in Takeuchi Yoshimi (ed.) (1963): *Asia Shugi (Asianism)* Gendai Nihon Shiso Taikō (Great Compilation of Modern Japanese Thought). vol. 8. Chikuma Shobo, Tokyo, 38-40. In: David J. Lu (1997): *Japan: A Documentary History*. M. E. Sharpe Inc., New York, 351.

started the reforms of the country with the liberal aims of the Charter Oath.¹⁶ Among them the most important were: establishing deliberative assemblies; organizing public discussions; abolishing the caste system and the evil customs of the past; seeking knowledge all over the world.

But, later, the Meiji Reform became conservative. The Imperial Rescript on Education, which was read and taught in schools, represented well this change. It interpreted the Confucian principles in a conservative way. The fundamental purpose of education was to cultivate virtues, especially loyalty and filial piety, and to respect the emperor.¹⁷ So, the Japanese could not become free-thinkers, how Fukuzawa planned.

The Meiji Constitution of 1899

The Constitution of 1889 represented a constitutional monarchy with absolutist tendencies. The emperor was the sovereign, and the people his subject. There was established a two chamber parliament (following the English example): the House of Representatives was elected by the people by direct male suffrage with property qualification. The House of Peers, the members of which were the nobility, showed that feudal ranks were not abolished. The fundamental rights and duties of the subjects were involved.

As a result of the Meiji modernization Japan became part of the developing global world, dominated by the Western powers, as a conservative authoritarian state following the Prussian example, and establishing an English type parliament. In Japan Bismarck was highly appreciated who advised the Iwakura mission (1871-1873) not to believe the Europeans because they used the system of liberties very ambiguously, double-faced, falsely, and they pursued colonization. The message was, that it would be better to strengthen Japanese military force.¹⁸

China facing modernization as a defense of independence – knowledge-based modernization

K'ang Yu-wei

It was K'ang Yu-wei (1858-1927), Confucian reformer, who started the reform of China in 1898, in his audience by the Emperor. He continued the Japanese example of knowledge-based modernization of China.

He launched the education reform after a long thinking about whether is it possible to reform the thousand years old Confucian society. He had written an

¹⁶The Charter Oath (of the Meiji Restoration), 1868. In: David J. Lu (1997): *Japan a Documentary History*. M. E. Sharpe Inc., New York, 308;

¹⁷It requested people to advance public good, promote common interests; and always respect the Constitution. In the case of emergency people had to offer themselves courageously to the State.

¹⁸Kume Kunitake (2009): *Japan Rising. The Iwakura Embassy to the USA and Europe 1871-1873*. Compiled by Kume Kunitake. Edited by Chushichi Tsuzuki and Jules Yung. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 306-307.

article, in which he proved that Confucius was also a reformer, therefore it was possible to reform Confucianism.

In 1898, he proposed the reform of the education material of the examination system based on Confucian classics (eight-legged essay), and to concentrate on useful knowledge (economy, military technic, finances) in teaching.

He was for a titular monarchical republic, in which the republic was the essential, the monarch was not important, but symbolized national unity.

He was for federalism, and had written a Utopia¹⁹ about the universal peace (three phases: disorder, rising peace, universal peace)

SunYat-sen, Republic of China (1912-1949), Five power government

In China not the monarchical reform project of K'ang but the republican revolutionary reform of Sun Yat-sen (1860-1925) could win, in 1912.²⁰ Sun was a revolutionary, and he is honored as the father of the Republic of China. His political philosophy was represented in the *Three Principles of the People* (nationalism, democracy, livelihood).²¹ The national principle had three components: national unity based on families and clans; Confucian moral principles; introducing useful Western knowledge. Democracy meant expert government, serving people, elected through the civil service examination. He was for a state capitalist system serving the livelihood of the people.

Sun believed that the Western democracy project was not successful in establishing popular sovereignty. So, he wanted to continue the Western project and establish real popular sovereignty in China under expert government.

He was for federalism, because he believed, that popular sovereignty could be established only in a federalist system. He regarded the United States and Switzerland as successful federal states, and criticized Bismarck. In his view Switzerland was a successful democracy.

As an alternative to the Western three power constitution he proposed a five power (quintuple power) constitution in which he involved the old Confucian moral rules, the civil service examination, and the censorship. To the government belonged the legislative, executive, judiciary, civil service examination and censorship; this showed that he was for an expert government and against

¹⁹K'ang Yu-wei (1958): *Ta T'ung Shu* (The Book of Universal Commonwealth or Book of Great Unity) The One-World Philosophy of K'ang Yu-wei. Translated from the Chinese with introduction and notes by Laurence G. Thompson. George Unwin LTD, London

²⁰The Xinhai Revolution overthrow the Qing dynasty in 1912. Sun Yat-sen was the founder and the first president of the Republic of China, founded in 1912.

²¹Sun Yat-sen (ca. 1960): The three Principles of the People San Min Chu I by Dr. Sun Yat-sen. In: Sun Yat-sen – Chiang Kai-shek (ca. 1960): *The three Principles of the People San Min Chu I* by Dr. Sun Yat-sen with two Supplementary Chapters: 1. National Fecundity, Social Welfare and Education 2. Health and Happiness by President Chiang Kai-shek. China Publishing CO. Taipei, Taiwan, Republic of China, 1-212.

corruption through moral control. To the people belonged suffrage, recall, initiative and referendum.²²

Crisis of the European system of liberties and the necessary reforms

At the end of the 19th century and in the beginning of the 20th century the competition for colonies and the partition of the world, the laissez-faire market expansion and the corrupt business mentality strengthened. All these caused the First World War, the first world economic crisis, and the Second World War. In Europe the system of liberties and the development of international law came to a deep crisis. Nationalism and extreme nationalism, in some European countries totalitarian fascist and national socialist states showed the crisis. Communists opposed capitalism, and were for socialism based on the common propriety of the people under the centralized leadership of the Communist Party. People did not know what to do. Instead of protecting democracy, federalism, and the fight for rights based on the Western system of liberties, they protected nationalism, chauvinism, racial nationalism, and revolted against liberal democracy. The question arises, why did they do this?

Between the two world wars the League of Nations (1920), the Paneuropean Movement, the Briand Memorandum (1930), and the Resistance Movement showed the way out of the crisis of the Western system of liberties toward democracy. The famous economist, Keynes warned to end laissez-faire, and start international economic cooperation through functional coordinating institutions following federalist methods. The emphasis was placed on the importance of international organization and functionalist economic coordination.²³ Functionalist economic supranational cooperation and the federalist state organization of the United States and Switzerland became the examples to follow. The Ventotene Manifesto (1941) of the Italian Anti-Fascists, Spinelli and Rossi, emphasized the necessity of a new start of European state and international organization, and called for a federation in Europe and in the world.

New world organization: United Nations Organization

After the Second World War the aim was to restore the democratic perspectives of global world economy and policy which was seriously damaged during colonization. The model of personal federalism and peaceful world federation revived and showed the way towards reforms. The United Nations was established in 1945 as an intergovernmental world organization, and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was declared in 1948. It rejected nationalism, racism and slavery (colonization). But the Security Council continued the

²²Sun Yat-sen (ca. 1960): The three Principles of the People San Min Chu I by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, 145-149.

²³In the field of economic crisis management the New Deals Reforms of the president of the United States of America, Roosevelt, in the 1930's (1933-36), manifested in a series of social programs, public work projects, financial reforms and regulations. At the same time he called the businessman for moral renewal.

directorial oligarchic system of the great powers having veto right. Its main role was to maintain international peace and security through peacekeeping power and sanctions. The novelty in the UN system was the involving functionalism in economic, financial and cultural coordination among the sovereign member states through intergovernmental independent specialized agencies. These agencies worked with the UN through the Economic and Social Council at intergovernmental level. UN played an important role in decolonization.

New Europe

Parallel the establishment of the UN, the European states wanted to establish a European union as the regional unit of the UN. The New Europe started with federalist aims following the model of personal federalism and the peaceful world federation. After so many suffering during the Second World War personalist federalism showed the way toward peace. The Congress of Europe in The Hague, in 1948 sympathized with the personalist federalist aim as a gradual process, but the emphasis was on functionalist intergovernmental economic cooperation among states. The first step was the creation of intergovernmental cooperation through a transnational functional coordinating assembly above the states, in harmony with the UN intergovernmental idea. In opposition to the intergovernmentalist functionalists the federalist functionalists represented the driving force of the functionalist integration process using the Monnet-method and later the principle of subsidiarity and multilevelism.

In the reconstruction of Europe the American aid policy played an important, but controversial, role from the point of view of a federal renewal because it strengthened intergovernmentalism and weakened the federalist forces. EU as a federalist defense union could not be established because of the NATO and the lack of a common foreign and security policy.

During the history of European integration process a federal and intergovernmental functionalist union of the member states was established, in one institutional structure, based on multilevelism and subsidiarity, and European law by the Treaty of Lisbon (2007). Through multilevelism and subsidiarity EU could realize the division of sovereignty by sharing of common competences on different levels. EU has exclusive, shared and supporting competences. To the exclusive competences of the union belong the customs union, monetary policy, and common commercial policy. To the shared competences, among others, the internal market, social policy, cohesion policy, environment and transport; to the supporting competences culture, education, tourism.

The EU is a new type peace union combining federalist and confederalist functionalist elements and institutions open to further democratization.

New Japan

After the Second World War, when a new world policy started, Japan and China had to continue to fight for independence.

Japan being the defeated member of the Axis powers (Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis) pursued aggressive expansionist policy in East Asia. It was occupied by the Allied forces between 1946 and 1952. The country was democratized with American assistance. With the new Constitution of 1946, Japan became a constitutional democratic state. The emperor was the symbol of the national unity. People enjoyed fundamental rights. Japan's state and international principles became similar to the European's. So, Japan could built up good relationship with the developing EU. Japan became a world economic power, and a high tech power. The country is modern but not Western. Hierarchy and tradition could survive.

New China

In China history did not realize neither the vision of K'ang nor the vision of Sun Yat-sen. The republican period from 1912 until 1949 was the period of disorder and anarchy from which the war lords profited. But the Communists defeated the Nationalists (Kuomintang) in 1949. China became a Communist country influenced by the one party government of the Stalinist Soviet Union and led by Mao Zedong thought. Mao Zedong could unify China under his rule in 1949. The People's Republic of China was established aiming to build up socialism (a New Democracy of the workers and peasants) and not liberal capitalism. With this different social organization China became independent, having a different political system, opposing liberal capitalism. In this way Mao Zedong could restore the self-respect of Chinese which was damaged by the Western imperialism. But under his personal cult the period of disorders did not end in China. Under the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (1966-1976), aiming to eliminate capitalism, bourgeois and traditional elements of the Chinese society (including Confucianism), millions were persecuted.²⁴ The Chinese historical and cultural values were seriously damaged.

After Mao's death, in 1972, a Confucian wiseman, Deng Xiaoping, as a paramount leader, started the reform of China. He gradually dismantled the Maoist policy, restored Confucianism, and followed in Sun Yat-sen's footsteps. He was for state socialism with Chinese characteristics, more precisely for socialist ideology with free enterprise. He emphasized that China must take its own road, must be stable and avoid disorder caused by liberalism.²⁵ Therefore instead of

²⁴Deng Xiao-ping was not favored by Mao Zedong because of his economic policy, and he was purged twice during the Cultural Revolution.

²⁵Deng Xiaoping: Opening Speech at the Twelfth National Congress of the CPC. September 1, 1982. In: Deng Xiaoping (1984): *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping (1975-1982)*, Central Committee of the Communist Party of China for the Compilation and Translation of Works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. Foreign Language Press, Beijing, 395-396; Deng Xiaoping: Taking a Clear-Cut Stand Against Bourgeois Liberalisation. Speech to the leading members of the Chinese Communist party's Central Committee on December 30, 1986. In: Orville Schell – David Shambaugh (eds.) (1999): *China Reader. The Reform Era*. Vintage Books, Division of Random House Inc., New York, 182-185.

liberalism democratic centralism was accepted. The novelty of Deng's policy was that he allowed limited private economic activity, and also foreign participation in the economy.

According to the 1982 Constitution, China was a one party unitary multinational socialist state.²⁶ It had a socialist economy under ownership by the whole people. The Constitution represented a power pyramid, but the Communist Party was subordinated to the Constitution. Disorder was avoided by democratic centralism. The Constitution involved the limited usage of human rights to the right to criticize.

On the whole, the People's Republic of China had adopted many things from the Western civilization, among them the representative parliamentary system, fundamental rights, Western knowledge, and the economic and financial methods. But it had different principles from the Western democracies, namely the common ownership by the people; the one party rule and the lack of pluralism; democratic centralism, and the limited usage of human rights. It worked like a huge trust (of the Chinese people) under the leadership of the National People's Congress, - the Communist Party was not mentioned in the Constitution.

The question arises, whether does China represent a transitional model toward the European democracy and economy, or is it an original model, a kind of Sinocracy, or a Confucian democracy involving the characteristics of the Chinese civilization.

The question also arises, whether could the power pyramid structure of the Chinese state be changed into a from below federalist system, in a long run.

The most important question, however, whether could the European and the Chinese civilization complete each other in the future, and live in peace together.

Common future together in a reformed United Nations

There is one place where the European states, the EU, Japan, and China are together, and this is the United Nations. Japan is very active in the UN. The People's Republic of China would like to manage international policy of the global world in the framework of the UN. EU is represented in the UN by its member states, because it has no legal personality. So, EU, as a regional union, could have only an observer status. China and Japan also belong to a regional union, namely the Association of the South-East Asian Nations +3 (China, Japan and South Korea). EU has a federal and confederal multilevel structure, ASEAN has intergovernmental structure with coordinating agencies on the national and the ASEAN level.

The question arises, how the regional unions could be placed in the UN's structure?

²⁶The Constitution of the People's Republic of China, 1982, Revised in 1988, 1993, 1999, 2004. Constitute, https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/China_2018

The democratization of the state system of the global world needs effective international organizations. So, it needs an effective UN, and not by the great powers paralyzed directorial and oligarchic Security Council. Therefore it would be necessary that the Security Council reject and transcend the directorial oligarchic great power system with veto right. It should be reorganized on federalist bases of equal states organizing and directing the peacekeeping force, and the arbitration between the states with the right of sanctions.

The reform of the UN could start, for example, by the reform of the UN's Economic and Social Council toward federalist functionalist multilevelism based on subsidiarity. The EU is a good example for this.²⁷ It means that the governance of those fields which are most touched by globalisation – economy, finances, trade, communication, environmental protection, protection against epidemics, migration – should be organized following the principle of multilevel governance: it means that all those fields representing global interest should be transferred to above state level institutions. The UN special agencies (among them the IMF, the World Bank, and the WTO as related organization) should be reorganized according to multilevelism (according to a multilevel world organizational structure). For example, they should become part of the exclusive competences of the Economic and Social Council. All these would be necessary because the democratization of economic globalization needs more deep and wide international economic and political coordination than the UN represents.

The reorganized functionalist federalist Economic and Social Council and the federalist Security Council should start a new-type parliamentary world system of people, states and continental regions organized by bottom-up personalist federalist means.

To conclude, in a long run, Europe's (EU's) future is imaginable as a regional part of a world federal union regarding its exclusive competences; China's future is imaginable as a member of an East Asian (Far East) region which is regional part of a world federal union; and Japan's future is imaginable as a member of an East Asian (Far East) region which is regional part of a world federal union. This is how the period of rising peace could develop toward universal peace in a global world.

Europe's, China's and Japan's future, in a global world is to continue on the way of the idea of personal federalist functionalist regionalism towards a peaceful world federation.

²⁷Jürgen Habermas (2004): Hat die Konstitutionalisierung des Völkerrechts noch eine Chance? In: Jürgen Habermas (2004): *Der gespaltene Westen*. Suhrkamp, Frankfurt am Main, 133-135, 171, 178.