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Source: *World Review of Political Economy*, Vol. 10, No. 4 (Winter 2019), pp. 519-526

Published by: Pluto Journals

Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.13169/worlrevipoliecon.10.4.0519>

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OPENING SPEECH AT THE FOURTEENTH FORUM OF THE WORLD ASSOCIATION FOR POLITICAL ECONOMY

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July 19, 2019

Ladies and gentlemen, good afternoon. Now I open the Fourteenth Forum of the World Association for Political Economy on the theme “Class, State and Nation in the Twenty-First Century.” Today, I want to talk about several theories on the Communist Party of China, state and class.

On the Nature and Function of the Communist Party of China and the Socialist State

First, in a class society, any state is a non-neutral apparatus employed by one or several classes. In a socialist society, the state is a political organization led by the advanced working class (by means of the vanguard of the communist party), based on the alliance of workers and peasants, which unites broadly all classes and strata supporting socialism, and also an organ of state power organizing and administrating economic, political, cultural, social and military affairs. The state system or the political nature of the People’s Republic of China is people’s democratic dictatorship led by the working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants. This state is a non-neutral apparatus employed by the working class uniting other classes supporting socialism, that is to say, it is not a supra-class state, but has the class nature as its primacy and the first political attribute. Although since the implementation of “reform and opening-up” policy, non-public economy has become an important part of the national economy, the communist party and its

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government ought to coordinate the class relations between labor and capital in the stance of the working class. Class is of the primary nature, function and position in the analysis of state. In the current phase, there exist class, class struggle and hostile forces both in China and in the globe.

Second, in the perspective of Marxism, the dictatorship of the proletariat in the broad sense is that the proletariat, after ascending to power, implements the state system and political system of people's democratic dictatorship, including the democracy for the working class and the majority of the people and the dictatorship towards the enemy class and power as well as all sorts of criminals opposing the people's regime; while the dictatorship of the proletariat in the narrow sense refers to the latter only. The nature of the several concepts, which are dictatorship of the workers and peasants, people's democratic dictatorship (constitutionalism), the dictatorship of the proletariat (constitutionalism), and socialist constitutionalism, is the same and the forms of realization can be diverse.

Third, the ethnic policies of socialist China are in general equal, civilized and effective, reflecting the character of inheritance of diverse cultures and unity as well as solidarity of the Chinese nation. Those political statements and actions advocating the independence of Tibet, Xinjiang, Taiwan and Hong Kong, which attempt to coordinate with the global anti-China power in order to split the Chinese nation and state, as well as the attempt of exploiting class, will never be achieved. If the tendency of the socialist development of a country and various nations in the globe is intermarriage and integration based on national equality and common progress, then practices blindly stereotyping the nations in education, marriage, employment, cadre selection and other respects of normal life should be seriously reflected, for example, creating new words for nations with no words, refusing to carry out national education based on uniform Chinese language, and so on. It is an unwise move that Stalin did not duly revise the articles of the Soviet Union constitution concerning the right of nations to self-determination.

Fourth, the Communist Party of China (CPC) is a revolutionary party. Before liberation, its task is mainly to seize power by armed force and carry out construction as well, while after liberation, its main task is carrying out construction while also conducting revolution. Revolution in a broad sense has three connotations, (a) violent revolution; (b) revolution in the sense of reform; (c) revolution of productive force, productive relations and superstructure in the sense of gradually progressing towards communist society. "Remain true to our original aspiration," "lofty ideals of communism and common ideals of socialism with Chinese characteristics," "carrying out a great struggle with many new historical features," "developing and expanding the spirit of carrying the revolution through to the end" stressed by Xi Jinping are of great value.

Fifth, the CPC is not only the ruling party in an ordinary country, but also a leading party (the political party of the bourgeois in the United States is the selected party with no guiding principle and no fixed party members). The party should lead the workers, peasants, merchants, students and soldiers, and its government is not a “limited government” serving the monopolistic capitalist class, but a “responsible government” serving wholeheartedly the working class and the masses of people. In the sense of having the unlimited responsibility of thoroughly serving the people, the communist party and its government belong to “unlimited government” (a phrase used by Wang Qishan), for the party and state will take good care of everything (important or trivial) concerning the interests of the masses by means of various mechanisms and methods. Therefore, the function of a socialist country must be very strong, the number of institutions and staffs should be comparatively small, i.e., there should be a “small and strong government,” while the functions in fields of economic, political, cultural, social and national defense construction and administration should be relatively strong. This does not affect the good function of the strong market and enterprises. The communist party plays a decisive leading role in administering the socialist country, however, the concrete system and mechanism of leadership or holding power can be continuously adjusted. The original administration mode of socialist countries such as China and the Soviet Union is successful as a whole, which also has serious lessons, and should be improved continuously in the process of reform.

Close Attention Should Be Paid to the Class Theory of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics

Deng Xiaoping pointed out in his article “Adhering to the Four Cardinal Principles” in March 1979 that:

we object to the practice of extending the scope of class struggle ... but we must notice that in a socialist society there still exist counterrevolutionaries, enemy agents, various criminals disrupting the socialist order and other evildoers, and new exploiters engaged in graft and theft as well as in speculation, and this phenomenon cannot be completely eliminated in a long time. Struggling with them is different from the struggle between classes in the history (it is not possible for them to form an open and complete class), however, this struggle is still a class struggle in a special form.

In July of the same year, Deng Xiaoping pointed out in a speech while attending the meeting of delegates from Sichuan Province of the Second Session of the Fifth National People’s Congress that “we object to both the viewpoint that class

struggle has been eliminated and the viewpoint that class struggle should be extended.” In 1980, Deng Xiaoping pointed out in “Current Situation and Task” that “someone says that since the exploiting class as a class has been removed, how can there still be class struggle? Now we can see that the two sides are both objective facts. Currently, although our struggle against various counter-revolutionaries, subversives, criminals who have committed extremely serious crimes and serious criminal groups is not all class struggle, it contains class struggle.” “Resolutions on Several Historical Issues concerning the Party since the Foundation of China,” which was formulated under the direction of Deng Xiaoping and passed in the Sixth Plenum of the Eleventh Central Committee of the CPC explicitly summarized that “after the exploiting class was eliminated as a class, class struggle is no longer the principal contradiction. Due to factors from within China and impacts from outside, class struggle will exist in a certain range in a long time, and might be intensified under certain circumstances.” Similarly, the Thirteenth National Congress of the CPC stresses that “class struggle will exist in a certain range in a long time but it is no longer the principal contradiction.” Currently, we should still follow the earnest instructions given by Deng Xiaoping that “class struggle in the socialist society is an objective existence, which should not be trivialized, but should not be exaggerated either. The practice has proven that no matter trivializing the class struggle or exaggerating it, both will commit serious mistakes.” It can be seen that the guiding principle of Deng Xiaoping on opposing the two types of wrong trends regarding the issue of class struggle is of the important founding significance.

Jiang Zemin also points out in the speech on the celebration of the 70th anniversary of establishment of the CPC that “class struggle is no longer the principal contradiction of the society in China, however, it will exist in a certain range in a long time, and might be intensified under certain circumstances.” In respect of the manifestation form and core problems of the struggle, Jiang Zemin points out that “this type of struggle expresses collectively as the antagonism between bourgeois liberalization and the four cardinal principles, and the core of the struggle is still the issue of political power.” On April 2, 2001, Jiang Zemin stresses again in the speech on the National Security Work Conference that “affected by various factors both at home and abroad, not only the class struggle in a certain range and in a special form will exist now, it will exist in a long time, and sometimes might become very intense.” At the same time, he warns that “we will not commit the mistake we committed in the past that ‘takes the struggle of classes as the target,’ however, confronted with the class struggle existing in a certain range and in a special form in reality, that is the struggle against the enemy in the new situation, all comrades in the party must not let down their guard.” It can be seen that the viewpoint of

Jiang Zemin stressing the core of class struggle and that we should not let down our guard is very important in its pertinence and relation to the reality.

Since the convention of the Eighteenth National Congress of the CPC, Chinese communists have stressed repeatedly of the thought of sticking to class attitude and class analysis. For example, on March 1, 2013, Xi Jinping stressed in the speech on the opening ceremony of the spring term of the Party School of the CPC Central Committee that leading cadres of party members should grasp the Marxist stand, viewpoint and method, and points out that Marxist outlook includes principally “fundamental viewpoints on dialectical materialism and historical materialism; fundamental viewpoints on the law of movement of social form and basic contradiction of society; fundamental viewpoints that socialism will eventually take the place of capitalism; fundamental viewpoints on the socialist revolution and dictatorship of the proletariat; fundamental viewpoints on the political party of the proletariat; fundamental viewpoints on the nature and construction of socialism; and so on.” Sticking to the fundamental viewpoints of Marx on class is naturally included in it. In February 2014, Xi Jinping explicitly pointed out that “we must stick to the political stand of Marxism. The political stand of Marxism is primarily the class stand, and class analysis.” Concerning the issue of class struggle, the Party Constitution of the Eighteenth National Congress of the CPC points out explicitly that “due to the factors from within China and impacts from outside, class struggle will exist in a certain range in a long time, and might be intensified under certain circumstances, but it is no longer the principle contradiction.” It can be seen that the principle of the central party committee with Comrade Xi Jinping as its core on the issue that class struggle might be intensified and on class stand and class analysis is of great significant in theory and in objectivity.

In short, Marxism holds that class is primarily determined by property relations and political relations, and can be further divided into several strata, the connotation of which is different in nature from that of class and stratum determined by employment and income in the Western sociology. Class, class stand, class analysis, and class struggle theory is the important component of Marxism, Leninism and theories of their sinicization, is one of the main clues to observe and deal with the important contradictions of both home and abroad, is related to the strategic target of realizing comprehensively “balanced economic, political, cultural, social, and ecological progress” and “the four-pronged comprehensive strategy (i.e., making comprehensive moves to finish building a moderately prosperous society in all respects, deepen reform, advance the law-based governance of China, and strengthen Party self-governance,” and also unavoidable theoretical and practical issue to proactively promote the modernization of China’s governing system and capability, as well as continuously improve and develop socialism with Chinese characteristics.

Marxist Approach to Class Analysis Should Be Adeptly and Accurately Used

In “The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850,” Marx, for the first time, explicitly put forward the concept of “the dictatorship of the proletariat.” He pointed out that:

This socialism is ... the class dictatorship of the proletariat as the necessary transit point to the abolition of class distinctions generally, to the abolition of all the relations of production on which they rest, to the abolition of all the social relations that correspond to these relations of production, to the revolutionizing of all the ideas that result from these social relations.

In “A Great Beginning,” Lenin discussed the meaning of complete “abolition of classes.” He indicated:

In order to abolish classes completely, it is not enough to overthrow the exploiters, the landowners and capitalists, not enough to abolish their rights of ownership; it is necessary also to abolish all private ownership of the means of production, it is necessary to abolish the distinction between town and country, as well as the distinction between manual workers and brain workers. This requires a very long period of time.

Deng Xiaoping said in his Southern Tour Talks: “It will take a very long historical period to consolidate and develop the socialist system, and it will require persistent struggle by many generations, a dozen or even several dozens. We can never rest on our oars.” It can be seen that China is currently in the primary stage of socialist society, far from the goal described by Marx’s four goals, Lenin’s “abolition of classes,” and Deng Xiaoping’s consolidated and developed socialist system. Thus class analysis method is still one of the main methods to have an insight into important phenomena and domestic and international contradictions.

First, the upheaval in the socialist countries of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe is a reflection of class struggle. Jack F. Jr. Matlock, the America’s last ambassador to the Soviet Union, wrote in his memoir, *Autopsy on an Empire: The American Ambassador’s Account of the Collapse of the Soviet Union*, that the theory of class struggle is the central concept of the Leninist view of the evolution of state structure, and the base of the Cold War against the West. Without the theory of class struggle, the rationale for the Cold War would be lost, and the theoretical basis for one-party rule would be lost, too. He argues if Soviet leaders were really willing to abandon the idea of class struggle, whether

they continued to call their guiding ideology “Marxism” or not would become insignificant. This was an abnormal kind of “Marxism” implemented in an abnormal kind of society, which we all accepted. Thus, he claims that Gorbachev, who insisted that socialism must have a “human face,” had unequivocally abandoned the concept of class struggle. The transformation (Deng Xiaoping once used the word “restoration”) of the Soviet and Eastern socialist countries into capitalist countries ruled by monopolistic bourgeoisie is a typical case of these national and international class struggles.

Second, class antagonism exists in most countries in the world. Except for China and four other socialist countries, those class-antagonistic countries all have various forms of class struggle in the fields of economy, politics, culture and foreign relations. And they must adhere to the Marxist method of class analysis. Communists and Marxist biographers of various countries focus on the use of class analysis method to deeply analyze the Western countries’ system and various chronic diseases, including “Occupy Wall Street” international movement which recent spread to about 80 countries, France’s *Nuit Debout*—“night on our feet” or “stand up night,” the global ecological environment crisis, and serious problems such as the American invasion activities. Chinese Marxists should not abandon the method of class analysis in analyzing contemporary capitalism.

Third, in the political and military fields, the Western hostile forces have intensified their class struggle to Westernize and divide China. After dominating the Soviet Union, and Eastern Europe, Western bourgeois treated China as the main target of class struggle. They are combining multiple measures, such as integration of “contact” and “containment,” integration of hard power and soft power (and also called “smart power”), and other variety of strategies. Also, under the banner of the so-called “the rebalance to the Asia-Pacific,” the United States and its Allies form C encirclement ring around our country in the military field. And they have also stirred up trouble in the domestic issues on South China Sea, East China Sea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Tibet, Xinjiang province and international ones such as the Korean peninsula issue, so as to contain, threaten and divide our country. Some domestic political forces cooperate with the Western hostile forces and try to change or separate the socialist China under the rule of the working class political parties into capitalism. Is it just the so-called ethnic conflicts, religious conflicts and criminal crimes, but not the international class struggle that they had raised?

Fourth, in the field of ideology, Chinese bourgeois liberalizers and ideological trends continue to carry out the class struggle against Marxism–Leninism and its theory of sinicization. There should not be limits in academic discussion and thought. However, there are essential differences between the ordinary cognitional questions on thoughts and theories, and the ideological system of bourgeois liberalization with mature structures. It is hard to say that those words and deeds, such

as “privatization of economic entities,” “Bourgeois multi-party system and Western constitutionalism,” which oppose Marxism–Leninism, Mao Zedong thought and the theory of socialism with Chinese characteristics, have nothing to do with class struggle in the ideological and theoretical field. It is hard to say that those people, who are the initiators and principal signers of “2008 Charter,” and who took to the streets in tandem to carry out the bourgeois “color revolution,” have nothing to do with the class struggle in the field of political action transformed from the class struggle in the field of ideology.

Fifth, in the economic field, class struggle is also involved in the illegal extension of working hours, the exploitation of workers’ incomes, the deterioration of working conditions and the enhancement of labor intensity by investors or agents of some private or foreign-invested enterprises. Marx, in his works like *Capital*, has thoroughly revealed that these objective manifestations of class struggle in economic field would remain unchanged though the nature of the ruling party has been changed, but the solutions to them carried out by parties representing different classes’ interests may vary dramatically. The people’s government under the leadership of the communist party of China should stick to the people-centered development idea and take the initiative to prevent or solve problems by laws, regulations and economic means during and after the whole process.

Sixth, the national bourgeoisie is not the object of class struggle. The national bourgeoisie as a whole has two sides under the socialist system. On the one hand, it has the positive energy to support and build socialism with Chinese characteristics, which is the main positive role. But on the other hand, under certain conditions, it will shake its position and even have the side effect of damaging socialism with Chinese characteristics, as mentioned above. Therefore, at present the national bourgeoisie as a whole is not the object of class enemies and class struggle, but the main object of the united front and solidarity. The broad masses of the Chinese people can only effectively counter the class struggle initiated by hostile forces at home and abroad against the working class and socialism with Chinese characteristics. The two sides of the class struggle are formed objectively. But China’s national bourgeoisie is not part of the “hostile forces at home and abroad” mentioned in the central document.

Seventh, individuals of any class may be transferred from one class to another. If the serious criminals, including corrupt officials, do not deny the four basic principles, they could be seen as general criminal act. While if they deny the four basic principles at the same time, it will concern the class struggle in nature. As Deng Xiaoping said when he talked about our struggles against serious criminals and criminal groups, although not all of them are class struggle, they do contain class struggle.

Due to the time limitation, I will not go further on details. What I talked about is just my personal opinion, and comments are welcome. Thanks.