Modernization of the States and the International Relations in a Historical Perspective (The Western World and East-Asia)

Dr. Éva Bóka
PhD, Dr. habil.
Email: bokaeva@gmail.com
Website: http://www.eva-boka.name

Course description

The aim of the course

The course deals with the meeting of different countries representing different cultures aiming to modernize. It searches the meaning and characteristics of modernization in the case of Europe, the European Union, the United States of America, China, South-Korea and Japan in a comparative historical perspective. The European countries, China, South-Korea and Japan are in Eurasia, and their contacts represent the meeting of Europe and Asia: a dialogue about state and international organization. The United States of America is in North-America and had close cultural contacts with Europe during history. The course concentrates on modernization as a Western European product and searches the answers of the United States of America, China, South-Korea and Japan to the challenge of “European modernity” in the 18th -20th centuries.

The following themes are discussed: the meaning of modernization; European modernity, European integration as modernization; the modernity of the United States; Japanese modernity; new-Confucian modernization in China; modernization in South-Korea: a Confucian capitalist experience; new regionalism and the reform of the international organization.

Modernization 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 Westernisation.

European modernity was thought to be unique by the Europeans because it could initiate the disintegration of classical agrarian societies world-wide, and inspired them to modernize and become modern. But the Western interpretations of modernization - in the most cases - forget that the Western world could not become modern without the cooperation and the reactions of the other - non-Western – countries and people. For example in Japan, in China and in South-Korea the economic and political ruling elite had been in deep thinking about modernization and Westernisation from the beginning of colonization. The necessity to adopt the results of modern Western science and technology, to reform the economy and the teaching material following Western knowledge was accepted in general, but Westernization (to become Western) was rejected in the most cases.

Modernization changed the landscape. The dynamic of industrialization, technological development, and business capitalism created a modern world with a common outlook but with big differences in the livelihood among people and countries worldwide. Western European society changed more deeply than the countries belonging to other civilisations during the emergence of the modern capitalist world system. But history showed that capitalism could be successful on non-Western social and cultural bases, too. In East Asia mixed forms of state capitalism emerged resulting in economic prosperity.
The real question is whether the European integration as modernization, and the East Asian and Southeast Asian economic modernizations could elaborate alternative capitalist economic models for a peaceful international system by influencing each other.

The course is based on the most important political essays, projects and legal documents of modernization of states and international relations opposing war and aiming to establish a peaceful world.

**Organization of the course**

The classes will be a mixture of lectures, seminars, and group discussion. Students are required to prepare small presentations and to write an essay. The mark at the end of the semester is given on the basis of the presentation, of the activity during the course, and of the essay.

**Programme of the course**

1. Introduction: the meaning of modernization
2. The United States as a modern presidential federal republic
   (The Constitution of the United States, 1787)
3. Modernization of Europe 1. The Ancien Régime and the new democratic European principles of social organization until 1815
4. Modernization of Europe 2. The struggle between the old system (Ancien Régime) and the new principles of state and international organization, 1815-1919; 1919-1945
5. Modernization of Europe 3. The history and problems of European integration
6. Modernization of Europe 4. Europe and the world (the problem of colonization)
7. Modernization in East-Asia 1. Europe-China dialogue in a historical perspective
10. Modernization in East-Asia 4. South-Korea and the Confucian modernization
11. Comparing EU and ASEAN. Modernization in Singapore
12. Together in the United Nations (the reform of the international organization)
13. Summary and discussion on modernization

*For course informations, and informations for students see my website, URL: http://www.eva-boka.name*

**Required literature**


**Recommended literature**


Bóka Éva (2011): Az európai föderalizmus alternatívája Közép-Európában (Central Europe and the alternative of a European federalism). Dialóg-Campus Kiadó, Budapest


Bibliography
(Recommended readings)

Discussing modernity


European modernity


Völkerrecht und einen dauernden Frieden (Principles of International Law), Hrsg. O. Kraus, Halle


Bóka, Éva (2010): Europe in Search of Unity in Diversity. ISES Füzetek, Szombathey-Kőszeg


Coudenhove-Kalergi, R. N. (1940): Europe Must Unite. Paneuropa Editions LTD, Glarus


Eötvös József (1871): Über die Gleichberechtigung der Nationalitäten in Oesterreich. Pest


Jürgen Habermas (2004): Der gespaltene Westen. Suhrkamp, Frankfurt am Main
Oxford


Vattel, M. de (1775): Le droits des gens, ou principles de la loi naturelle. E. van Harrevelt, Amsterdam


Selected Internet Literature
(Retrieved on 22.12.2015)

The Avalon Project, Documents in Law, History and Diplomacy, Yale Law School, Lillian Goldman Law Library, New Haven, URL: http://avalon.law.yale.edu/default.asp

The American Constitution, The Avalon Project,
URL: http://avalon.law.yale.edu/subject_menus/constpap.asp

Internet Modern History Sourcebook, Fordham University of New York, New York, URL: http://legacy.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/modsbook.asp

Internet History Sourcebook Project, Fordham University of New York, edited by Paul Halsall, New York, URL: http://legacy.fordham.edu/halsall/


Online Library of Liberty, Finding People,
Europe and international relations (ideas, law)
Aristotle, Politics, Online Library of Liberty,
URL: http://oll.libertyfund.org/people/aristotle
Plato, The Republic, Online Library of Liberty,
URL: http://classics.mit.edu/Plato/republic.html
Erasmus, The Compleint of Peace, Online Library of Liberty,
URL: http://oll.libertyfund.org/titles/erasmus-the-complaint-of-peace
Jan Bodin, Les Six Livres de la République, Gallica Bibliotheque Numérique,
URL: http://www2.hull.ac.uk/administration/PDF/Bodin%20Republique%201579.pdf
Johannes Althusius, Politica, Online Library of Liberty,
URL: http://oll.libertyfund.org/titles/althusius-politica
Hugo Grotius, The Rights of War and Peace, Online Library of Liberty,
URL: http://oll.libertyfund.org/people/hugo-grotius
Thomas Hobbes, Leviathan, 1660, Online Library of Liberty,
URL: http://oll.libertyfund.org/titles/hobbes-leviathan-1909-ed
John Locke: The Two Treatises of Civil Government, Online Library of Liberty,
The Federalist Papers, The Avalon Project,
URL: http://avalon.law.yale.edu/subject_menus/fed.asp
Constitution of the United States, 1787, The Avalon Project,
URL: http://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th_century/usconst.asp
Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen, 1789, The Avalon Project,
URL: http://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th_century/rightsof.asp
Immanuel Kant, Perpetual Peace, A Philosophical Essay, 1795, Online Library of Liberty,
URL: http://oll.libertyfund.org/titles/kant-perpetual-peace-a-philosophical-essay-1917-ed
Alexis de Tocqueville, Democracy in America, Online Library of Liberty,
URL: http://oll.libertyfund.org/people/alexis-de-tocqueville

Charter of the United Nations, United Nations,

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, United Nations,

Statute of the Council of Europe, Council of Europe,
URL: http://www.coe.int/en/web/conventions/full-list/-/conventions/treaty/001
Draft Treaty Establishing the European Union, 1984
http://www.spinellisfootsteps.info/treaty/index.html

EUR-lex, Access to the European Union,
URL: http://eur-lex.europa.eu/homepage.html
EU Treaties, EUR-lex,
Founding Treaties, EUR-lex
Treaty of Lisbon, 2007, EUR-lex,
TXT&from=EN
Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union, EUR-lex,
TXT&from=EN

European Union History, Electronic Resources on European Integration, Universiteit
Leiden (Leiden University, The Netherlands),
URL: http://www.hum.leiden.edu/history/eu-history/resources/resources-1.html
Foundation Robert Schuman, The Research and Studies Centre on Europe, Paris,
Foundation jean Monnet pour l'Europe, Lausanne, URL: http://jean-monnet.ch/

**Globalization**
Global Transformation, Website by David Held, Anthony McGrew, David Goldblatt
and Jonathan Perraton,
URL: http://www.polity.co.uk/global/
Global Policy Forum (GPF), New York,
URL: https://www.globalpolicy.org/globalization.html

**US modernity**
Samuel Eliot Morison (ed.) (1965): *Sources and Documents Illustrating the American
Revolution 1764-1788 and the Formation of the Federal Constitution*. Oxford University
States*. A Signet Book. Published by New American Library, a division of Penguin Group
(USA) Inc., New York
Dallas

**Internet sources (United States of America)**
(Retrieved on 22.12.2015)
The Avalon Project, Documents in Law, History and Diplomacy, Yale Law School, Lillian Goldman Law Library, New Haven, URL: http://avalon.law.yale.edu/default.asp
The American Constitution, The Avalon Project,
URL: http://avalon.law.yale.edu/subject_menus/constpap.asp
The Federalist Papers, The Avalon Project,
URL: http://avalon.law.yale.edu/subject_menus/fed.asp
Constitution of the United States of 1787, The Avalon Project,
URL: http://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th_century/usconst.asp
Alexander Hamilton, Online Library of Liberty,
URL: http://oll.libertyfund.org/people/alexander-hamilton
Alexis de Tocqueville, Democracy in America, Online Library of Liberty,
URL: http://oll.libertyfund.org/people/alexis-de-tocqueville

**Informations on the history of the United States of America**
US Department of State, Office of the Historian,
URL: http://history.state.gov/
US Department of State, Office of the Historian, Milestones
URL: http://history.state.gov/milestones

Teaching American History org., A leading online resource for American history teachers and students, Ashbrook Center at Ashland University, Ashland, Ohio,
URL: http://teachingamericanhistory.org/
Teaching American History org., Documents,
URL: http://teachingamericanhistory.org/library/

**Modernization of Japan**


Ienaga, Saburo (1971): *History of Japan*. Japan Travel Bureau, INC., Tokyo,


**Internet informations**

(Retrieved on 22.12.2015)

Asia for Educators, An initiative of the Weatherhead East Asian Institute at Columbia University, For students and educators at all levels, Columbia University
URL: http://afe.easia.columbia.edu/main_pop/kpct/index.html

Primary Sources, Japan, Asia for Educators,
URL: http://afe.easia.columbia.edu/main_pop/ps/ps_japan.htm

Meiji Constitution
The Constitution of the Empire of Japan (Meiji Constitution) (Published by the National Diet Library)
URL: http://www.ndl.go.jp/constitution/e/etc/c02.html
The Constitution of Japan, 1946
URL: http://www.ndl.go.jp/constitution/e/etc/c01.html

**Modernization of China**


Internet books and documents on China and modernization
(Retrieved on 22.12.2015.)
Asia for Educators, An initiative of the Weatherhead East Asian Institute at Columbia University, For students and educators at all levels, Columbia University
URL: http://afe.easia.columbia.edu/main_pop/kpct/index.html
Primary Sources, China, Asia for Educators,
URL: http://afe.easia.columbia.edu/main_pop/ps/ps_china.htm

Analects, Online Library of Liberty,
URL: http://oll.libertyfund.org/titles/confucius-the-analects
Full text of The Great Harmony by Kang Yu-Wei, Internet Archive, Collection Opensource,
URL: http://archive.org/stream/ServingThePeopleWithDialectics/TaTungShuTheOne-worldPhilosophy_djvu.txt
The Great Harmony by Kang Yu-Wei, Collection Opensource,

Sun Yat-sen (ca. 1960): San Min Chu I: The Three Principles of the People, Doctrine of Nationalism
Full text of Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping Vol. 3., Internet Archive, Collection Opensource,
URL: http://archive.org/stream/SelectedWorksOfDengXiaopingVol.3/Deng03_djvu.txt
URL: https://ia802606.us.archive.org/26/items/SelectedWorksOfDengXiaopingVol.3/Deng03.pdf

China-EU Relations
(Retrieved on 22.12.2015)
EU Relations with China, European Union External Action,
URL: http://eeas.europa.eu/china/index_en.htm
EU Relations with China, European Union External Action, Key documents,
URL: http://eeas.europa.eu/china/docs/index_en.htm

Modernization of South-Korea


Enlarged programme

European modernity

Introduction:
1. The classical European value system
   1.1. The classical Greek, Roman and Christian value system
   1.2. Feudalism and the opposition of wars
   1.3. Renaissance, Reformation and Enlightenment
2. The modernity of the state organization principles of a new Europe (The Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen, 1789)
   - The victory of the principles of natural law of Enlightenment, 1789
   - The defeat of the principles of the natural law, 1795
   - Attempts to correction: Kant, 1795
3. The political and economic forces of European modernity
   - The surviving forces of the old Europe
   - The new modernizing European forces
4. Contradictions of European liberal thinkers of the 19th century, and their critics
   4.1. The achievements of the French Revolution, and the modernization of state organization - Tocqueville
   4.2. Colonization and the liberals
   4.3. The Marxist critic of industrial capitalism
   4.4. The federalist opposition – Proudhon
5. World wars, economic crisis and crisis management
   5.1. The end of the laissez-faire – Keynes
   5.2. Political movements breaking with democracy in Europe
   5.3. Attempts to defend and strengthen democracy in Europe
5.3.1. The Pan-European Movement
5.3.2. The Resistance Movement
6. Federalist renewal in Europe after the Second World War
7. European integration as modernization
7.1. The well-being state and the European social model
7.2. Supranational sectoral integration
7.3. The Common Market
7.4. The federalist driving force of European integration (Schuman - Monnet – Spinelli - Delors)
7.5. The federalist-intergovernmentalist compromise (subsidarity, multilevelism, transfer of competences)
7.6. Enlargement policy as modernization
7.7. The EU-model: supranational and intergovernmental union of states based on subsidarity and multilevelism
8. EU and the World

The modernity of the United States
Introduction: Immigration, colonization and state organization
1. A state born as modern
1.1. Fight for freedom
1.2. The modernity of the American Constitution, 1787
1.3. The new economic policy
1.4. Discussions on Hamilton's modern economic vision
1.5. The Constitution of 1787 and the slaves
1.6. Conclusions
2. Modernisation as a constitutional improvement
2.1. The causes of the Civil War
2.2. Lincoln and the modernization of the Constitution
2.3. Emancipation proclamation of Lincoln, 1 January, 1863
2.4. Gettysburg speech
2.5. Assessments of the Lincoln reform
3. The New Deal as an attempt for economic and social modernisation
3.1. The pros and contras of American liberal capitalist modernisation
3.2. The great depression and the Roosevelt program
3.3. New Deal reforms
3.4. Assessments of the New Deal
3.5. Roosevelt in defence of freedom
4. American aid policy aiming to modernize international policy
4.1. The principles of the Atlantic Charter, 1941
4.2. The Truman Doctrine (the beginning of the American aid policy)
4.3. The Marshall Plan
5. Conclusions
New-Confucian Modernization in China
Introduction: Confucian and traditional China
1. The opening of China
2. The New-Confucian Reform
   2.1. K‘ang Yu-wei, the New-Confucian Constitutional Monarchical Reformer
   2.2. Sun Yat-sen, the New-Confucian Republican Reformer
   2.3. Deng Xiaoping, the New-Confucian State Capitalist Reformer
3. Conclusions

Japanese modernity
Introduction: The opening of Japan
1. Japanese choice for modernization: The Meiji imperial reform
   1.1. Important reforms
2. Fukuzawa Yukichi, the Confucian educational entrepreneur
3. Japanese militarist imperialism
4. Attempt to Americanization
5. Conclusions

Modernization in South-Korea: A Confucian Capitalist Experience
1. Introduction: The problem of Korea: at the crossroad of great powers
2. The role of Confucianism in Korean history
3. The challenge of Western modernity and Korean answers
4. Korea hit by colonialism, hegemonic rivalry and civil war
5. Modernization in South Korea
   5.1. The era of dictators
   5.2. Liberalization and democracy in emerging
   5.3. A South-Korean liberal democratic modernizer: Kim Young-sam
6. Discussing Korean Confucian capitalism
   6.1. Chaebol and Confucianism
   6.2. Confucianism and economic success
   6.3. Economic liberalization and Confucianism
7. Conclusions: Confucian modernity

New regionalism versus globalization
1. Comparing the European Union and the ASEAN
2. Ideas on the reform of the United Nations

Summary and conclusions
Course informations, and informations for students:
URL: http://www.eva-boka.name
List of publications of Dr. Éva Bóka
URL: http://eva-boka.wikidot.com/publlist