



中国政法大学 国际法学院
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TRADITIONS AND MODERNIZATION IN THE POLITICS AND LAW OF RUSSIA, CHINA AND VIETNAM

(International Conference Proceedings)

TRUYỀN THỐNG VÀ HIỆN ĐẠI HÓA TRONG CHÍNH TRỊ VÀ PHÁP LUẬT
CỦA NGÀ, TRUNG QUỐC VÀ VIỆT NAM

(KỶ YẾU HỘI THẢO QUỐC TẾ)



NHÀ XUẤT BẢN KHOA HỌC XÃ HỘI

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(Kỷ yếu Hội thảo Quốc tế)**

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PART 1
POLITICS, PUBLIC LAW, THE RULE OF LAW AND HUMAN RIGHTS

TRIANGULAR COLLISION AND ALLIANCE

Prof. Akihiko Morita*

In this paper, I examine what makes different trajectories and the present states of Vietnam, Russia and China after the collapse of the Soviet Union in terms of law and politics.

As a reference, I introduce the three waves theory presented by Alvin Toffler, a prominent US futurist (1928-2016), in his masterpiece, *The Third Wave* (1980). In Toffler's account, the First Wave following agricultural revolution, the Second Wave emerged from industrial revolution and the Third Wave based on knowledge-based economy have different worldviews and ideologies to provide commonly accepted stories that justify their existence.

My contention is that the three countries, Russia, China and Vietnam, like the rest of the world, have been facing triangular collision and alliance between three waves and the approach of each country defines its trajectory, the current state and the future. In this sense, the collapse of the Soviet Union was very symbolic as she lagged behind in transition to the third wave civilization and lost to the United States whereas China and Vietnam have taken dual approach, a combination of industrialization/second wave and digital transformation/third wave and succeed in thriving in the post-modern era. Likewise, it is indicative that the United States was about to lose to China as she took inappropriate political and economic policy.

Michael Ignatieff, the former director of the Carr Center for Human Rights Policy at the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University and the former leader of the Liberal Party of Canada, once emphasized in *American Exceptionalism and Human Rights* (2005), it is critical for any nation to listen to, deliberate with others and alter and improve their own heritage in the light of other nations' example¹.

My proposition is that, echoing Toffler's forecast, we need new social imaginaries²

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¹ Michael Ignatieff, *American Exceptionalism and Human Rights*, Princeton University Press, 2005, p.26

² "The social imaginary is that common understanding that makes possible common practices and a widely shared sense of legitimacy." Charles Taylor, *Modern Social Imaginaries*, Duke University Press, 2004, p.23.

or “super-ideology¹” which justifies and underpins the emerging new “knowledge-based society”, quasi- synonym of the Third Wave civilization and at the same time, we need to find out the well-balanced combination of policies corresponding to each national, regional and global context, taking into account the ongoing triangular collision and alliance of the three civilizations, the First Wave, the Second Wave, and the Third Wave.

First, I illustrate Toffler’s three wave theory as a foundation of my proposition that the knowledge-based society needs new social imaginaries or “super-ideology” which justifies and underpins an emerging new “knowledge-based society”, quasi-synonym of the Third Wave civilization.

Second, I traced Toffler’s explication about the three development policies and present my own proposition that China and Vietnam took each unique development policy, successfully combining “the Second Wave strategy” and “the Third Wave strategy” and their initial conditions as agrarian society might make it easier to adopt “the Third Wave strategy” because of its commonality with the First Wave civilization whereas the Soviet Union had succeeded too much in “the Second Wave strategy” and might face difficulty in absorbing “the Third Wave strategy” like Japan who had succeeded in the Second Wave civilization and her success became major impediment in digital transformation for last thirty years or so.

Third, referring to Eduard Shevardnadze on “perestroika”, I argue that we need not only a balanced package of policies but also a proper ideology accommodating the Second Wave which needs strong nationalism and for the Third Wave which seeks open universalism. I, then, present a proposition that “Diversity, Equity, Inclusion and Belonging (DEIB)” best represents the “super-ideology” of the emerging civilization.

In conclusion, I hold that in this radically diversifying world, as increasing sense of loneliness shows, it gets more difficult to understand and collaborate with each other and listening to and learning from others become more vital in private, social and political sphere.

1. The knowledge-based society

Prof.Dr. Nguyen Phu Trong highlighted that industrialization and modernization in Vietnam must be promoted in conjunction with the development of a knowledge-based economy². My proposition is that the knowledge-based society needs new

¹ “A civilization also makes use of certain processes and principles and develops its own “super-ideology” to explain reality and to justify its own existence.” Alvin Toffler, *The Third Wave*, Bantam books, 1980, p.5.

² “To achieve this goal, we must step up industrialization and modernization in conjunction with the development of a knowledge-based economy.” Prof, Dr Nguyen Phu Trong, General Secretary of

social imaginaries or “super-ideology” which justifies and underpins an emerging new “knowledge-based society”, quasi-synonym of the Third Wave civilization. In my account, reviving Confucianism in China is an attempt to develop and articulate her unique “super-ideology” and in Vietnam, Ho Chi Minh’s thought and Marxism-Leninism seems to play such a role. Perestroika, although it failed, was also considered as such an attempt.

For exploring this topic further, Toffler’s “*The Third Wave*” could be a reliable guide for two reasons. First, it presents the most persuasive world view to account for social, political, economic, and spiritual change we are currently all facing and most of his predictions turned out to be surprisingly accurate, resurgence of the home as the center of society accompanied with widening remote work and virtual school, diversification of energy resources mainly with renewal energies taking over fossil ones, growing social responsibilities of corporates, reintegration of producer and consumer, increasing DIY, diversification of family and individual and so on. Second, although “*The Third Wave*” brought about a global impact, the influence is intentionally or unintentionally overlooked in the non-Western countries under the recent anti-Western sentiment.

For instance, New York Times mentioned how “*The Third Wave*” was appreciated in China in 1980s. Prime Minister Zhao Ziyang of China convened conferences to discuss “*The Third Wave*” in the early 1980s, and in 1985 the book was the No. 2 best seller in China. Only the speeches of the Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping sold more copies¹.

As I elaborated in another article², the more carefully we scrutinize and examine the history, the more fully we become aware of the fact that modernization is not mere imitation of the Western model, but rather ones developed through interactions and mutual learning beyond the national borders. In this connection, Charles Taylor stressed that European modernity is the first one in history and has been object of some imitation for the other parts of the world, it is, after all, one of many. From this

the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam (CPV), some theoretical and practical issues on socialism and the path towards socialism in Vietnam, the Electronic Portal of Ho Chi Minh National Academy of Politics, September 26th 2021, . < <<https://hcma.vn/english/news/Pages/features.aspx?CateID=200&ItemID=9448> >accessed on October. 22nd, 2021.

¹ Keith Schneider, ‘Alvin Toffler, Author of ‘Future Shock, Dies at 87’, (New York Times, June 29, 2016) <<https://www.nytimes.com/2016/06/30/books/alvin-toffler-author-of-future-shock-dies-at-87.html>> accessed October 22nd 2021.

² Akihiko Morita, “Heavenly Principle(天理), State Law(国法), Human Sentiment/Compassion (人情)” and Nuclear Policy in East Asia, 8th *Asian Constitutional Law Forum Proceedings Book*, September, 2020, 64-79.

understanding, Taylor insists that the more they understand own path to modernity in the West, the better equipped they can understand the difference with other cultures¹.

No society can develop a modern state and a market economy without some important change. And what come out depends partly on what went into the change.

From this point of view, we should speak instead of “alternative modernities”, different way of living the political and economic structures that the contemporary age makes mandatory. How these are worked out in India will not be the same as in Japan, which is in turn different from the North Atlantic region - which in its turn again has much inner diversity².

In this sense, “*The Third Wave*” looks still worth studying even 40 years after it was published in 1980. In this masterpiece, Toffler employed colliding waves as the grand metaphor to describe today’s civilizational shift, which in his account, made it possible to distinguish truly revolutionary change from the mere extension of the industrial age³.

The Third Wave brings with it a genuinely new way of life based on diversified, renewable energy sources; on methods of production that make most factory assembly lines obsolete; on new, non-nuclear families; on a novel institution that might be called the “electronic cottage”; and on radically changed schools and corporations of the future. The emergent civilization writes a new code of behavior for us and carries us beyond standardization, synchronization, and centralization, beyond the concentration of energy, money, and power⁴.

In Toffler’s account, approximately three hundred years ago, the industrial revolution began and had changed the entire way of life of the people. Toffler reconstructed modern history based on this grand metaphor, collision of waves. In his account, the Civil War in 1861 in the United States was a fight between the forces of the First Wave and the ones of the Second Wave, over which side would rule the future American society. Toffler observed the same collision in Japan, the Meiji Restoration, started in 1868, which paved the way for Japan to become a super industrial power. In his account, even the 1917 revolution in Russia was the same collision between First and Second Wave forces⁵.

It was fought not primarily, as it seemed, over communism but once again over the issue of industrialization. When the Bolsheviks wiped out the last

¹ Charles Taylor, *Modern Social Imaginaries*, p.xiii.

² Charles Taylor, *Philosophical Arguments*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1995, pp. xi-xii.

³ A. Toffler, *The Third Wave*, p.5.

⁴ Ibid, p.10.

⁵ Ibid., pp.23-24.

lingering vestiges of serfdom and feudal monarchy, they pushed agriculture into the backyard and consciously accelerated industrialism. They became the party of the Second Wave¹.

Toffler identified six interrelated principles emerged from and bind the Second Wave Civilization, standardization, specialization, synchronization, concentration, maximization, and centralization. Mass production and mass marketing standardized machines, products, process, money, education, information, language and time (synchronization) while accelerated division of labor(specialization). Mass production and mass marketing also concentrated population(urbanization) and work place (office and factory), seeking economy of scale(maximization). Finally, mass production and mass marketing created highly centralized companies, industries, economies and governments².

The shift from a basically decentralized First Wave economy, with each locality largely responsible for producing its own necessities, to the integrated national economies of the Second Wave led to totally new methods for centralizing powers³.

Toffler, then, presented a controversial proposition that despite of sharp ideological difference between United States advocating individualism and free enterprise and the Soviet Union supporting collectivism and socialism, both preached and tried to spread the same “super-ideology”, the way of thinking of the Second Wave civilization.

Toffler named the Second Wave “super-ideology” as “Indust-Reality” and identified the three major ideas.

- 1) Human should hold dominion over nature.
- 2) Human is the pinnacle of a long process of evolution.
- 3) History flows irreversibly toward a better life for humanity.

In his account, as Social Darwinism rationalized capitalism, the arrogant idea of “Indust-Reality” that industrialism is a higher stage of evolution than the non-industrial cultures rationalized imperialism⁴.

Toffler, then, delved into the underlying world view and the view of human/society of the Second Wave civilization. In his account, the Second Wave civilization produced the worldview that reality is composed of organized separable particles and the fixed and predictable laws govern all of cosmos, nature, society, and people, accelerated through combination of philosophical atomism articulated by René

¹ Ibid.,p.24.

² Ibid., pp.46-60.

³ Ibid., p.57.

⁴ Ibid., pp.98-103.

Descartes and physical atomism developed by Pierre Gassendi, Robert Boyle, Issac Newton and others¹.

The Third Wave civilization is quite different from the Second Wave in outlook and ideology. Toffler sketched the transition from the Second Wave to the Third Wave as follows.

We see a transformation of our technological system and our energy base into a new *techno-sphere*. This is occurring at the same time that we are de-massifying the mass media and building an intelligent environment, thus revolutionizing the *info-sphere* as well. In turn, these two giant currents flow together to change the deep structure of our production system, altering the nature of work in factory and office, and, ultimately, carrying us toward the transfer of work back into the home².

The climate change caused by greenhouse effect gas exponentially increased in the Second Wave civilization, mainly exhausted from fossil fuel, has finally forced human to convert to renewable energies. Advancing science and technologies including Internet, Blockchain and Artificial Intelligence have accelerated de-massification of production and consumption. As a result, the mass society of the Second Wave civilization has disintegrated and individuals/families have become more diversified.

At the same time, nationalistic sentiment and unilateralism seems to resurge around the globe and the global economic disparity is widening. Arguably, we are facing collision and alliance of the Second Wave civilization and the Third Wave civilization.

I will come back to this subject at the third section. Beforehand, I touch upon development policies through Toffler's observation and analysis about the post-Second World War era and present my sketchy proposition about relationship between modernization and tradition, referring to the cases of Russia, China and Vietnam in the next section.

2. Collision and alliance of three development policies

Since the end of the Second World War, many efforts were made to reduce the global economic disparity, governed by a single dominant strategy, "the Second Wave strategy" as Toffler named.

This approach starts with the premise that Second Wave societies are the apex of evolutionary progress and that, to solve their problems, all societies must replay the industrial revolution essentially as it happened in the West, the Soviet Union, or Japan. Progress consists of moving millions of people out of agriculture into mass production. It requires urbanization, standardization, and all the rest of the Second

¹ Ibid., pp.109-115.

² Ibid., p.207.

Wave package. Development, in brief, involves the faithful imitation of an already successful model¹.

However, in most countries, it turned out that “the Second Wave strategy” didn’t work except some countries equipped with special conditions such as South Korea and Taiwan. As a result, validity of “the Second Wave strategy” was questioned and taken over by what Toffler named “the First Wave strategy” in 1970’s. “The First Wave strategy” advocated labor-intensive production with low capital, energy and skill requirements and decentralized, small-scale facilities fit in the village. Toffler concluded that “the First Wave strategy” was “a strategy for ameliorating the worst of First Wave conditions without ever transforming them”². Toffler took the case of Mao’s China.

By dint of heroic effort, Mao’s China, which invented and tried out basic elements of the First Wave formula - almost, but not quite - managed to prevent famine. This was a towering achievement, But by the late sixties, the Maoist emphasis on rural development and backyard industry had gone as far as it could go. China had reached a dead end³. Instead, Toffler presented alternative development strategies as follows.

Tomorrow’s “development” strategies will come out not from Washington or Moscow or Paris or Geneva but from Africa, Asia, and Latin America. They will be indigenous, matched to actual local needs. They will not overemphasize economies at the expense of ecology, culture, religion, or family structure and the psychological dimensions of existence. They will not imitate any outside model, First Wave, Second Wave or, for that matter, Third⁴.

Toffler, then, indicated plausible option that the Third Wave civilization has been making available. Toffler pointed out the congruity between the Third Wave and the First Wave such as decentralized production, appropriate scale, renewable energy, de-urbanization, work in the home, high level of presumption and wondered if the Third Wave would make it possible for a society to reach a high material standard without giving up its own unique tradition and succumbing to the Western Second Wave model.

Now, reflecting Toffler’s thought, I present my own preliminary proposition. In my account, China and Vietnam took each unique development policy, successfully combining “the Second Wave strategy” and “the Third Wave strategy” and their initial conditions as agrarian society might make it easier to adopt “the Third Wave strategy” because of its commonality with the First Wave civilization whereas the Soviet Union

¹ Ibid., p.329.

² Ibid., p.334

³ Ibid., pp.335-336.

⁴ Ibid., p.337.

had succeeded and adjusted in “the Second Wave strategy” and hence faced difficulty in absorbing “the Third Wave strategy” like Japan who had succeeded as a super industrial power in the Second Wave civilization in 1960s - 1980s and her memory of success became major impediment in digital transformation for last thirty years or so. This proposition, of course, is very preliminary and needs more detailed scrutiny. I just hope it may inspire further dialogue about traditions and modernization.

Now, I turn to the main subject, how the “super-ideology” of the Third Wave civilization would and should look like.

3. The Super-ideology of the emerging new civilization

As Eduard Shevardnadze, the then Soviet Foreign Minister, highlighted in his speech at the United Nations General Assembly on September 27th, 1988, the global environmental issues have taken over the Cold War as the central political agenda in the international politics. We have recognized that humans’ activities started threatening “the very foundation of our life and earth¹”.

In Toffler’s account, advancing science and technologies, diversifying sources of energy, mainly renewable energies, de-massification of production and reintegration of consumers and producers, would transform the entire ecosystem of the Second Wave civilization. As a result, the mass society of the Second Wave civilization and its regional, local, ethnic, social, and religious subgroups would disintegrate and become more individuated². Moreover, Toffler pointed out that the “indust-reality” is being altered and replaced by a more humble view of the human and the world. As the Third Wave dawns, our own planet seems much smaller and more vulnerable. Our place in the universe seems less grandiose.³

In my account, we are gradually acknowledging ourselves as one of many and a part of a greater life. However, Toffler also pointed out that we have two different political wars simultaneously. In his account, the first one is a clash between the Second Wave groups struggling for gains in the traditional sense and the second one is a war between those group who wish to maintain the current political, economic and social system and the one who wish to transform it. Toffler characterized the difference of two camps very clearly.

One is tenaciously dedicated to preserving the core institutions of industrial mass society - the nuclear family, the mass education system, the giant corporations, the

¹ Eduard Shevardnadze’s speech at the United Nations General Assembly on September 27th, 1988. <<https://www.c-span.org/video/?4399-1/soviet-foreign-minister-un>>accessed on November 30th 2021.

² A. Toffler, *The Third Wave*, p.316.

³ Ibid., pp.291-292

mass trade union, the centralized nation-state, and the politics of pseudo representative government. The other recognizes that today's most urgent problems, from energy, war, and poverty to ecological degradation and the breakdown of familial relationships, can no longer be solved within the framework of an industrial civilization.¹ Eduard Shevardnadze characterized the system he tried to reform as a combination of centralized economy, concentrated power structure and pseudo representative government.

The three whales, the three pillars of the system - a centralized economy; the political system with its main unit, the Party-state apparatus; and the unitary state - were objectively unable to reform themselves or to give up their "conquests" voluntarily. Just as objectively, an inadequate regard for the interests of the establishment that represented those pillars could not help but provoke a reaction - first dislike of perestroika, then resistance to it².

Arguably, perestroika was an attempt to adjust the Soviet Union to the Third Wave civilization and in my account, it failed as they couldn't find and pursue a proper ideology that could accommodate the Second Wave which needs strong nationalism and the Third Wave which seeks open universalism. As Charles Taylor insisted, we need not only specific policies but also articulated stories of what we are doing for transforming a society³.

My proposition is that "Diversity, Equity, Inclusion and Belonging (DEIB)" best represents the "super-ideology" of the age of collision and alliance of three Waves. First, as we are observing in our day-by-day life, the mode of family and sexual orientation/preferences has radically diversified. Toffler observed that what we tended to consider the "standard family", with a husband-breadwinner, a wife-housekeeper, and a few children, was accepted just because its structure happened to meet the needs of a mass-production society. In his account, once this mode of family was approved socially, it carried and institutionalized hierarchical, bureaucratic values and lifestyle, separation of home life from work life in the marketplace⁴.

For what we are witnessing is not the death of the family as such, but the final fracture of the Second Wave family system in which all families were supposed to emulate the idealized stylized nuclear model, and the emergence in its place of a diversity of family forms. Just as we are de-massifying our media and our production,

¹ *Ibid* 437

² Eduard Shevardnadze, translated by Catherine A. Fitzpatrick, *The Future Belongs to Freedom*, The Free Press, 1991, p.189.

³ Charles Taylor, Interculturalism or multiculturalism, *Philosophy and Social Criticism*, Vol.38, No.4-5, May/June, 2012, pp.415-416.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p.209

we are de-massifying the family system in the transition to a Third Wave civilization¹. So, “Diversity” is the first characteristic of the emerging civilization.

Second, as Prof, Dr Nguyen Phu Trong correctly pointed out², particularly since the financial crisis in 2008 started in the United States, “Equity” has gained popular attention globally. Neoliberalism is questioned its validity and structural inequality has become the main political agenda. Forty years ago, Toffler predicted the “End of Marketization”. The human race has been busy constructing a worldwide exchange network - a market - for at least 10,000 years. In the past 300 years, ever since the Second Wave began, this process has roared forward at very high speed. Second Wave civilization “marketized” the world. Today - at the very moment when prosuming begins to rise again - this process is coming to end³. Although Toffler didn’t present the alternative vision, he raised the correct question, what the role of the market in our lives and the future of civilization itself should be⁴. In my account, “Equity” is the guiding principle in this uncharted voyage.

Third, “Inclusion” is another characteristic of our age. In this connection, we need to abandon our false assumption that increased diversity automatically brings increased tension and conflict in society. Toffler believed that diversity can produce and maintain a secure and stable civilization under appropriate institutional arrangement⁵. If one hundred men all desperately want the same brass ring, they may be forced to fight for it. On the other hand, if each of the hundred has a different objective, it is far more rewarding for them to trade, cooperate, and form symbiotic relationships⁶.

Lastly, as highlighted under COVID-19, a sense of isolation and loneliness has become a major concern of mental health and “Belonging” is earmarked as another leading value in the Third Wave civilization⁷. In this connection, it must be noted that a sense of loneliness is not a product of remote work but the inevitable mental phenomena accompanied with social diversification.

¹ Ibid., p.211.

² “Yet capitalism still cannot address its innate and fundamental contradictions. Crises continue to break out. Most notably, in 2008 and 2009 we witnessed a financial crisis and economic recession starting in the United States. It then rapidly spread to other centers of capitalism and affected nearly every country in the world. Capitalist states and governments in the West injected huge amounts of money into their system to save transnational corporations, industrial, financial and banking complexes, and security markets, but they only gained limited success. And today we witness a multi-faceted health, social, political and economic crisis unfolding under the impacts of the COVID-19 pandemic and the Fourth Industrial Revolution.” Prof, Dr Nguyen Phu Trong, some theoretical and practical issues on socialism and the path towards socialism in Vietnam.

³ Ibid., pp.283-284

⁴ Ibid., p.288

⁵ Ibid., p.422

⁶ Ibid., p.422

⁷ Ibid., p.369

One clue to the plague loneliness lies in our rising level of social diversity. By de-massifying society, by accentuating differences rather similarities, we help people individualize themselves. We make it possible for each of us more nearly to fulfill his or her potential. But we also make human contact more difficult. For the more individualized we are, the more difficult it becomes to find a mate or a lover who has precisely matching interests, values, schedules, or tastes.

In my account, both global acceptance of the idea of Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and rapidly expanding Environmental, Social, and Corporate Governance (ESG) as a criteria of a firm's collective conscientiousness for social and environmental factors demonstrate the emergence of new mindset of the emerging civilization and "Diversity, Equity, Inclusion and Belonging (DEIB)" is the guiding principles and leading characteristics. However, we also need to note that transition to the new civilization is not a unilinear process. I will come back to this point at the last part of the conclusion.

4. Conclusion

Before coming to my final proposition, I briefly touch upon the Western intellectual history. Charles Taylor once characterized modernization in the West as a revolution in the basic categories in which we understand self. The modern subject is self-defining, where on previous views the subject is defined in relation to a cosmic order.

Now the shift that occurs in the seventeenth-century revolution is, *inter alia*, a shift to the modern notion of the self. The Epicureans and Sceptics achieved a notion of self-definition by withdrawing from the world... By contrast the modern shift to a self-defining subject was bound up with a sense of control over the world - at first intellectual and then technological¹.

The modern self, in Taylor's account, has the active capacity to shape and fashion our world, natural and social; and it had to be actuated by some drive to human beneficence, which means it had to produce some substitute of *agape*². The concept of modern self has evolved with the growing sense of confidence to grasp and control the world objectively, including humans, in the West.

In my account, similar development of modern self can be observed in non-Western states such as China, Vietnam and Japan although their resources, trajectories and the contemporary forms vary from culture to culture.

¹ Charles Taylor, *Hegel*, Cambridge University Press, 1975, pp.6-7.

² *Ibid.*, p.27.

For instance, the intellectual history of China presented by Yuzo Mizoguchi and his colleagues refuted the traditional perception of the Chinese history as persistent continuum of dynasties which was finally turned down in 1911 Revolution (Xinhai Revolution). Instead, they describe the Chinese intellectual history as the process of penetration of Confucian thought into the wider social classes which has eventually prepared for 1911 Revolution. In their new perception, the Chinese history has 4 epochs; the first one was the establishment of the centralized dynasties in Qin and Han Dynasties, the second was the transformation to the meritocratic society based on the imperial examination system (科舉) in Tang and Song dynasties, the third was the development of local communities from late Ming dynasty to Qing dynasty and the fourth was 1911 Revolution. In Mizoguchi's account, each epoch represents the beginning of new era in which Confucianism penetrates the much wider social classes. Confucianism was established as sole legitimate belief in Qin and Han Dynasties, widely exercised by bureaucrats for moral training in Song dynasty and disseminated more widely in the local communities in Ming and Qing dynasties¹.

We can observe the growing confidence of the people about their capacity to reform the society on their own behind the Chinese history in which Confucianism has taken a leading role although it did not take the form of disengagement of individuals from hierarchical community in the West.

In Vietnam, Ho Chi Minh's thought and Marxism-Leninism seems to have provided a base of "the super-ideology". Ho Chi Minh's thought is founded on the basis of selectively inheriting traditional ideology and values of Vietnamese peoples, commensurate with our history in the late 19th century and early 20th century. Furthermore, it has been open to and applied creatively human cultural quintessence of both the East and the West, most notably Marxism-Leninism². In Russia, we could find a similar development in perestroika although it was altered.

My final proposition is that transition to the new civilization is not a unilinear process as Toffler's grand metaphor, collision and alliance of waves, indicates and we need to find out appropriate combination of "the First Wave strategy", "the Second Wave strategy", and "the Third Wave strategy", depending on local, regional and global context. As the Third Wave civilization is characterized with diversity, the path toward it would be and should be diverse and multiple as well. In this diversifying

¹ Yuzo Mizoguchi, Tomohisa Ikeda, Tsuyoshi Kojima, *Chinese intellectual history* (Chugoku shiyou shi) (中国思想史), University of Tokyo Publishing Company, 2007.

² Senior Colonel Nguyễn Sỹ Hòa (Associate Professor from the Faculty of Marxism-Leninism ideology and Hochiminh's thought at the Army Academy in Dalat, Lam Dong province), A bold distortion of Ho Chi Minh's thought, the Electronic Portal of Ho Chi Minh National Academy of Politics, June 6th 2017, <https://hcma.vn/english/news/Pages/newsandevents.aspx?itemID=9010>, Accessed October 26th, 2021.

world, as increasing sense of loneliness shows, it gets more difficult to understand and collaborate with each other and listening to and learning from others become more vital in private, social and political sphere. Let me conclude my exploration with Ignatieff's final word. Nations that find reasons not to listen and learn end up losing¹.

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