

CONFUCIANISM AS THE BASIS OF ASIAN POLITICAL VALUES

This article examines the main features of formation and function political values of East and Southeast Asia, according to Confucius teaching. The problem of coexistence and understanding of political values in Western and Eastern societies. Also advantages and disadvantages of Confucius political values for contemporary Asian society was analyzed in article.

Keywords: political values, axiology, Confucianism.

The relevance of the article. Political life is connected with process of realization political values, which exist within a society. Value aspect of implementation of the politics allows to determine direction of the state's development, level of the society's democratization, it provides consensus between an authority and a citizen through the presence of ideals, norms and interests, which shape political values. That's why, observation and realization political values overcome conflicts within a society and provides its consensus. Analyzing West political values, some scholars emphasize their versatility and ideality. However, on the other hand, only observance of ethnic values of a country allows the state to have a high level of political and social development. Therefore, Asian values, particularly Confucian countries, allowed to generate social and economic miracle, which characteristic of the so-called Asian Tigers, Japan and China. The existence and implementation Asian political values is important to understand the rapid social and economic progress of these countries.

The main **purpose** of the article is the politological analysis of the values, which characteristic to Confucian East. The aim of work envisages the fulfillment of the following **tasks**:

- to give the general definition of the concept of political values;
- to explain the difference between the political values of the West and East;
- to analyze the features of the formation of Asian political values;
- to reveal peculiarities of Confucian values.

Analysis of recent research and publications. The problem of the research of Eastern, Confucian political values is reflected in the writings of Aung San Suu Kyi, Amartya Sen, R. Inglehart, Ch. Tan, A. Voskresenskyi, C. Welzel, Xiarong Li, and other researchers. Contemporary Ukrainian researchers of political values are V. Andruschenko, O. Babkina, V. Horbatenko, M. Myhal'chenko, P. Slipets, Y. Shemshuchenko and others.

The main material. A value as an ideological guide of human behavior is the defining component of political life. Political values can be described as ethical and normative judgments about the political life, political aims, the implementation of which directs the political activity. Other definition says, that the concept of political values is the objects, occurrence, ideas, processes of political life and their features, which those a person's attitude to satisfy his or her social demands, interests, which she or he engages in his or her field of activity [4, s. 425]. Political values are an integral part of political culture. They're a reflection of the political consciousness of the people [6, c. 644-645]. The value system is a factor that makes it possible to characterize the level (historical, civilizational, cultural, social, political, etc.) of the development of the society, the potential of its progress and condition of the formation the social and political ideals [3, s. 152]. The system of political values consists of social-political ideals and goals, principles and norms of political life, political traditions and symbols, examples of political behavior [6, p. 645]. Political values can be included to the system of social, legal, mobilization and integrative regulators of political life, behavior of individuals, social communities and associations of people. They serve as an important source of political socialization [6, s. 645].

Despite of the opinion of similarity of human interests, demands and needs, the idea of the universal model of human development was disproved by S. Huntington's «The Clash of Civilizations and the Transformation of the World Order». Given specific features of one of the eight civilization (Western, Latin American, Confucian, Japan, Muslim, Orthodox, Hindu, and

African) shows the difference between certain social and culture identities. The rapid economic development of the Eastern and Southeast Asia's countries gives an opportunity to distinguish Eastern political values in a single layer, which opposes to Western political values. Modern society is used to think about the dominance of Western political values, which include democracy, equality, freedom, freedom of speech and movement and others. These values had helped Western civilization to achieve high level of political, economic, social and cultural level of human development. Despite of this opinion, adherence by Asian states their own traditional political values was one of the main factors of their rapid development.

The countries of East Asian and Southeast Asian region (including China, Japan, Singapore, Taiwan, South Korea) had refuted the idea of Westernization as a unified way of modernization through imitation of political, economic and cultural achievements of Western civilization, including Western Europe and North America. So, C. Welzel introduces the concept of the «Asian immunity» [9, s. 1] against the imitation of Western values by Asia. A major implication of this thesis is that Asia can modernize economically without adopting the emancipative consequences of modernization known from the West, including liberal democracy [10, s. 1].

The key thesis of the work of American political scientist S. Huntington «The Clash of Civilizations and the Transformation of the World Order» was the idea of a cultural clash of the East and the West. This difference in religion, identity and values is the basis for separation of civilizations. He examined civilization as the highest form of human communities. In S. Huntington's opinion, people define themselves, using terms such as origin, religion, language, history, values, customs and social institutions [3, s. 171]. Because of this, their diversity arises the clash of civilizations. The particular importance intercivilization conflicts becomes in the modern world, due to the consequences of globalization – the development of technologies and communication, interweaving interactions between civilizations, as well as political and economic expansion of the West [3, s. 171]. However, at the present stage of human development, classic western ideologies lose their priority for global development, and therefore, in the West there is a strong opponent – Eastern civilization as a legacy of ancient cultural identity. A key point in the «Clash of Civilization and the Transformation of the World Order» is the West's uniqueness in its emphasis on emancipative values and liberal democracy. Particularly in Asia, the idea of a cultural clash with the West resonated with a long tradition of writings, which emphasizes the unique dominance of authoritarian values in Asia [10, s. 2-3]. This thesis followed the father of modern Singapore Lee Kwan Yew. His thesis of Asia's cultural distinctness from the West has been published in a «Foreign Affairs» interview. His argument was that state modernizes successfully without embracing democracy – a point that so far also characterizes the largest nation of Asia and the world: China. The cases of China and Singapore seem to provide powerful evidence that Asian countries can embark on a culture-specific path of modernization that avoids the emancipative consequences known from the West, in particular democracy [10, s. 2-3].

The predominance of common benefit under single had been proved by Confucius for almost two and a half thousand years ago. His conception of «good government» and political participation had been described in his «LunYu». It had strong influence on the development of the political life and the way of life in Asia. This work shows which values play critical role for Asian countries. Confucius' teaching reflects a strict rationalism, specific public benefit, mind and rejection from personal needs in behalf of community. The ideal man for Confucius is «Junzi» a «superior person». «Junzi» possesses certain quality such as humaneness («Ren») and sense of duty («Yi») [1, p. 259]. Genuine «Junzi» is indifferent to food, wealth, comfortable life and material gain. He devotes himself by serving for high ideals, people and the truth [1, p. 259].

Confucius contrasts the rule by law through punishment through policies, and rule by virtue through «Li». «Li» refers to the totality of normative human behaviors that are accompanied by corresponding attitudes and values for all aspects of one's life. «Li» covers every aspect of a human life, including looking, listening, speaking and moving. «Li» encompasses a wide spectrum of behaviors, ranging from activities of relatively narrow scope and rigid structure such as ceremonial rites, to activities of relatively broad scope and flexible structure, such as making small talk. Social

order is obtained when the people are capable of and intrinsically motivated to order their lives in accordance with Li [9, p. 8]. When people know and act according to «Li», they will naturally feel ashamed if their behavior deviates from «Li», with or without the fear of punishment. Besides this «voice of conscience», the fact that everyone is able to evaluate and correct one another based on the common yardstick of «Li» also produces an external pressure for everyone to conform to «Li». Governing in accordance with «Li» implies that a ruler should respect and promote the individual's human dignity, equality, learning opportunity and resources, as well as everyone's correlative rights [9, s. 9].

Confucius axiology thinks, that primordial existence of the individual believes is moral values, which are designed to help people in search of harmony with the whole social body. The best way for individual existence Confucius considered a virtue – an important ethical and axiological category option. After that, hierarchical integrity of all individual virtues is the ideal form of social and ethical order. However, the central axis, dual role of values of values of Confucianism played «integrity» and «humaneness» as the main manifestations of social order at the individual level [3, s. 156]. This social ideal is actual nowadays.

According to Confucius teaching, the main values of modern Asian societies are different from Western values. They are a dedication to the community, a paternalism, a respect for elders, a hard work, an understanding of own place within a society and a sense of duty. In opinion of M. Myhal'chenko and P. Slipets, political values are the necessary condition for association the activity of citizens, for coordination the political subject's interaction with political object, according to its utility and desirability [5, s. 8].

D. Bell admitted the basic opposition between individual civil rights, which are championed in the West and particularly in liberal democratic societies, and communitarian perspectives that recognize and accept certain «democratic rights» as long as these «contribute to strengthening ties to such communities as the family and the nation» [9, s. 2]. That's why, the basic Asian political value is a community. It can be a family, a nation, a state. The common welfare of all dominates the welfare of the individual. During the process of economic modernization, Asian states were successful because of the awareness and observance of its own specificity mentality, understanding the place of the individual within a society and a state.

It is related in the «LunYu» that Confucius, when asked why he did not take part in government, responded by citing a passage from the ancient «*Shujing*» («Classic of History»), «Simply by being a good son and friendly to his brothers a man can exert an influence upon government!» to show that what a person does in the confines of his home is politically significant [7]. That's why, Western understanding of the democracy, the place of citizen within a state and human right is different from Asian understanding.

For instance, since the 1990s, Chinese society has began to associate with democracy the system of government, including free elections, the influence of intellectuals on the combination of power and freedom and nationalist Chinese tradition. For example, China's understanding of democracy, by the definition of A. Voskresenskyy, is a combination of the Marxist understanding of democracy (in China), Chinese reality (in China and Taiwan), the positive achievements of Western democracy (Taiwan) and the democratic elements in traditional Chinese culture. Thus, ruling authority was recognized the dictatorship of the people, democratic centralism and the primacy of the Communist Party of China. In Taiwan, the concept of democracy was transformed into a democratic regime with national specificity [2, s. 76-77].

Modern Asian states, as members of ASEAN (Pacific-Asian community) follow common political values such as human rights, democracy and the rule of law. These political values and political institutions and structures, which connected with given political values, mainly Western origins, but the existence of certain political traditions and ways of implementing policies that are traditional for Asian States [9, s. 1]. On the other hand, modern researcher C. Welzel gives the special type of democracy for Asian states in his classification of democratic regimes – authoritarian democracy, which is conducting basic template democratic values of the ruling elite. In A. Croissant's opinion, this type of democracy has «formal procedures of electoral democracy»

combined pragmatically with «autocratic characteristics» [8, s. 159]. The specificity of formation and functioning of political systems of Eastern and Southeastern Asia is that the process of democratization of social life is controlled from the top. The state continues to be the main initiator of reforms in the economic, political and social levels, including in building civil society [2, s. 575].

In the economic sphere, as well as in political sphere, the emphasis is on the interests of the community, commitments of citizens and informal mutual loyalty, maintaining social harmony, focus on the end result in terms of economic growth. It is acceptable that the state deliberately and consistently interferes in pricing to stimulate the development of certain industries. The intervention in the economy is considered as necessary. Production grows and expands not in the purpose of consumption, but ultimately to have leverage to other countries and strengthen its national security and autonomy [2, s. 113].

According to M. Weber's theory of social action, human behavior becomes the action only if the individual associates with a subjective sense. Every act of social action becomes meaningful only in relation to values, which are adjusted according to the behavior of people, their individual goals [3, s. 154]. In Ch. Tan's opinion, Asian economic success can be explained in connection with the work of M. Weber «The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism». Asian values as a doctrine of developmentalism can be understood as the claim that, until prosperity is achieved, democracy remains an unaffordable luxury. This «Protestant ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism» form of Asian values attributes high growth rates to certain cultural traits. These characteristics include hard work, frugality, discipline, and teamwork [9, s. 3].

Many factors affected on the formation of Asian political values. They consist not only of Confucian values, as well as with Buddhist, Western, Islamic and other values. So Asian values in each country manifest themselves differently, react differently to political and social problems. That's why the main political values of the region can be called the rule of law, respect for individual rights and freedoms, but with a predominance of the collective over the individual, order and equality.

Conclusions. All things considered, political and economic power of the East and Southeast Asia proves, that modernization of the country can be occurred not only horizontally (from citizens), evolutionary (during a long term period) or by coping someone's experience (such as a Westernization). Only existence unique, common political values can promote rapid development in political, economic and social sphere. This thesis was proved by the states of Asian-Pacific region, which have been observing Confucius political values such as paternalism, sense of duty, dedication to the community, respect for elders, a hard work, understanding of own place within a society.

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Меньшенина А. Є. Конфуціанство як базисна основа азійських політичних цінностей

У статті аналізуються головні особливості становлення та функціонування політичних цінностей Східної та Південно-Східної Азії у контексті впливу конфуціанства. Проблематика співіснування та розуміння політичних цінностей західними та східними суспільствами. Також аналізуються переваги та недоліки конфуціанських політичних цінностей на розвиток сучасного азійського суспільства.

Ключові слова: політичні цінності, аксіологія, конфуціанство.

Меньшенина А. Е. Конфуцианство как базисная основа азиатских политических ценностей

В статье анализируются главные особенности становления и функционирования политических ценностей Восточной и Юго-Восточной Азии в контексте влияния конфуцианства. Проблематика сосуществования и понимания политических ценностей западными и восточными обществами. Также анализируются недостатки и преимущества конфуцианских политических ценностей на развитие современного азиатского общества.

Ключевые слова: политические ценности, аксиология, конфуцианство.