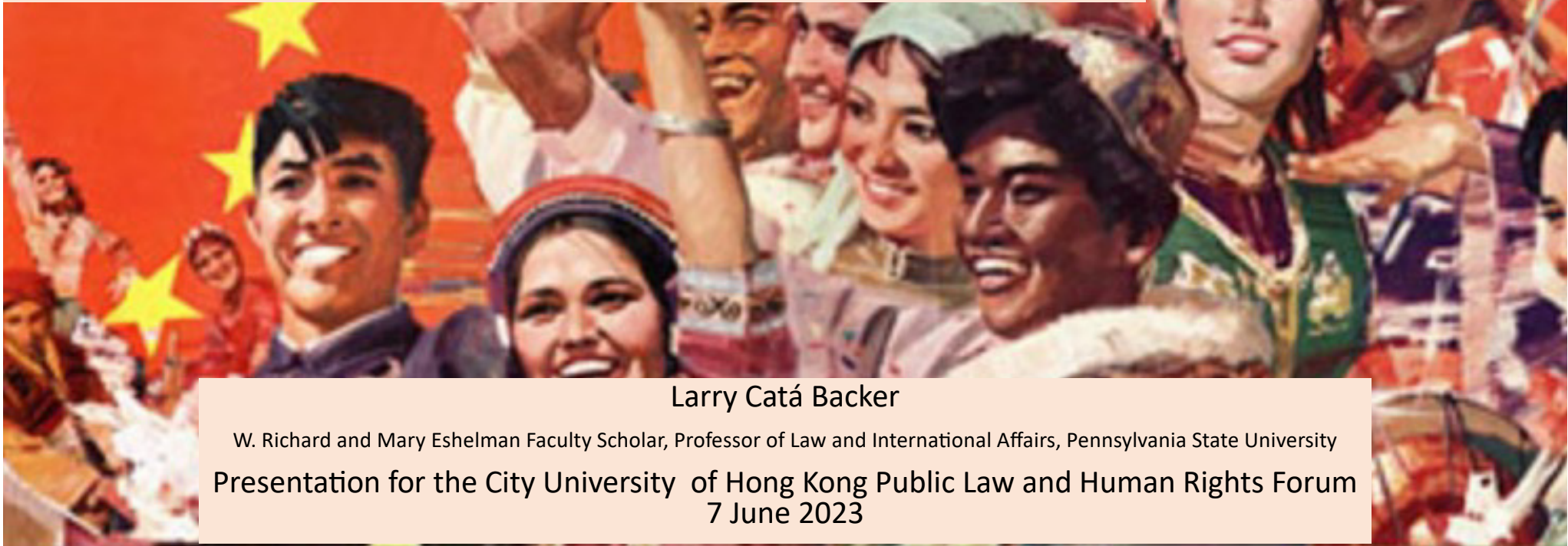


Whole Process People's Democracy (全过程人民民主) as Applied Constitutionalism



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Questions

- Consider the emerging theory of Chinese Whole Process People's Democracy
 - How does it fit into the landscape of global constitutionalism?
 - What does it suggest for the key issues of constitutional structure?
 - Elections/representation
 - The role of consultation
- Analytical foundations
- Then consider range of the possible
 - Liberal Democracy
 - Whole Process People's Democracy
 - Cuban variant
- Implications



Analytic Foundations



Configuration

- Who/What Rules
- Choices that can be signified (sign)



Constitutionalism

- Ideal rule/ruler system
- Interpretant (meaning)



Constitutions

- Application
- Government
- Object



Configuration— “Who”/“How” Governs; The Range of the Possible

- Normative choices for the organization of political (πόλις/*polis*—*a space and a collective*) social relations
 - Who
 - Δῆμος (*demos*)
 - Μόνος (*Monos*)/ αὐτός (*auto*)
 - Ἄριστος (*Aristos*—best/noblest)
 - *Oligos* (few, small, little)
 - *Anarkhia* (without leaders)
 - How
 - *agōgos* (ἄγωγός)
 - ἄρχειν (*Arkhein*)/ ἄρχων (*Archon*)
/Κράτος/κράτιᾱ (*kratos; kratia*) (rule/to be first/strength, power-rule; power of

Constitutionalism— Signifying the Possible

- The ideal combination of ruler and rule
 - Descriptive
 - Normative
- A mechanism for ascribing political value
 - to combinations of the “who” and “how” of political organization
 - What “counts” and what “doesn’t count”
- The principles for determining value and distance to the ideal
 - The meaning of the ideal





Constitution(s)— Objectifying the Possible

- The application of constitutionalism principles to choices for the organization of political social relations
 - manifestation of a political configuration
 - legitimated through the signification of constitutionalism principles

The Range of the Possible

- **Demos**
 - Everyone/Patriots/Citizens/Wealthy/Poor/Men/etc.
- **-Kratia**
 - Direct/Indirect/Through a priesthood of the best, the noblest/Elected; appointed
- **-Agogos**
 - Guidance: people or law/Ideal or custom/Mandatory or voluntary
- **Permutations and Combinations of –kratia (κρατία) as common thread**
 - **Solidarity binary**
 - Autonomous individual at the center
 - Autonomous collective at the center
 - **Ordering Objectives binary**
 - Preserve and protect customs and traditions
 - Perfect the autonomous individual or collective



Manifesting Democracy

- As applied
 - Constitutionalism
 - Constitutional ideologies
 - Social relations in the political sphere
 - Resolution of the problem of mass rule
 - Objectification of collective organs
- As its documentary forms
 - Written constitutions
 - Bureaucracies
 - Objectification of collective organs





The Divisions that Unite

- The challenge of representation
- The meaning of elections
- The collectivization of society or the individualization of politics
- The centrality of consultation
 - Elections as consultation
 - Consultation as accountability

Democracy: A Deeper Dive



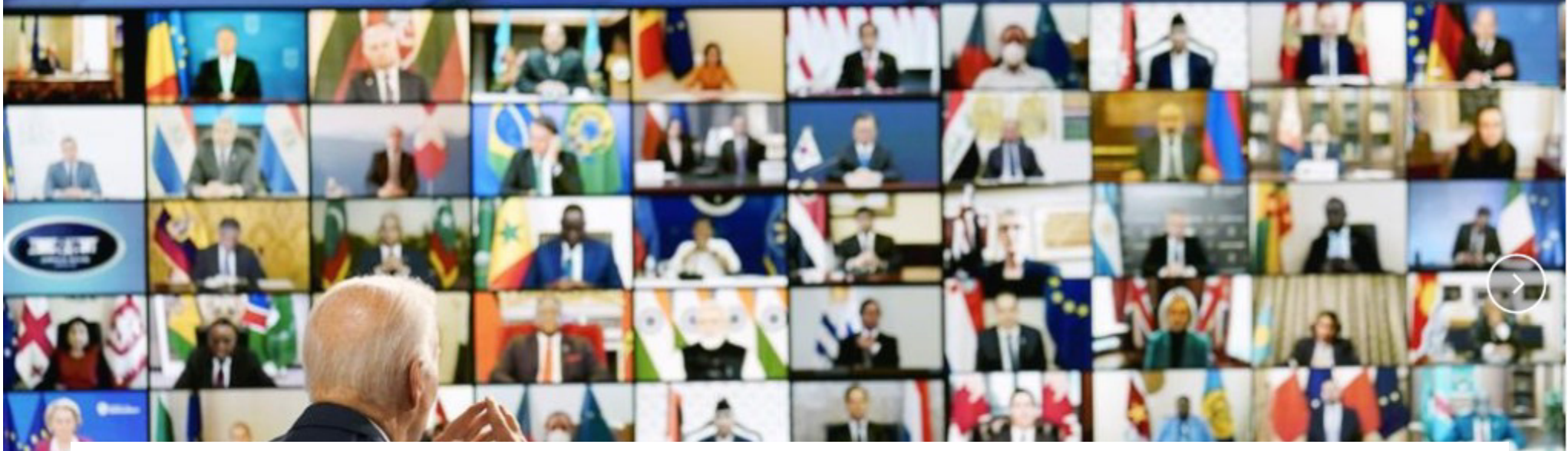
Traditional liberal
democracy

Emerging “Whole Process
People’s Democracy”

Caribbean (Cuban)
Marxism (Soviet Vestigial)



SUMMIT FOR DEMOCRACY



The Semiotic Empire of Liberal Democracy

Ideology of Exogenous Democracy

Exogenous Versus Endogenous Democracy

Democratic practice outside the organs of state; identity between accountability and elections; representatives substantial discretion in exercising mandate and voting represents an aggregate rendering of account.

Democratic practice within the organs of state; identity between accountability of performance; collective owes duty of fidelity gauged by performance

- Political parties exist *within* liberal democracy organized through a government apparatus which exercises political authority;
- Parties exist as *exogenous* to the exercise of political authority vested in state organs.
- Political parties contribute to the peopling of representative state organs
- **Elections** as the highest expression of exogenous democracy
- **Law**—protects integrity of elections
- **Governance**—the marketplace of ideas

The Signification of Voting and its Rituals



1943 general elections Italy

- “The right to vote, to have your vote counted, is the threshold of democracy and liberty everywhere in the world. And with it, anything is possible. Without it, in my view, nothing is possible.”
 - ([Remarks by President Biden at the Summit for Democracy Virtual Plenary on Democracy Delivering on Global Challenges](#))
- The **individual at the center** of the rituals of democracy
- Democracy as the theater within which the **rituals of delegation** can be performed.

大團結

From Voting to Values

- “The great strength of democracy is that it gives us all the tools we need for self-government and self-improvement. And I’m proud to stand with all of you to defend those fundamental values we all share: justice, the rule of law, free speech, assembly, freedom of the press, freedom of religion, and our core belief in the interest of human rights for every single individual in the world.”
 - [\(Remarks by President Biden at the Summit for Democracy Virtual Plenary on Democracy Delivering on Global Challenges\)](#).
- One might better understand liberal democracy theory as the effort to **normalize a theory of political organization from out of the principal manifestation of human (individual) rights** in the form and from out of the sensibilities of the *International Covenant for Civil and Political Rights* (operationalized with local and historically current characteristics).



From Values (Signification) to Objectification (Projects)

- “Inter alia, the Declaration affirms the endorsing parties’ political commitments to:
 - --Protect human rights, media freedom, and rule of law;-
 - Ensure accountability for human rights violations and abuses;--Support people, including in Ukraine, who stand for freedom and reject aggression;--Combat all forms of discrimination and exclusion, including by strengthening women’s rights;--Prevent and combat corruption;--Advance technology that works for, and not against democracy;--Defend against transnational threats, including foreign malign influence and foreign information manipulation;--Support free and fair elections; and --Address global challenges, including sustainable development, climate change, global health, and food security.”
 - ([Media Note Summit for Democracy Declaration](#)).



From Objectification to the Liberal Democratic International



- Rules Based International Order and the Pax Americana post 1945
- G-7 Communiqué (May 2023) Proffers the managed market
 - "upholding and reinforcing the free and open international order based on the rule of law, respecting the UN Charter to the benefit of countries, large and small"(Ibid.).
- Divided roughly into three parts: (1) principles and shared values; (2) operational objectives; (3) operational policy drivers.
 - Shared values and principles are built around the concept of the rules based multilateral trading system.
 - That in turn, is grounded in the centrality of markets, and markets express the space where individuals may exercise a substantial measure of individual autonomy in their social relations. Included in the shared values are universal human rights, gender equality and human dignity and a free and open internal order that rejects territorial expansion by force.
 - Operational objectives include a longer list that are meant to protect the global trading order, foster management of migration, advance climate change mitigation programs, drive the management of AI, accelerate the achievement of the Sustainable Development Goals, and manage global health regimes (including moves toward universal health coverage).
 - Operational policy drivers
 - include support for Ukraine, advancing disarmament and non-proliferation strategies, diversifying and deepening economic relations, including with competitor empires, drive green energy transition, promote food security, and jump start its own grand infrastructure program.

CCTV+



XI STRESSES PROMOTING WHOLE-PROCESS

The Semiotic Empire of Marxist-Leninism: Chinese Whole Process Democracy

PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY

Ideology of Endogenous Democracy



- ***Marxist-Leninist collectives***

- the vanguard party, as the leadership core of organized political authority, exists as *the organization of political authority itself*
- which is then administered through state organs and contributing collective organizations;
- political collectives exist as endogenous organs of governance under the leadership of the vanguard.
 - Political parties serve as recognized organs of consultative governance administered by state institutions

The System

- Political collectivization
 - Institutionalization of political voices of masses
 - ***A collective for everything and everyone in a collective***
- Embedding collectives within structures of consultative democracy
 - Tight division between leading and consulting
- Socialist purity as against liberal democratic corruption
- The unique constitution of the Vanguard party
 - ***The supra-collective***; the embodiment of the leading social forces and
 - As the holder of stewardship for exercise of political authority in the service of the masses



《中国的民主》 (China: Democracy That Works)

One starts by defining the people (patriots) who are object and subject of democracy and democratic legitimacy (people's democratic dictatorship [人民民主专政]).
(*China: Democracy that Works* , p. 9)

One then divides democratic structures into two distinct institutional venues—

- the *first the National People's Congress system* (Democracy within the administrative apparatus);

- the *second the system of political consultation* (Democracy for the masses)

Multi-Level Consultation

- **Exogenous element**

- People's Congress System as democratic practice within the state apparatus
- Voting under vanguard guidance

- **Endogenous element**

- Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (人民政协) as central organ of mass collective democratic representative consultation within the political apparatus



Resolving Two Core Issues of Political Collectivization

- **Representation:** functional differentiation of the masses along lines of recognized mass collectives that in the aggregate represent the entirety of the masses
 - Nexus point for the implementation of the mass line (群众路线)
 - Avoid representation gaps
- **Institutionalization of Consultation:** application of the principle of democratic centralism to the institutionalization of the mass line in the relationship between the CPC and mass organizations
 - Consultation model embeds direct democratic participation and popular representation under the leadership of the CPC; it enhances coordination and consistency; it operationalizes broadly the core principle of people's democratic dictatorship (人民民主专政) (and the great patriotic campaign)
 - Supervision function—proper operation of state and monitor individual and administrative lapses
 - Critical Vessel: Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (人民政协) system as central coordinating organ



中国新型政党制度》(China's New Political Party System)

Elaboration of CPC Basic Line and principles in CPC Constitution's General Summary or Program (总纲)

- Updating old United Front political party system into a New Era Leninist system of consultative democracy.
- Political collectives are given autonomy to operate as nodes of engagement
 - But only within the overall structures of Chinese Leninism in which the CPC remains at the center.
- Political parties, then, are:
 - (1) collective mass representative political organizations
 - (2) mass organizations legitimated by their history, their patriotic activities, and their role in the revolution
 - (3) Realizes institutionalization of mechanics of CPC leadership as the apex vanguard patriotic revolutionary party.
 - (4) In the aggregate represent all of the people

The background of the slide is a collage. On the left, there is a portion of the Chinese national flag with its red field and yellow stars. To the right, there is a photograph of a diverse group of people, likely at a public gathering or conference, with some individuals looking towards the camera and others looking away. The overall tone is patriotic and official.

CPPCC V NPC

- “The Chinese People’s Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC) serves as a key element of the multiparty mechanism. A specialized body for socialist consultative democracy, the CPPCC promotes unity, strengthens multiparty cooperation, and practices people’s democracy in the process of political consultation. It maintains the traditions of the past, and keeps pace with the times. . . – **problems are solved through consultation**. It is a key component of the state governance system, and a distinctively Chinese political institution.”
- “Through the institutions of the CPPCC, representatives from all political parties, people’s organizations, ethnic groups, and social sectors engage in political consultation. They carry out their routine duties through mechanisms such as **plenary sessions, meetings of the standing committee, meetings of chairpersons, meetings of special committees, forums on specific subjects, and consultative seminars, and make proposals, conduct inspections and field surveys, and report on social conditions and public opinions on a regular basis.**”
 - *China: Democracy That Works* (State Council 2021, p. 14)



From Values (Signification) to Objectification (projects)

- strengthening the CPC's overall leadership, reforming Party and government institutions, and reinforcing the Party's leadership over the development of whole-process people's democracy;
- modernizing China's governance system and capacity;
- establishing and upholding the fundamental, basic, and important systems of Chinese socialism, with a more complete institutional framework to ensure the people's status as masters of the country;
- advancing democratic elections, consultations, decision-making, management, and oversight, progressing electoral democracy and consultative democracy side by side, and expanding the people's orderly political participation and the scope of democracy;
- consolidating the people's principal position in the country's political and social life;
- leveraging the institutional strengths of Chinese socialism;
- promoting political stability, unity and vitality;
- building a nationwide force towards the country's goals in the new era;
- achieving a strategic success in the fight against the Covid-19 epidemic;
- ending absolute poverty, and completing the building of a moderately prosperous society in all respects.

Advantages of the “new political party system”

First, the consultation model better expresses mass line participatory democracy under the leadership of a Leninist vanguard.

- “The organic unity of cooperation, consultation, and supervision is an important form of realization of the people's mastery of the country and an important institutional carrier of socialist consultative democracy.”

Second, the multi-party consultation system best expresses popular representation.

- That representation extends to a broad category of what in the liberal democratic West would be understood as identity-based groupings.
- It is also meant to soften tyrannies of majorities or minorities mediated by the apex vanguard party.

Third, the new party system enhances coordination and consistency.

- Step toward the greater efficiency under the guidance of the apex party through the refinement of a consensus-based system.
- Consensus is guided by the principles of democratic centralism and limits of the people's democratic dictatorship.
- Rationalize political decision-making beneath the level of sovereign decision-making.

Lastly, political parties are meant to enhance the primary political objectives of stability and prosperity.

- To that end, the political party system is understood to replace “confrontation and struggle with cooperation and negotiation,
- Overcomes the drawbacks of frequent political regime changes caused by mutual conflict between parties, and can effectively resolve conflicts and maintain harmony and stability.” Ibid.

The Marxist-Leninist (Communist) Democratic International

- Belt & Road Initiative
- Socialist Human Rights
- Collectivization
- Vanguardism
- Stability and Prosperity with local characteristics
- Instrumentalist markets
- Managed individual autonomy



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The Cuban Variant



Massive participation during the Constitutional referendum last February in Cuba. F

Credit: <http://en.Granma.cu>

Hybridity



En marzo de 2018 se perfeccionaron procedimientos para implementar los lineamientos y también de la Comisión de Implementación

• *Referenda*

- Since the early post-Revolutionary period
 - Havana Declarations
- Long dormancy
 - Used on times of crisis
- Taken up again after start of Raúl Castro leadership period (from 2006)
 - Used as a mechanism for affirming acts of Party or of the National Assembly
 - Last used 2019 new Constitution
 - 2021 revision to Family law for LGBTQ+ rights

• *Consultation*

- Some use at the time of the first Party Congress (1976)
- Began in earnest in modern form from 2007 in time of economic crisis
 - Lineamientos
- Methodical
 - Use of the system of revolutionary surveillance (street level volunteer organizers)
 - Responses moderated and taken down by local officials and then consolidated up the party organizational chain
- Contextual
 - Consultation on major Party Documents more abbreviated

Challenges

- ***The problem of elections***
 - Affirmation oriented
 - How to interpret and act on “no” or “null” votes.
- ***The problem of curation***
 - No system for ensuring that masses of relevant comments reaches highest levels
- ***The problem of control***
 - Top down only
- ***Protests and consultations***
 - System learning to tolerate demonstrations





Hanna Barczyk

Building One Against the Others: Whole Process
Democracy in the Shadow of the Liberal
Democratic “Other” and “Vice-Versa”



The Comparative Critique

- The comparison, measuring exercise, is built around three core propositions.
 - (一) 制度痼疾积重难返; (1) The system's chronic defects are difficult to overcome
 - (二) 民主实践乱象丛生; (2) the practice of democracy is chaotic
 - (三) 输出所谓民主产生恶果 (3) exporting the so-called democracy produces evil results.
- Bringing the language of class struggle back to the comparative analysis.
 - **Class struggle is still the primary contradiction in the US;**
 - **Political parties are incapable of comprehensive representation;**
 - **Politics is an expression of capitalist production (quid pro quo operation)**
 - **Domination by social and financial elite (the liberal democratic vanguard)**
 - **Adversarial rather than consensus building system**

And from the Other Side



- “China’s transformation is due to the talent, the ingenuity, the hard work of the Chinese people. It was also made possible by the stability and opportunity that the international order provides. Arguably, no country on Earth has benefited more from that than China.”
- “But rather than using its power to reinforce and revitalize the laws, the agreements, the principles, the institutions that enabled its success so that other countries can benefit from them, too, Beijing is undermining them. Under President Xi, the ruling Chinese Communist Party has become more repressive at home and more aggressive abroad.”
- “We see that in how Beijing has perfected mass surveillance within China and exported that technology to more than 80 countries; how its advancing unlawful maritime claims in the South China Sea, undermining peace and security, freedom of navigation, and commerce; how it’s circumventing or breaking trade rules, harming workers and companies in the United States but also around the world; and how it purports to champion sovereignty and territorial integrity while standing with governments that brazenly violate them.”
 - Antony Blinken, “[The Administration’s Approach to the People’s Republic of China](#)” (26 May 2022)

Semiotic Lifeworlds

- ***The meaning and performance of elections,***
 - Affirmation of vanguard choice
 - Key autonomous individual political act
- ***The meaning and performance of consultation***
 - Decision-making through collectivization of social groups
 - Post-election structural element; marketplace of politics
- ***The nature of civil and political rights,***
 - Dependent on achieving ESC Rights
 - Essential to the realization of ESC Rights
- ***The nature of economic, social and political rights***
 - Essential for achieving CP Rights
 - Dependent on achieving CP Rights
- ***Human rights***
 - Collective development and security
 - Maximizing individual expression and participation in social and economic relations
- ***Internationalism***
 - Coordination around shared objectives
 - Convergence around values





Questions?



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단결하여 더욱 큰 승리를 쟁취하자.
ENTEMAKTASA OTEREP. ONANARE ZOR JƏNGİ... BƏ KOL JƏTKİZƏYİK.



Thank You 谢谢