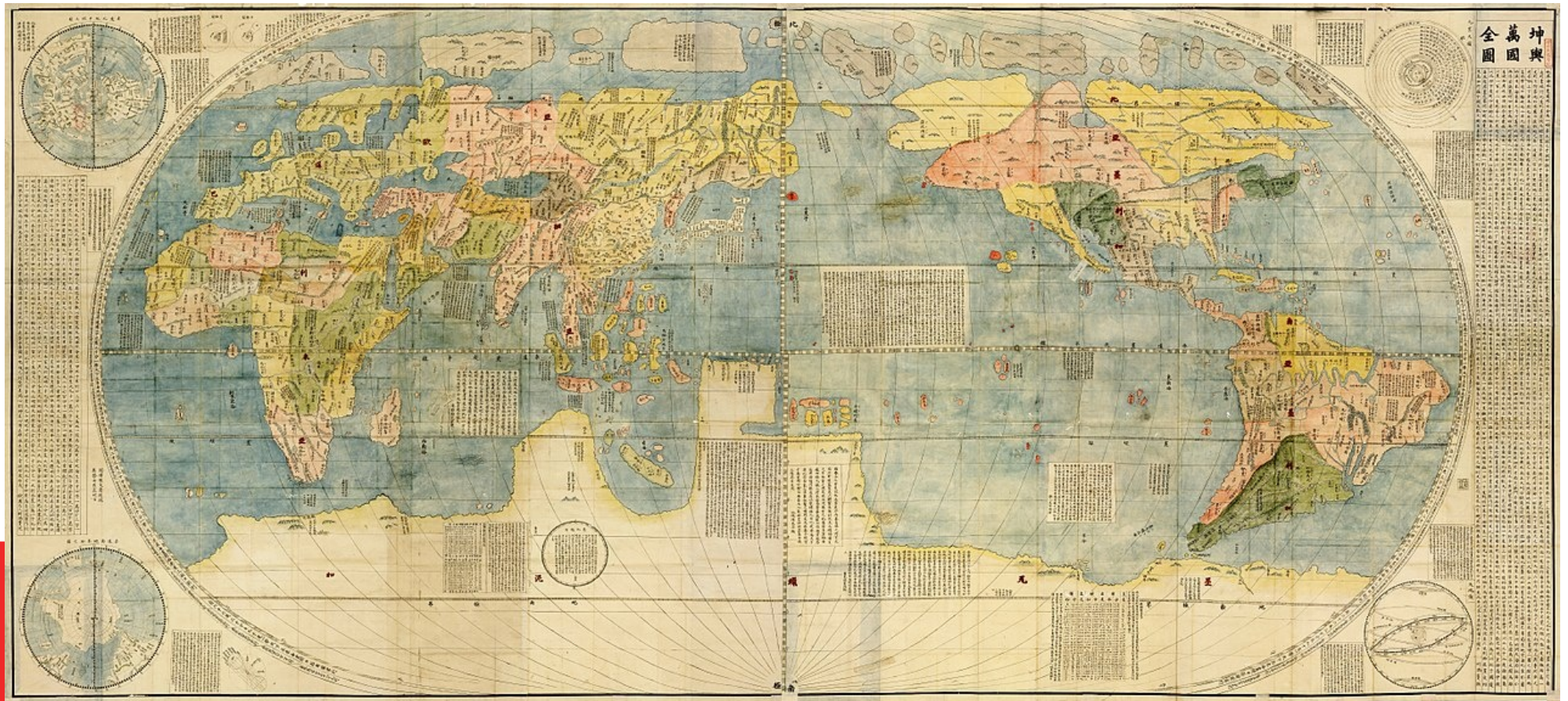




Engineering Interstate Democracy in a Historical Perspective (Modernization in Europe, China, and Japan)

Éva Bóka



Copy of the 1602 map Kunyu Wanguo Quantu by Matteo Ricci at the request of Emperor Wanli



Van Schagen's map of the world, 1689 World map – Amsterdam

Modernization

- Industrialization
- The emergence of a liberal capitalist world system
- The necessary reforms of state and international organization
- The formation of an ideology of democratization and human rights

Six type of peace in interstate relations

- 1. Hegemonic or hierarchical peace (king, monarch)
- 2. Balance of power of sovereign states (“Westphalian sovereignty”)
- 3. Political union or federal peace (USA, Switzerland)
- 4. Confederal peace of sovereign states based on international law (Kant)
- 5. Directorial or oligarchic peace (Vienna system, UN)
- 6. Supranational, federalist versus confederalist (EU)



Yukichi Fukuzawa (1835-1901)



Comparing East Asia and Europe

- Yukichi Fukuzawa (1835-1901)
- An Outline of a Theory of Civilization, 1875
- Europe - Free thinking; difference of meaning; discussions; diversity; pluralism; fight for freedom; system of liberties
- Japan - No free thinking, no discussions; caste system; stagnation
- Confucian moral, humanization of power




Confucius (551BC – 479BC)



Values and principles of a Confucian moral state

- Ancestor worship
- Filial piety
- Learning, education
- Self-perfectionism, cultivation of person
- Virtue, moral
- Ritual
- Virtuous ruler and government
- Patriarchal state based on moral and humanity
- Discussions about the reformation of Confucianism



IMPERIAL CHINESE GOUVERNEMENT (Ming Dynasty, 1368-1644)

EMPEROR (Mandate of Heaven: representative of Heaven to the people)
SECRETARIAT

SIX MINISTRIES

Ministry of Personnel, Ministry of Revenue, Ministry of Rites, Ministry of War
Ministry of Justice, Ministry of Work

CENSORATE (censors controlled the behavior of the emperor, and of the officials)

CIVIL SERVICE EXAMINATION

(State officials were selected by examination, testing them on Confucian classics)

HANLIN ACADEMY

(Elite group of scholars interpreting the Chinese classics)

Provinces

Province

Districts

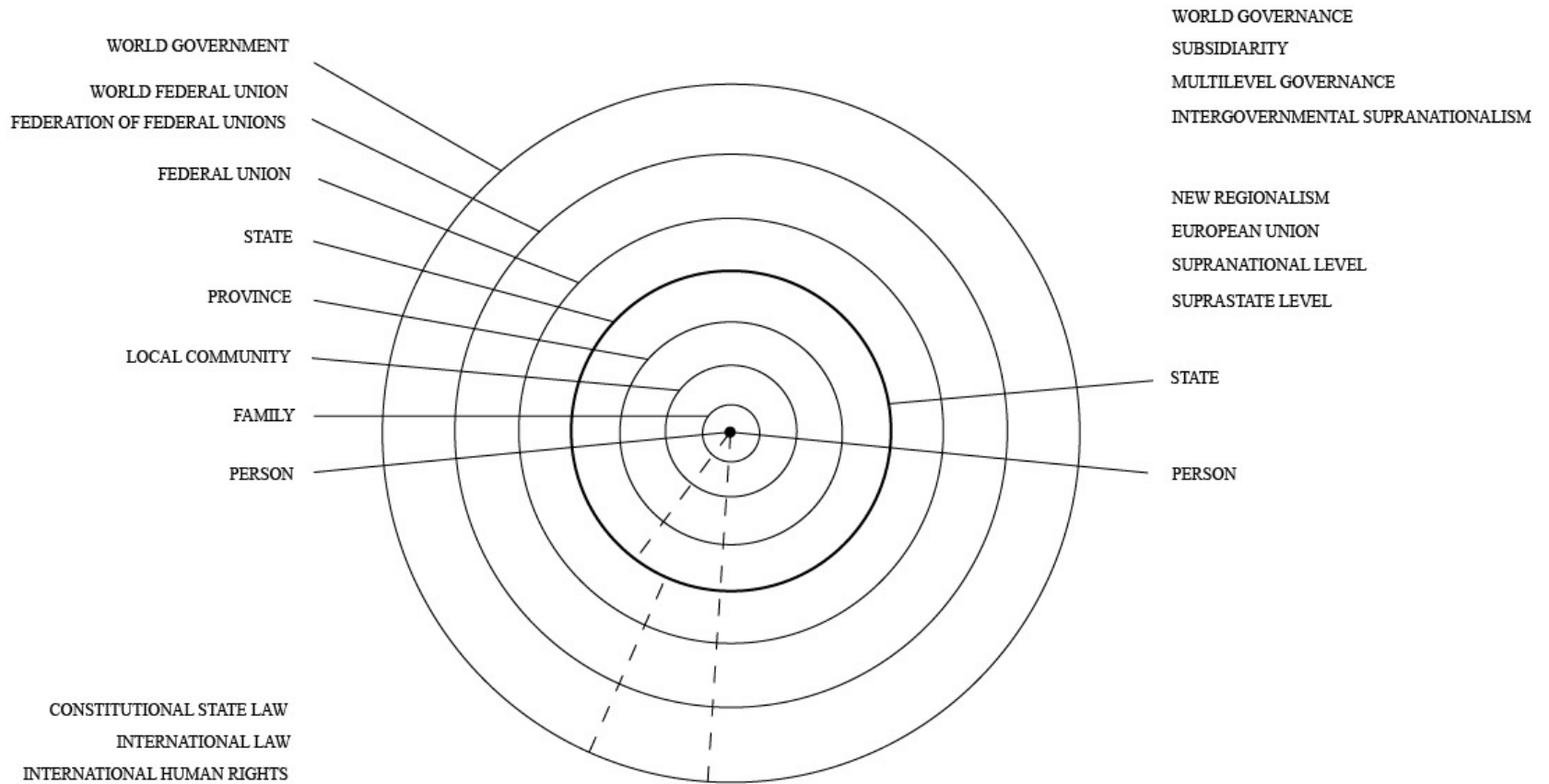
Prefectures

Villages, townships

Families, clans

The Western system of liberties

- The separation of powers
- Representative Parliament created by general elections
- Executive branch that is either responsible to the Parliament elected by the people for a specific length of time, or subject to popular recall
- Judiciary independent of the executive branch
- Free press
- Freedom of conscience, assembly and other civic rights
- Extensive local autonomy
- (István Bibó: Reflections on the Social development of Europe, 1971-1972. In: Democracy, Revolution, Self-determination, New York, 1991, 467.)
- International relations: Democracy among states (Althusius, Kant)





Development of the Western System of Liberties

- Ancient Greek bases (Plato, Aristotle)
- Magna Charta, 1215
- English Glorious Revolution, 1688 – constitutional monarchy
- American Revolution – federal republic under president
- Declaration of the Rights of the Man and of the Citizen, 1789
- French Revolution – unitary nation state
- Swiss Confederation, 1848 – federal republic under a federal government
- Development of the international law (Althusius, Kant)
- Economic theories (Adam Smith versus Friedrich List)
- COLONIZATION



Queen Victoria, Wilhelm II, Nicolas II, The French Republic, and a samurai dividing China

(Wiki Sources)



Colonization

- Unequal treaties (Opium wars, 1839-1842, 1856-1860)
- Chinese kowtow ritual and tribute system
- Exterritoriality
- Foreign settlements
- The most favoured nation clause
- Chinese could not use protective tariffs
- Concessions, treaty ports opened to Westerners



Japan facing modernization as a defense of independence

- Yukuchi Fukuzawa (1835-1901)
- Meiji Reform (1868-1912)
- The Meiji Constitution of 1899



Yukichi Fukuzawa (1835-1901)



Yukichi Fukuzawa (1835-1901)

- Japanese Confucian reformer, educator, founder of the Keio University (Tokyo); knowledge based modernization
- An Outline of a Theory of Civilization, 1875
- Encouragement of Learning, 1872-1876
 - “It is said that heaven does not create one man above or below another man ... they are all equal”. -
 - “That all men are created equal” Declaration of Independence, 1776
- Self-respect and independence of mind
- Western civilization as our goal
- On Saying Goodbye to Asia (Datsu-a Ron), 1885
- “We simple erase from our minds our bad friends in Asia”



Emperor Meiji of Japan (1852-1912)



Meiji Reform

- Emperor Meiji (1852-1912)
- Charter Oath, 6 April 1868
- Deliberative assemblies shall be established
- All classes, high and low shall unite
- Evil customs of the past shall be broken off
- Knowledge shall be sought throughout the world so as to strengthen the imperial rule

御誓文之御寫
一 廣ク會議ヲ興シ萬機公論ニ決スベシ
一 上下心ヲ一ニシテ盛ニ經論ヲ行フベシ
一 官武一途庶民ニ至ル迄各其志ヲ遂ゲ人心ヲ
シテ倦マガラレメンヲ要ス
一 舊來ノ陋習ヲ破リ天地ノ公道ニ基クベシ
一 智識ヲ世界ニ求メ大ニ
皇基ヲ振起スベシ

Original Japanese text of the Charter Oath

(Wiki Sources)

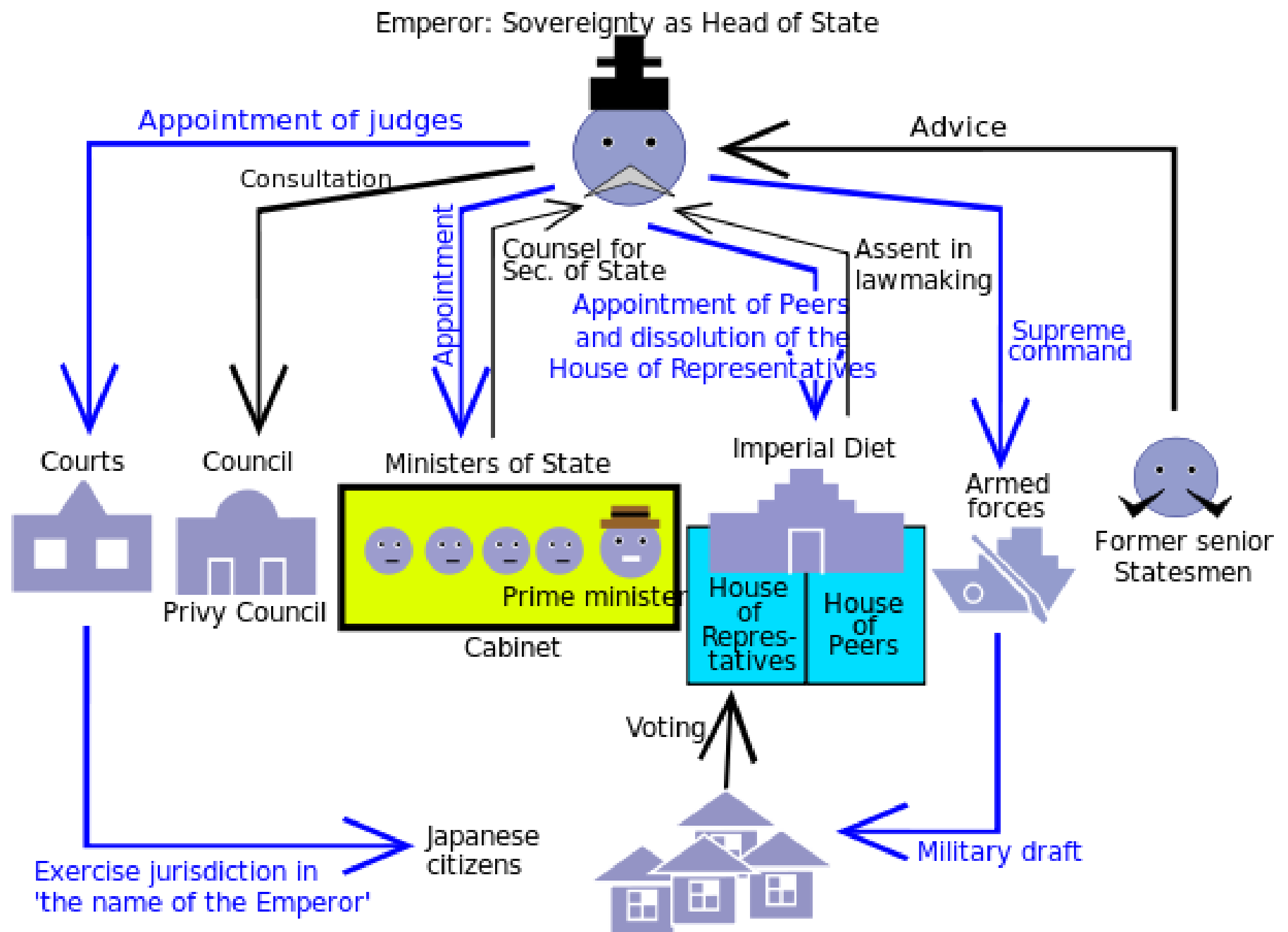


Figure of Politics under Meiji Constitution

(Wiki Sources)



The Meiji Constitution of 1889

- Constitutional hereditary monarchy with absolutist tendencies
- Emperor is the sovereign
- Imperial Diet, two houses: House of Representatives (lower house) and House of Peers (upper house); its authority greatly restricted
- Fundamental human rights without guarantee



China facing modernization as a defense of independence

- K'ang Yu-wei (1858-1927)
- Sun Yat-sen (1866-1925)



K'ang Yu-wei (1858-1927)
(Wiki Sources)




K'ang Yu-wei (1858-1927)

- Confucian titular monarchical republican reformer
- Confucius as a reformer
- Initiating the knowledge oriented reform of the late Qing dynasty in 1898
- Reform of the teaching material of examinations, abolition of the “eight-legged” essays based on Confucian classics
- Titular monarchical republic (the republic is the essence, the titular monarch is unimportant)
- Ta Tung-Shu The Book of Universal Commonwealth or Book of Great Unity, 1912
- Disorder, rising peace, universal peace



Sun Yat-sen (1866-1925)
(Wiki Sources)



Sun Yat-sen (1866-1925)

- Confucian republican reformer, revolutionary
- The Three Principles of the People, San Min Chu I, 1905 (Nationalism, democracy, livelihood)
- Quintuple (five) power constitution
- People: political power (suffrage, recall, initiative, referendum);
- Government: administrative power (legislature, judiciary, executive, civil service examinations, censorship)
- Federalism (Swiss model)

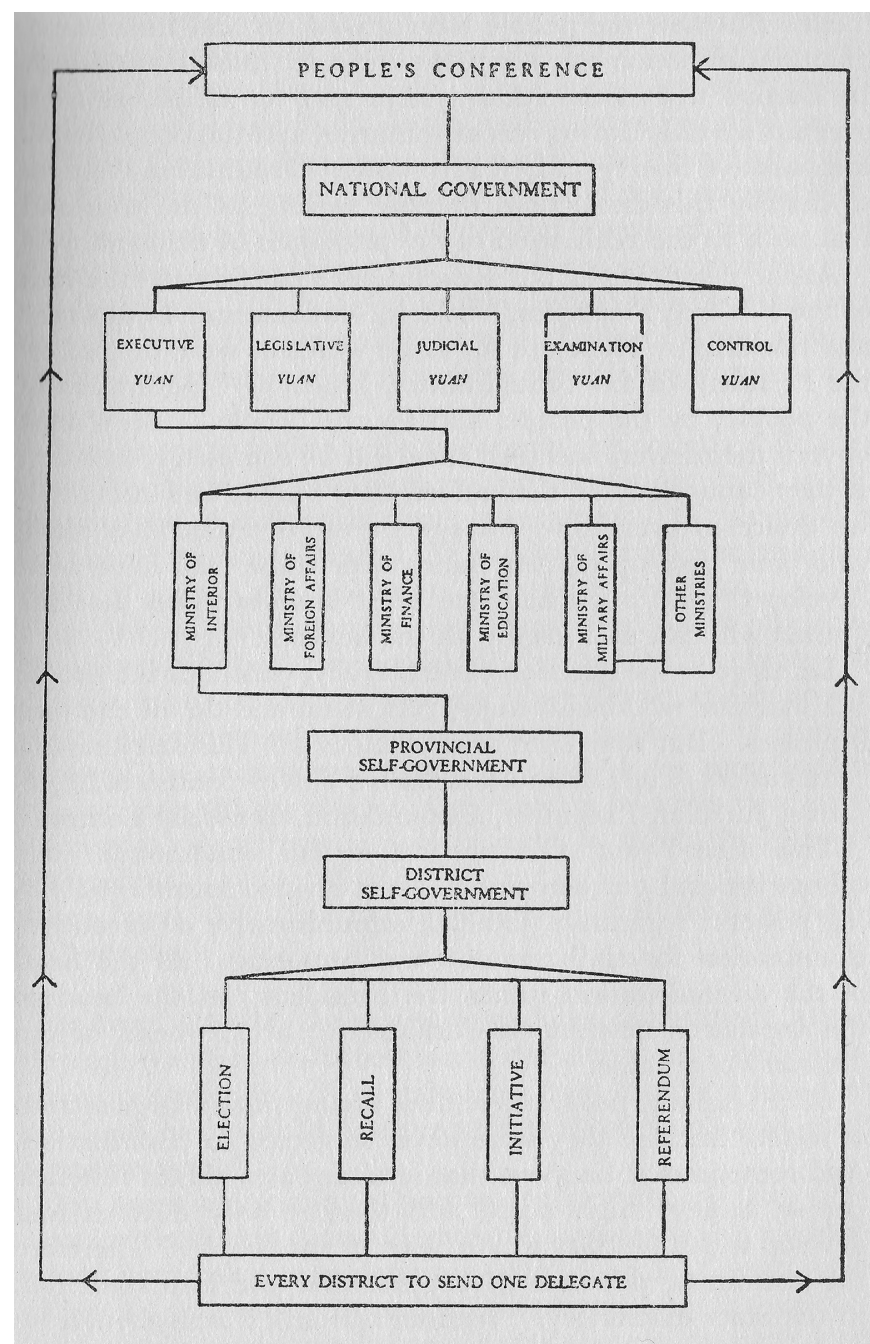


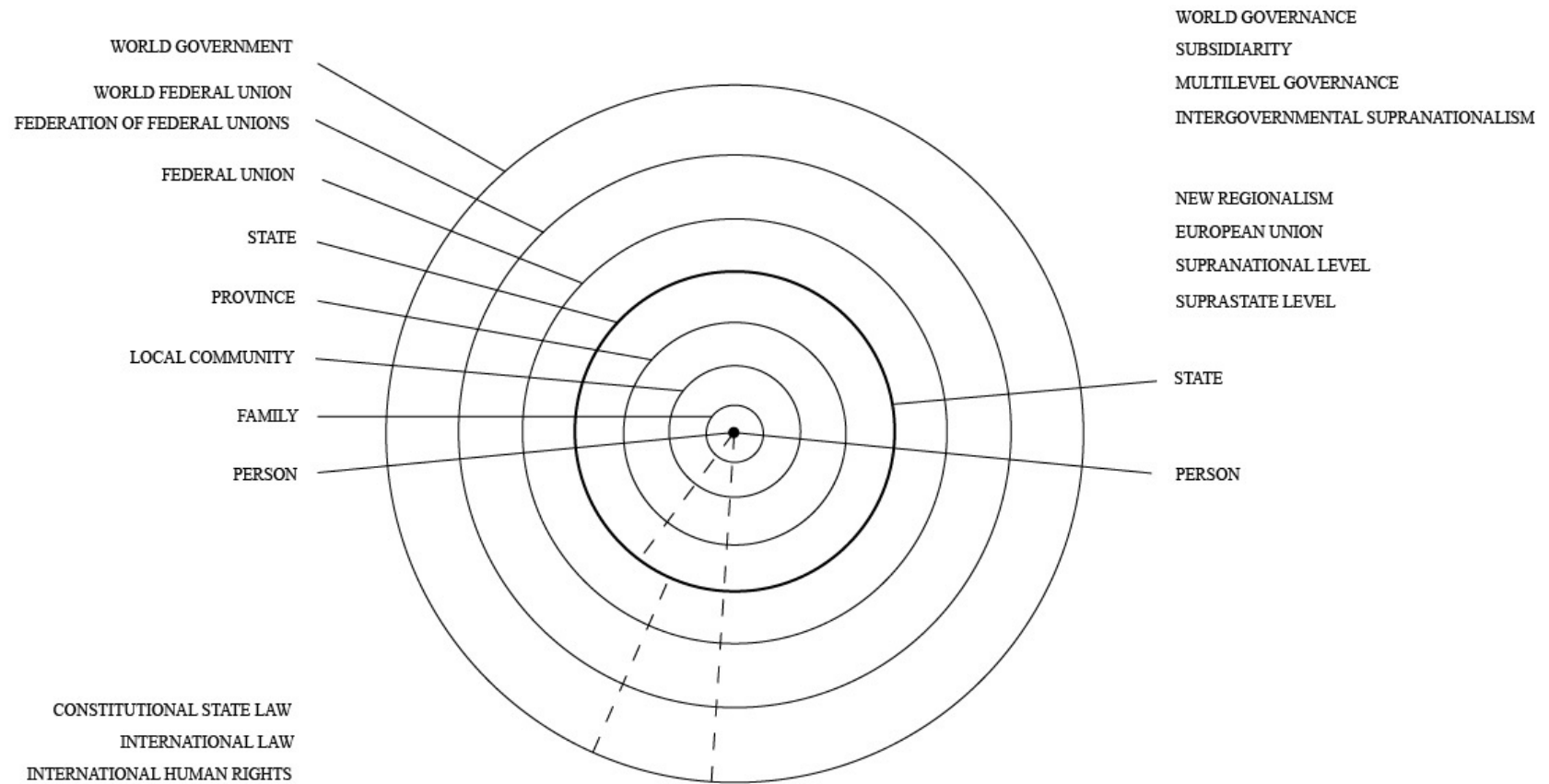
Figure of Quintuple-power Government

in: The Teachings of Sun Yat-sen, by N. Gangulee, London, 1945, 107.



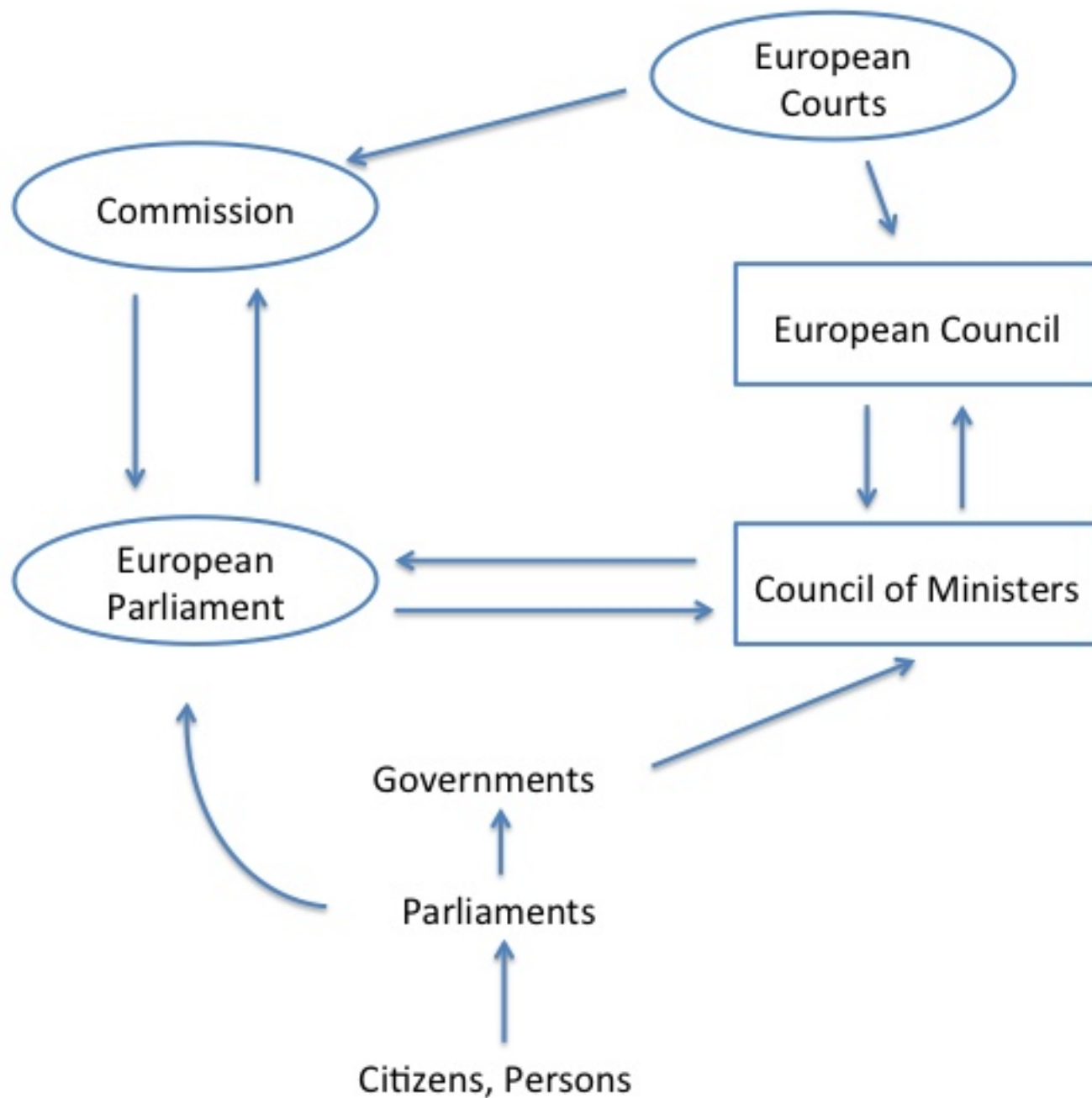
Crisis of the European system of liberties and the necessary reforms

- Totalitarian states (fascism, national socialism)
- Communism
- Defense of the system of liberties
- United Nations, 1945
- New Europe (European integration)





Congress of Europe, Ridderzaal, The Hague, 9 May 1948
(National Archives – Wiki Sources)

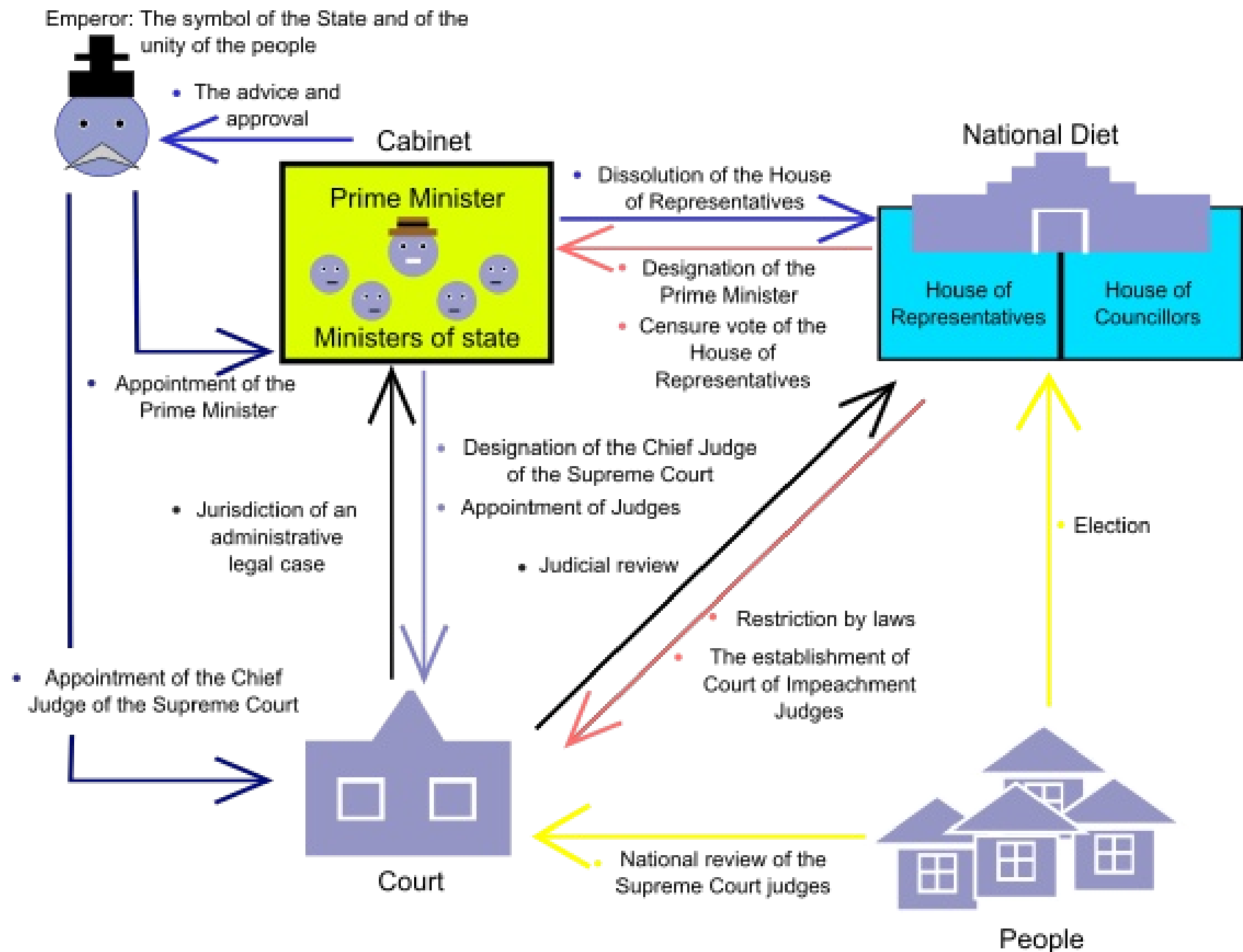




Democratization of Japan after 1945

New Japan

- Allied occupation, 1946-1952
- The Constitution of Japan, 1946
- Constitutional democratic state
- Emperor is the symbol of the unity of people
- Diet is the highest organ
- People enjoy fundamental rights
- Booming economy, high-tech society



Politics under the Constitution of Japan

(Wiki Sources)



Voluntary opening of China

- Deng Xiaoping (1904-1997), Confucian state socialist reformer
- Reform of Mao Zedong's Thought
- State socialism with Chinese characteristics; China must take its own road
- Stable country, avoid disorder caused by liberalism; democratic centralism
- Limited private economic activity, and foreign participation in the economy



Constitution of the People's Republic of China, 1982

- Socialist state under the people's democratic dictatorship led by the working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants
- All power belongs to the people; People exercises power through the National People's Congress and the Local People's Congresses at various levels
- Unitary multi-national state
- Socialist economy under ownership by the whole people
- Limited usage of the Human Rights (right to criticize)
- The Constitution has the supreme legal authority
- Supreme People's Court responsible to the National People's Congress (No separation of powers)
- Democratic centralism



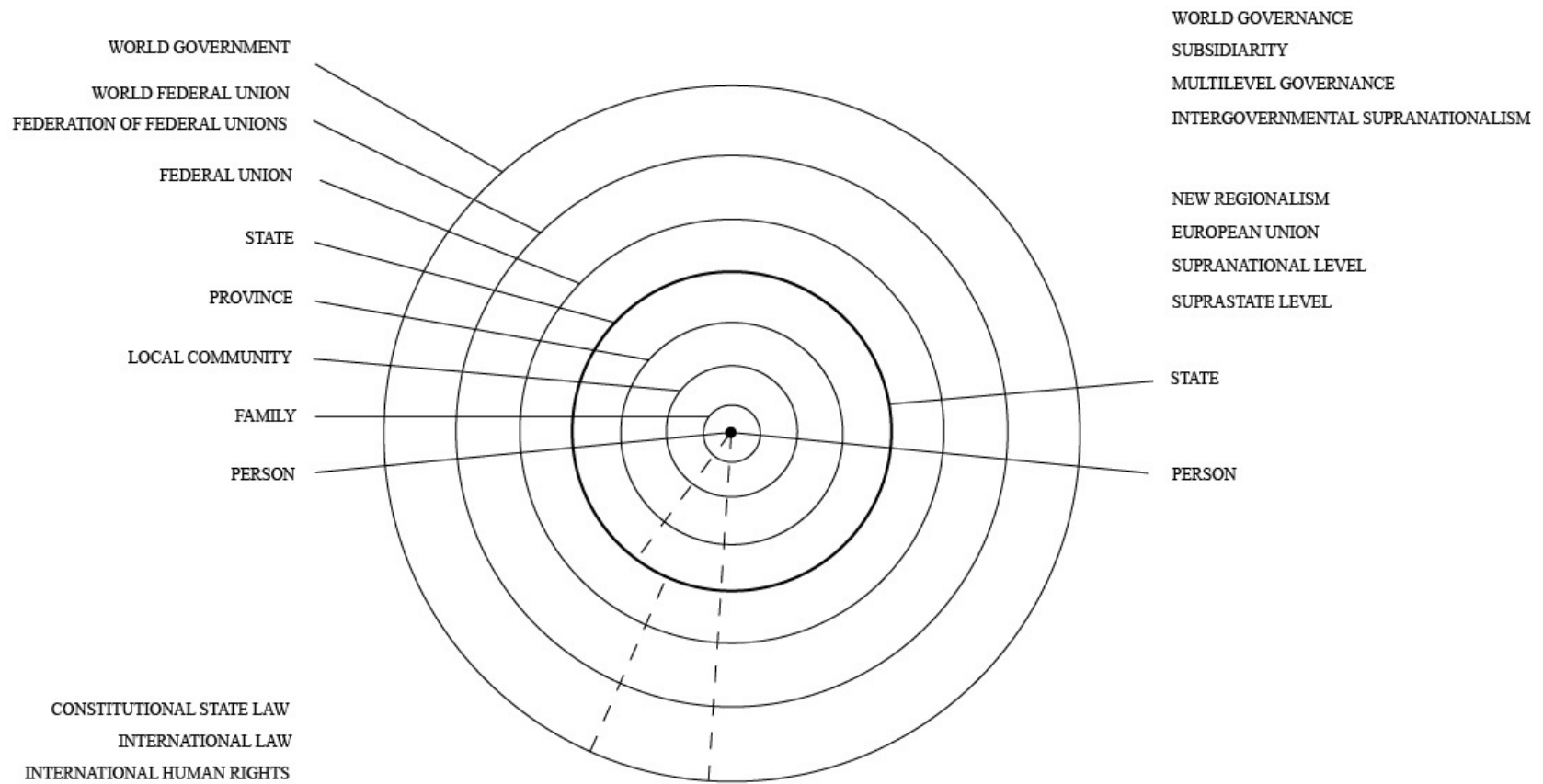
Chinese Government

- Communist Party
- Politburo
- The National People's Congress
- The State Council
- The Central Military Commission
- The Local People's Congress and Local People's Governments at Various Levels
- The People's Courts and the People's Procuratorates
- Provinces – counties – districts – villages, township
- Power pyramid structure



A common future together in a reformed UN

- Japan – UN, China – UN, EU – UN
- Regional unions in the UN (EU, ASEAN)
- Reform of the United Nations (multilevelism)
- Europe's future in the global world is to continue on the way of the idea of personal federalism and of peaceful world federation





Further readings

<http://www.eva-boka.name>



Thank you for your attention!