

China Insights

Zhen Han · Weiwen Zhang

Contemporary Value Systems in China

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Contemporary Value Systems in China



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Series Foreword

Since the Opium War, modern China has come under attack and been bullied for its backwardness; this cultural circumstance has given many Chinese people a psychological inferiority complex, as China has lagged behind other countries technologically, institutionally, and culturally. Efforts to change the situation in which Western countries were strong but China was weak and to revitalize China needed to start with cultural criticism and culture renovation. Therefore, the Chinese people turned their eyes to the outside world and learned from Japan, Europe, the USA, and even Soviet Russia. We have always been overwhelmed by stress and anxiety and have had a burning desire to reverse the state of being bullied as a result of underdevelopment, poverty, and weakness and to catch up with and surpass the Western powers. In pursuing the more than one-hundred-year-old dream of building a powerful country and reviving China, we have focused on understanding and learning from others, but seldom, if ever, have others learned from and understood us. This has not greatly changed in the course of modernization since China's reform and opening up in 1978. The translation and introduction of many Western works in the 1980s and 1990s is a very good example. This is the history of the Chinese people's understanding of the relationship between China and the rest of the world since the beginning of modern times.

At the same time, in pursuing the dream of turning China into a powerful country and rejuvenating it through material (technological) criticism, institutional criticism, and cultural criticism, the Chinese people have struggled to find a path that would make the country prosperous and the people strong while preventing the country from being ruined and the race from being destroyed. This path first represents a thought, a banner, and a soul. The key issue has been what kind of thought, banner, and soul can save the country, making it prosperous and the people strong. For more than one hundred years, the Chinese people have constantly carried out experiments and attempts amidst humiliation, failure, and anxiety. They have experienced failure in adopting advanced Western technology and thought on the basis of safeguarding China's feudal system and practicing a constitutional monarchy after the collapse of the Western capitalist political path and a great setback in worldwide socialism in the early 1990s. The Chinese people ultimately

embarked on a path toward a successful revolution with national independence and liberation; in particular, they have adopted a path leading to the socialist modernization of China—a road toward socialism with Chinese characteristics—by combining the theoretical logic of scientific socialism with the historical logic of China’s social development. After more than 30 years of reform and opening up, China’s socialist market economy has rapidly developed; tremendous achievements have been made in economic, political, cultural, and social constructions; comprehensive national strength, cultural soft power, and international influence have substantially improved; and a great success has been achieved in socialism with Chinese characteristics. Although the latter project has not yet become full-fledged, its systems and institutions have basically taken shape. After more than one hundred years of pursuing dreams, China is rising among the nations of the world with a greater degree of confidence in the path it has chosen, the theory it has adopted, and the institutions it has created.

Meanwhile, we should be aware that given the long-standing cognition and cultural psychology of learning from Western countries, we seldom take the initiative in showcasing ourselves—historical China and current China in reality—to the world, though China has emerged as a great world power. Due to a deeply rooted view that “Western countries are strong and China is weak,” developed through Western Chinese cultural exchanges, Western people and nations seldom have a sense of Chinese history or the current developments in China, let alone an understanding of China’s developmental path and such in-depth issues as the scientificity and effectiveness of China’s theory and institutions or their unique value for and contributions to human civilization. As self-recognition is not displayed, the “China Collapse Theory,” “China Threat Theory,” “China State Capitalism,” and other so-called theories coined by certain people with ulterior motives and differing political views have been widely spread.

During our development, based on “crossing the river by feeling the stones,” we have paid attention to learning from Western countries, understanding the world and learning to know ourselves through Western experience and discourse but have neglected self-recognition and efforts to let others know us. When we strive to become part of the world in a more tolerant and friendly way, we are not objectively, truly understood. Therefore, we should describe the path to the success of socialism with Chinese characteristics, tell Chinese stories, disseminate Chinese experiences, use international expressions to show a real China to the world, and help people around the world realize that the Western manner of modernization is not the endpoint of human historical evolution and that socialism with Chinese characteristics is also a valuable treasure of human thought. This is undoubtedly a very important task for an academic cultural researcher with a sense of justice and responsibility.

In this connection, the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences organized its top-notch experts and scholars and several external experts to write the China Insights series. This series not only provides an overview of China’s path, theories, and institutions but also objectively describes China’s current development in the areas of political institutions, human rights, the rule of law, the economic system,

finance, social governance, social security, population policies, values, religious faith, ethnic policies, rural issues, urbanization, industrialization, ecology, ancient civilization, literature, art, etc., thus depicting China in a way that helps readers visualize these topics.

We hope that this series will help domestic readers more correctly understand the course of the more than 100 years of China's modernization, more rationally look at current difficulties, enhance the urgency for and national confidence in comprehensively intensifying reform, build a consensus on reform and development, and gather strength in this regard, as well as deepen foreign readers' understanding of China, thus fostering a better international environment for China's development.

Beijing, China
January 2014

Zhao Jianying

Preface: Understanding China's Values

The value that things have usually refers to what they mean or how they matter to people, while the values that people have lie in what people think of what things mean or matter to them. Even in the absence of these concepts, people still have their own values, which serve as the standards or norms about what is right and what is wrong. Those ideals “the Cultivation of Self” (成己), “the Cultivation of Humanity” (成人), and “the Cultivation of Things” (成物) pursued by ancient Chinese philosophers and thinkers were actually preset values, without which everything would have lost their meaning of existence. In fact, the so-called Propriety (禮) in ancient China was a value system that functioned in regulating people's social life. “Propriety is what stipulate closeness in interpersonal relationship, ascertain suspicion, distinguish differences and tell rights from wrongs.” (夫禮者，所以定親疏，決嫌疑，別同異，明是非也).¹ According to this system, if one regulates his words and deeds in accordance with the required ritual standards, he is a practitioner of social values. It is a propriety that regulates people's life, including how they should deal with their relationship with others, what kind of attitude they are supposed to have toward life and death, what norms they are supposed to have for righteousness and benefit, and with what kind of yardstick they should evaluate national and international affairs. In other words, the so-called moral values of a Chinese scholar are to achieve the goals of “cultivating the moral character, regulating the family, administering the country, and achieving world peace.” “To cultivate yourself to the point of living up to your own words is good deed; to behave appropriately and to practice what you preach reflects the nature of rites.” (修身踐言，謂之善行。行修言道，禮之質也).² At that time, an individual who followed this value system would be accepted by the society, and a society that kept this value system would enjoy stability and order.

Values, as the standard for the rights and the wrongs, also serve as the norms taken consciously by the members of a society to regulate their social life and behavior. All human societies share some basic characteristics. That is why there are

¹ C.F. *Trivial Rites* (vol. 1) in *The Book of Rites* (*Li Ji*, 禮記)

² *Ibid.*

so many values which are universally accepted, such as good and evil, integrity, honesty, and justice. However, the social life of human beings is based on diversified temporal and spatial domains. Nations differ in their ways of interpreting values because they are confronted with different natural environments and have diversified modes of production. Therefore, the very same nation may have particularly different interpretations of their values in different stages of history; furthermore, different members of the same nation, or even the very same person in different stages of his or her life, may foster divergent opinions on their values. It will not be necessary to study values if their nature is as consubstantial as water's molecules or boiling point. One of the important characteristics of values is that people who live in different countries may have divergent or even conflicting understandings of them. For example, people all pursue justice, but in a class society the interpretation of justice by the ruling class is completely different from that of the ruled one. The ancient Greek philosopher Plato argued that a society where the ruling class, warriors, and workers perform their own duties separately and do not interfere with each other's affairs is one blessed with justice. Plato's view of justice, however, is far from a modern one. The same was true in ancient China, where values turned out to be diversified as well. The ruling class advocated the value that "all the lands under the sky is the property of the emperor" (溥天之下, 莫非王土),³ while the ruled ones believed in the value that "A just cause should be pursued for the common good" (大道之行也, 天下爲公).⁴

"China's values" introduced in this book are based not only on the values of the Chinese nation in a long line of the brilliant traditional Chinese culture but also on the consensus formed on the basis of the common social activities among the contemporary Chinese people. These are shared values among the Chinese people and also the common value pursuit of every Chinese citizen. These are the values that emphasize the pursuit of happiness, the welfare, civilization, and progress of society, which have a lot in common with the values of other nations and peoples around the world. The Chinese people are no different from any other peoples. They eat when they are hungry, sleep when they are drowsy, and take a rest when they feel tired. They also long for a life of liberty, have emotions such as happiness, anger, sadness, and sorrow, and have their own value ideal and value pursuit.

Through the double interpretations of history and reality, we combed out the historical pedigree of China's values and presented our readers the contemporary material foundation and reality of these values. In this book, readers will see how the ancient value that "they do not care about poverty as much as about the uneven distribution of wealth" (不患寡而患不均)⁵ gradually condensed into the concepts of "equality" and "justice" and that "The king must be subject to the law" (王子犯法, 與庶民同罪)⁶ evolved into the value of "rule of law" after being extracted by the thought of modern social governance in China. Readers can also

³ C.F. Xiaoya in *The Book of Songs* (*Shi Jing*, 詩經).

⁴ C.F. Liyun in *The Book of Rites* (*Li Ji*, 禮記).

⁵ C.F. *The Analects of Confucius* (*Lun Yu*, 論語).

⁶ C.F. *The Historical Records* (*Shi Ji*, 史記).

see, from China's modern history after 1840, that foreign invasion and humiliation, especially its great national sacrifices in the Anti-Fascist War and the victory of the Anti-Japanese War, have made them realize the importance of national independence, people's affluence, and prosperity of the nation.

It is Chinese people's greatest dreams of all to rejuvenate the Chinese nation that are to build a prosperous, democratic, civilized, and harmonious modern socialist country. This target is taken as Chinese people's grandest glory and dream since the Opium War, being in line with the highest interests of all Chinese people and the fundamental interests of the Chinese nation. The Chinese people, who account for more than 1/5 (1.4 billion) of the world population, have been struggling to achieve this great goal. In ancient times, China was once the world's leading economic power in the world. During the industrial revolution which was an era of profound change, China, because of its conformism and ignorance, missed this historical opportunity to develop through self-innovation among the worldwide tide of civilization and thus eventually fell into the pit of a passive situation. The Chinese nation was once, especially after the Opium War, the most miserable and poorest one as Chinese people suffered tremendous humiliations. This painful and tragic history must not repeat itself. That is why to build a prosperous, democratic, civilized, and harmonious socialist modern country has become the fundamental goal of our value pursuit, our national ideal, and more importantly our responsibilities.

First of all, a better understanding of China's values is rooted in the social practice and social life of the Chinese people in contemporary times. The exploration and practice of socialism with Chinese characteristics have rejuvenated an ancient civilization that used to be ridden with poverty and vulnerability. China's economic success has drawn worldwide attention, which with no doubt has brought new perspectives to its values. As a matter of fact, socialism is based on a new value that a society, which gives everyone the rights of free and comprehensive development and where fairness and justice are realized by the public ownership of the means of production, should be established. People who take their values to measure us are often criticized, while socialism never rejects values like democracy, freedom, and human rights. Rather, it considers the rationality and the basic pre-conditions to realize these values from the perspective of social development. Therefore, Chinese socialism differs itself from the so-called democracy which boasts of everyone's voting right and ensures people their rights in economic, political, cultural, and social aspects. Socialism with Chinese characteristics has converted the democracy which only has periodic voting rights to a new democracy which endows people with extensive rights. Great importance has been attached to the free and comprehensive development of individuals in contemporary China, and it is therefore hoped that freedom should be put under the framework of social equity, without which there would only be the freedom of the powerful oppressing the weak or the capitalists oppressing the labors. China's values never reject human rights but put them on the attainable base of reality. Human rights are examined both from a personal perspective and from a social perspective. Social justice and harmony will be realized within the equal framework of rule of law if rights are

mutually respected by everyone. Harmony is a socialist value that covers human rights while rising over them.

Secondly, a better understanding of China's values necessitates the acquaintance of its historical exploration and civilization evolution. China has had a 5000 year history of civilization, the Chinese people, a 170 year history of struggle since the modern times, the Communist Party, a 90 year history of striving, and People's Republic of China, an over 60 year history of development and a 30 year history of reform and opening up, which has all come down in one continuous line and cannot be possibly separated from one another. Once divorced from China's history, culture, the cultural-ethical world of the Chinese people or the profound changes in contemporary China, it is difficult to thoroughly understand China. If there are no shared core values in a country where individuals are all singing in their own tunes and no common ground can be found, it will not be able to move forward as a civilization as a whole. Why has the Chinese civilization survived for thousands of years and can still be moving forward? One of the most important reasons is that the Chinese nation has a consistent bloodline of cultural and ideological pursuits, intrinsic traits, and different schools of civilizations. Chinese civilization has existed for thousands of years, thus forging a unique system of values, thinking modes, and cultural-ethical temperaments. China's outstanding traditional culture has developed into a gene of the nation, which has taken root in the minds of its people, imperceptibly affecting their ways of thinking and behavior. The core values we are advocating and carrying forward are the result of the transformation and interpretation of the values in our history.

A number of mottoes which represent Chinese traditional values have been preserved and promoted for thousands of years. Chinese culture appreciates and proposes the traditional values of:

"The people are the foundation of a state," (民惟邦本)⁷

"The oneness of nature and man," (天人合一)⁸

"Harmony in diversity," (和而不同)⁹

"As Heaven maintains vigor through movements, a gentleman should strive for self-perfection," (天行健,君子以自強不息)¹⁰

"A just cause should be pursued for the common good," (大道之行也,天下爲公)¹¹

"Everyone has a share of responsibility for the rise and fall of his country," (天下興亡,匹夫有責)¹²

⁷C.F. *The Book of History (Shang Shu, 尚書)*.

⁸An ancient Chinese philosophical viewpoint, from the Idea of God's Will of the Western Zhou Dynasty (1046–771 BC), which believed that Heaven and Man were in a relationship of oneness.

⁹C.F. *The Analects of Confucius (Lun Yu, 論語)*.

¹⁰C.F. *The Book of Changes (Zhou Yi, 周易)*, also known as the I Ching, one of the Confucian.

¹¹C.F. *The Book of Rites (Li Ji, 禮記)*.

¹²C.F. *Records of Daily Knowledge (Ri Zhi Lu, 日知錄)* written by Gu Yanwu (1613–1682), who was a thinker and historian in the late Ming (1368–1644) and early Qing (1644–1911) dynasties.

- “Govern the country with virtue and educate the people with culture,” (以德治國，以文化人)¹³
- “The man of honor seeks righteousness,” (君子喻于義)¹⁴
- “A gentleman is broad-minded,” (君子坦蕩蕩)¹⁵
- “A gentleman takes righteousness as his character,” (君子義以為質)¹⁶
- “Be true in word and resolute in deed,” (言必信，行必果)¹⁷
- “If a man does not keep his word, what is he good for?” (人而無信，不知其可也)¹⁸
- “A man of virtue is sure to have like-minded companions,” (德不孤，必有鄰)¹⁹
- “A man who is benevolent loves all,” (仁者愛人)²⁰
- “Do things for the good of others,” (與人為善)²¹
- “Do not impose upon others what you do not want to be done to yourself,” (己所不欲，勿施於人)²²
- “Look out for your neighbors whether at home or travel afar and help one another in defense work,” (出入相友，守望相助)²³
- “Respect other's elders as one respects one's own, and care for other's children as one cares for one's own,” (老吾老以及人之老，幼吾幼以及人之幼)²⁴
- “Help the poor and assist those in need,” (扶貧濟困)²⁵
- “People did not worry about poverty, but rather about the uneven distribution of wealth” (不患寡而患不均),²⁶ etc.

Thoughts and ideas like these have never ceased to demonstrate our distinctive national characteristics and have been endowed with the indelible values of the contemporary times. We have updated them in keeping abreast of the times, while having their continuity and stability sustained. As a people born and bred in China, we Chinese share many common values which have become collective

¹³ C.F. *The Analects of Confucius* (Lun Yu, 論語).

¹⁴ *The Analects of Confucius* (Lun Yu, 論語).

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ C.F. *The Mencius* (Meng Zi, 孟子), one of the Confucian classics compiled by Mencius (372?–289? BC) and his disciples. The book is a collection of anecdotes and conversations of the Confucian thinker and philosopher Mencius during the Warring States Period (475–221 BC). It is one of the “Four Classics of Confucianism,” the other three being *The Great Learning* (Da Xue, 大學), *The Doctrine of the Mean* (Zhong Yong, 中庸), and *The Analects of Confucius* (Lun Yu, 論語).

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ C.F. *The Analects of Confucius* (Lun Yu, 論語).

²² C.F. *The Mencius* (Meng Zi, 孟子).

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ C.F. *The Analects of Confucius* (Lun Yu, 論語).

²⁵ C.F. *Bamboos amid Rocks* written by Zheng Xie 鄭燮 (1693–1765), also known as Zheng Banqiao 鄭板橋, who was a calligrapher and writer in the Qing dynasty (1644–1911).

²⁶ C.F. *Liu Zi* (劉子) written by Liu Zhou 劉晝 (514–565), who was a man of letters of the State of Northern Qi during the Northern and Southern dynasties (386–589).

unconsciousness due to thousands of years of daily reference, among which “benevolence, people orientation, integrity, righteousness, concordance, and common ground” are their essential features. The core values of contemporary China are the inheritance and sublimation of the fine traditional Chinese culture.

Thirdly, a better understanding of China's values requires a closer look at the direction toward which our society develops in the future. Essentially, values are not recognition of the present, but a dimension of possibilities with an idealistic nature. On the one hand, we cannot abandon our tradition and cut off our cultural-ethical lifeblood. On the other hand, we cannot just stop moving forward and forget the call of our ideals. Only by keeping traditions can we make history, and only by being adept in inheriting traditions can we innovate better. However, only the culture that is good at innovating has a future. In this sense, innovation is the best inheritance. Therefore, we should explore in-depth and carry forward the contemporary values in the worthy cultural traditions of China “benevolence, people orientation, integrity, righteousness, concordance, and common ground,” while we are striving to generate new ones. A value system with a whole set of values was fully developed in the feudal societies of China, which included moral values, such as the Five Constant Virtues (Wu Chang, 五常) “Benevolence, Righteousness, Propriety, Wisdom, Trustworthiness (Ren, Yi, Li, Zhi, Xin, 仁义礼智信),” and the social norms reflecting the nature of feudal society, such as the Three Cardinal Guides (San Gang, 三綱) “the monarch guides the subject; the father guides the son; the husband guides the wife.” The traditional Five Constant Virtues can be reinterpreted as the sources for our contemporary values, while the Three Cardinal Guides, like the Western thought of “Divine Right of Kings,” are against the pace of history. Obviously, it is the Three Cardinal Guides that represent the historical value of the hierarchical system of feudalism, which stipulates that in the three cardinal relationships among “the monarch and the subject,” “the father and the son,” and “the husband and the wife” they should each perform their own duties accordingly, and it is the Five Constant Virtues that reflect the moral values regulating the life of the common people, which are the standard requirements of moral life for the purpose of “maintaining interpersonal relations with benevolence and righteousness.” In medieval Europe, the feudal rulers also preached the thought of “Divine Right of Kings” that people should be divided into different classes and since the nobility was chosen by God they should enjoy higher social status than the common people by birth. In their fight against the feudalist hierarchy of values, the third class in the French Revolution proposed the values of “freedom, equality, and fraternity,” a new ideological weapon of the rising bourgeoisie against the feudal hierarchical values. Our core values are oriented toward the ideal society of the future. Therefore, while we are striving to inherit the excellent traditional cultures of China, we have to, at the same time, eradicate the values that represent feudal hierarchical thoughts and cultivate and promote the socialist values consistent with the development of history. The core values must focus on the direction toward which human history is headed, and reflect the requirements of social development. Only in this way can we be in tune with the rhythm of history.

Fourthly, to better understand China's values, it is necessary to examine the increasingly frequent exchanges and mutual learning between China and the rest of the world. Chinese culture has always been developing in its interaction with other cultures. The Chinese nation has always been open-minded, having a bearing of living in perfect harmony with all the other countries. Ever since ancient times, China made mutual exchanges in many aspects and learnt a lot from them after digestion and absorption. Brilliant cultural achievements were produced in this way, such as the introduction of Buddhism and Western music. In modern times, thoughts and values conveyed in the Western Renaissance, the Enlightenment Movement, the Bourgeois Revolution, the Industrial Revolution and especially Marxism and the theory of socialism have profoundly affected and changed the development of China. It is the influence of the Western countries that substantially motivated Chinese people's pursuit of national prosperity. Although the values of freedom, equality, democracy, and rule of law have obviously been influenced by both European countries and the USA, it was in the movements of the Chinese people's enlightenment and liberation where these values were gradually clarified and took root. Of course, China can also make its own contributions to the development of universal values. For example, the values of "harmony in diversity" from Chinese people can serve as the best norm for regulating international relations. We advocate "all things can coexist together without jeopardizing each other, and great ways work in parallel without contradicting each other" (萬物並育而不相害, 道並行而不相悖),²⁷ a universal value much more reasonable and just than the thought of hegemony. The Chinese Dream is not a dream of world hegemony, but a dream of peaceful coexistence and win-win cooperation. "The Chinese Dream is a dream of making contributions to the whole world, the same as an old Chinese saying 'perfect yourself when in poverty; relieve the world of poverty when successful' (窮則獨善其身, 達則兼濟天下)."²⁸ This is the virtue and vision the Chinese nation has always been advocating," said President Xi Jinping on March 27, 2014, in a speech at the 50th anniversary meeting commemorating the establishment of diplomatic ties between China and France. Harmonious values are the great contributions of the Chinese nation to human society. Domestically, we have been trying to build a harmonious society and a prosperous country, and peacefully reunify our motherland. Internationally, we have been advocating peaceful development, equal exchanges, and mutual benefits. Different ethnic groups and different countries, because of their different stages of development and geographical locations, have nurtured diversified cultures and varied worldviews. We should adopt the idea of "harmony in diversity" so that the world can be kept in peace. China's harmonious values have both realistic and universal meaning for the whole world.

In short, since ancient times, China's excellence culture has been rooted in the great national spirits such as national unity and unification, peace loving, diligence and bravery and unremitting self-improvement, with patriotism as the core, and has bred the value system of unique national mentality, character, and temperament.

²⁷ C.F. *The Doctrine of the Mean in The Book of Rites* (Li Ji, 禮記·中庸).

²⁸ C.F. *The Mencius* (Meng Zi, 孟子).

However, the mentality or the value pursuit of a nation is the reflection or the guidance of its creative activities in reality. Therefore, it must address the particular problems of a certain contemporary era and thus be branded with certain characteristics of this era. Only, the culture that reflects the characteristics and requirements of a certain era has the power to influence this era and produce a realistic and positive culture of vitality. Only in this historical and realistic reflection can we understand the true nature of China's values.

Beijing, China
December 2015

Zhen Han

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Chapter 1

Introducing Traditional Chinese Values



1.1 Pursuing the Intrinsic Meaning of Life

Regarding how man should live their life and realize their values, Chinese traditional philosophy chose to uphold the thought of “The oneness of nature and man” and the path of “Internal Transcendence”, which is one of the basic characteristics of traditional Chinese values.

1.1.1 *The Oneness of Nature and Man*

In Chinese philosophy, secular order and moral values are usually attributed to realities like “Heavenly Moral Ethics”, “Tai Chi”, “Dao” and “Nature”, with the Dao of Man being based on the Dao of Nature, and “The Oneness of Nature and Man” (a philosophical theory that man is an integral part of nature, or the unity/oneness of nature and man) being the “core” theory of traditional Chinese philosophical values.

Ancient Chinese philosophers didn’t simply take values as the desires and needs of man but considered them the inherent property of each and every thing. Generally speaking, value is not to be confined to the domains of society or humans themselves, but should be extended to the height of the nature and the universe. That is to say, “the Dao¹ of Man” should be heightened to “the Dao of Nature”. By acting on the orders of these “Nature” or “Dao”, humans are endowed with “disposition” and “life”. Therefore, for man, to have a life or to realize their values in life is to pursue the oneness of nature and man. Chinese philosophers take “Nature”

¹The Dao (道), as in Daoism which is one the three main religions in China, literally means “way”, “path” or “method” and used to be transliterated into “The Tao” in the Wade-Giles spelling system. Daoism is also a philosophical tradition of Chinese origin, the founder of which is believed to be Lao Zi.

as the reality of the universe and endow it with moral ethics. At the same time, “man” is abstracted into a holistic category, which is generalized as a cultural-ethical existence of universality. On this basis, they illustrated the consistency of nature and man from the origin of the world, and argued that “Tai Chi”, “truth”, “mind”, “disposition” and “honesty” are the bonding point of the oneness of nature and man, which provides a theoretical basis for this philosophical theory.

For example, it is argued in *Dao De Jing*² that: there is a fundamental existence, born before the heaven and the earth. It is congenitally fuzzy and obscure with no sound or concrete physical form; its nature, from ancient times to the present, has never changed; it exists as an independent being, moving in endless lifecycles and being the primitive origin of all life forms. Such a fundamental existence is called “the Dao” or generally referred to as “the Vastness” since no one knows its name.

The Dao is in a constant state of endless lifecycles. The universe came into being when the Dao became the One. In turn, Yin and Yang took place when the One split into the Two. The Three was bred when Yin and yang blended as one, which signified the formation of everything. Things differ in thousands of ways, while their interaction of Yin and Yang remains the same, which further leads to the endless changes of things. There is a reason for the creation of all things in the world, and the reason is the Dao. After all things are created, each has its own nature: moral ethics, which are the embodiment of the Dao, a double ganger of the Dao. The Dao is a metaphysical theory, which is shaped by all things, and achieves its own reality because of the general trend of the world. All things embody the Dao and its moral ethics. The reason why the Dao is respected is that it is not because of the Dao and its moral ethics themselves but there is an authority and command over all things. It is the nature of all things, and everything happens naturally. It is the Dao that is the root cause of all things, and that contains the nature of birth, growth, harvest and storage all things, during which the creation, development and maturity of them, including their continuity and termination, all have the Dao playing a role in them. The Dao exists in perpetuity but has no selfish motives to possess things. It keeps things but does not show any arrogance, a profound and far-reaching moral ethic that the Dao has as its inner state and virtue.

The Dao is not only a realistic and visible existence as in “being”, but also an intangible existence as in “nonbeing”. Neither of the previous two statuses can represent the totality of the Dao, since “Neither a Dao that can be articulated or an entity that can be named is of universal nature” (道可道, 非常道; 名可名, 非常名) as it is put in the first chapter of *Dao De Jing*. The Dao is in perpetuity. It was of “nonbeing” nature before the formation of the heaven and the earth. Though not an entity, “nonbeing” is an existence in nature, which can either be intangible beings or realities. The so called “nonbeing” can be the mother of “being”. The Dao is embodied in the process of intangible existence involving into entities, i.e. “being”.

²Also known as *Tao Te Ching* or *Tao Teh King*, the bible of the Daoism. *Dao De Jing* is a fundamental text for both philosophical and religious Daoism, which is said to be written and compiled by Lao Zi and his disciples.

The Dao, as a unity of “being” and “nonbeing”, runs through the two poles. When it is considered a phenomenon in reality, as a “being”, the Dao is easy to comprehend, while it is taken as an intangible existence, as a “nonbeing”, the Dao turns to be extensive and profound. On the one hand, the Dao has a trait of “constant nonbeing” as well as “constant being”. The former refers to the Dao’s existence in “an intangible way”, a way that is difficult to perceive or comprehend. On the contrary, the latter refers to the Dao’s existence in “a phenomenological way”, a way that is loud and clear.

The Dao, though born prior to the existence of the world, is but an extending process, a transition from intangibility to reality and sublimation from reality to the Dao itself. The process is a hoop in which the Dao can breed the non-Dao that in turn can go back to the Dao. Man, as part of the Dao’s making, has inherited its natural endowments, which explains why both the Dao and man are of paramount importance. The development of human history is a reflection of the Dao’s existence. Both the natural world and the human society are in constant movement, change and development, in which the Dao plays a part. It is because the Dao’s perpetuity that we are able to manage all the beings in the present by harnessing the Dao from ancient times, and to grasp the laws of the creation of the universe by our insight into the very beginning of all things.

In Chinese philosophy and culture, the so called “Heavenly Dao” (天道) is in fact a reflection of real life. Under the guidance of the Heavenly Dao as, the reality can constantly adjust its course of development. As the reflection of real life, the Heavenly Dao can provide guidance for real life and its value is appreciated in the process of adjusting reality. In the meantime, the nature of the Heavenly Dao is so vigorous that it has been perpetually enriched and developed because it is a reflection of the reality. For this reason, the interaction between the two worlds (the value and the reality) can not only standardize the humanization in reality, but also have the cultural concepts of the value world continuously sublimed and developed.

Therefore, the three ideals “the Cultivation of Self, the Cultivation of Humanity and the Cultivation of Things” pursued by Chinese philosophers has presupposed moral ethics in the first place, without which the existence and activities of mankind and all things would be rendered meaningless. The presupposition of this value is the goal that human society and the universe are supposed to achieve, so that values exist not only in the subject and the object, but also in the interaction between them. In Chinese, values are not just a relationship category exclusively restricted to a certain group of people. It is, rather, a category of the entity, as in that moral ethics themselves is an ontology, which is deemed the source of ultimate value.

Chinese philosophy is in essence the philosophy of values in that the whole system of it is established on the foundation of value judgment, which postulates that the ultimate reality is one of supreme good. The whole world, including human society, is under the governance of this concept of perfectionism and will steer its course of development towards the world of supreme good. Therefore, the mainstream of Chinese philosophy all identify with the value of perfectionism. For instance, discussions on “Heavenly Moral Ethics” by the school of Cheng-Zhu’s Neo-Confucianism’s (程朱理學) and “Innate Mind” by the school of Lu Xiangshan’s Idealism all intended to explore the origin and nature of values.

Though their views are different, they all consider virtue an entity, an embodiment of mankind and of things. That's why the supreme good of moral ethics can be reflected in the value relations of "loving one's family" to "loving the people", and of "loving the people" to "loving all things". In addition, that's also how the saying that "The benevolent and the whole universe is an organic whole" came into being.

Chinese philosophers generally believe that there is a world of values above the physical world. As for their relationship, the value world is the foundation and destination of the physical world. Although the two worlds are sometimes in opposition to each other, they ought to be consistent in nature. The value world is more fundamental than the physical world in that facts may accord with values or may violate them. The facts that violate values should be abandoned.

Different from the foreign concepts that substantialize, formalize and externalize it, Chinese philosophy generally believes that the ontology of values lies in each individual. The individuals that realize their own value are consistent with the ontology of the value. In this sense, individuals' value of life is, in the unique thinking of traditional Chinese philosophers, usually realized through an internal transcendence of achieving "The Oneness of nature and man".

1.1.2 Internal Transcendence

In the view of Chinese philosophy, each individual upholds the universality of the Dao. That is to say, each individual is a small universe, a self-sufficient microcosm and a refraction of the entire universe. Each individual can connect themselves with the grand path of the Dao by cultivating their internal moral ethics. The thought of "Isomorphism of Man and Nature" (天人同構) is an expression of the essential characteristics of Chinese philosophy advocating "The oneness of nature and man" as its internal transcendence.

It is argued in Dao De Jing that the Dao is in a concomitant relation with the moral ethics and is integrated as one with physics, and the substances and their functions are integrated as one too. In view of this, an individual is able to channel the universe and become an integrated part of it, and finally be integrated with the Dao, which exists among individuals, families, nations and the whole world. The fact that the Dao reaches everything reveals another fact that it is easily established than rooted up, while the fact that the Dao contains everything reveals yet another fact that it is easy to embrace than to escape from. One will enjoy prolonged prosperity and a long line of descendants if he or she upholds the truth of the Dao and their moral ethics being integrated with the Dao as one.³ These ethics will be actualized when they are employed to cultivate one's character; one's family will prosper when they are employed to regulate family matters; they will be developed when they are employed

³In contemporary context, when 道德, which literally means The Dao (道) and the moral ethics (德), is used it usually comprehended as their integration "moral ethics".

to benefit one's neighbors; they will become mighty when they are employed to administer a country; they will reach all living things when they are employed to guide all the people in the whole world. Therefore, one individual's experience of the Dao and its moral ethics' existence can be spread through one individual to other individuals, one family to other families, one neighborhood to other neighborhoods and one country to other countries. The moral standards that everyone agrees with can be a measurement of people's minds in the whole world. There is a value consciousness in everybody's mind so that they all can unite themselves with the body of the Dao by cultivating the inner moral ethics of their own.

Traditional Chinese philosophy generally regards people as ends rather than means, emphasizing the moral ethics and values of each individual. Chinese philosophers have endowed "the universe" with the qualities of "honesty", "mentality" and "disposition", highlighting human beings' ontological values and central position in the universe and revealing the value of prioritizing people's position. Chinese philosophers believe that there is a body of supreme good in the universe, which is either called "heavenly justice", or in other words, "benevolence", honesty" and "innate mentality". People cannot reveal the "heavenly justice" and "innate mentality" they have in real life because they are usually blinded by their desires. As a result, imperfections are found in human beings and the real-life society they live in, and there is a disparity between values and facts. They advocated that values that are naturally endowed to human beings can be actualized by self-cultivations such as "cultivating what's of great significance in the first place", "studying the phenomena to acquire knowledge" or "exploring things to know truth". Self-cultivation, by definition, refers to the self-perfecting process in which an individual consciously cultivate his or her "mentality" and "behavior" in accordance with the requirements of the values. Here, "mentality" refers to one's minds, thoughts, emotions and moral consciousness, while "behavior", one's ways of activity in life and production.

Therefore, most Chinese philosophers believe that the realizing one's values cannot be separated from the consciousness of individuals in that they foster their moral emotions, strengthen their moral beliefs through purposefully deepening their moral consciousness and rationality so as to consciously engage themselves in moral practice, performing their moral obligation and fulfilling their social responsibility to others. To this end, Chinese philosophy has explored various ways to cultivate the goodness of one's moral ethics, and provided the basic principles and scales for the perfection of each individual.

1.1.3 Self-cultivation

In the traditional Chinese philosophy, Confucianism and Daoism are two different theoretical forms fostered in the Chinese culture, which constitute the two pillars of traditional Chinese value philosophies. Confucianism and Daoism have different understanding of realizing individual values, and of different ways of practicing individual cultivation.

1.1.3.1 Gentleman Personality and the True Man Spirits

One of the pivotal propositions of Confucianism is one's realm of life and prospect of being a sage. Usually, the realization of an individual's value and their pursuit of "benevolence" and "righteousness" are combined. The significance of life lies in the pursuit of benevolence, in the practice of righteousness, during which gentleman personality and the mentality of being a true man are achieved, thus fulfilling the expectation of becoming a saint or sage. All these are the life goals of Confucians. This kind of ideal personality, together with the value pursuit of becoming a saint or sage emphasizes not only administering a country and achieving world peace by "governing and benefiting the people", but also the inner quietness and leisureliness of an individual through internal "cultural-ethical transcendence". This is what's called the pursuit of "being a saint inside and a king outside", with "a saint inside" being the basis of "a king outside", while individual's mental and physical health is taken as the most fundamental pursuit in the saint's internal "cultural-ethical transcendence".

(1) Straightening thought with respect and squaring behavior with righteousness

The main representative figure of the Pre-Qin Confucian is Confucius himself. In the era of the Spring and Autumn Period in which Confucius lived, the Zhou Dynasty (1046–256 B.C.) had shown signs of decline when some of the states rose to contend for hegemony. The Zhou Dynasty's political, economic and social and cultural systems were seriously damaged, which led Confucius to believe that it was an era of "a world without the Dao" and "collapsing etiquettes". He believed that the solution of the problem relied primarily on easing social contradictions and restoring social harmony and stability at that time. Whereas Confucius wanted to tackle the problem with "propriety", he also believed that "benevolence" was more fundamental, for it was the first moral basis for an individual. Furthermore, it was not only the main body of moral ethics but also one of the cultural-ethical realms of an individual. A benevolence-oriented value was usually represented by other external moral behaviors of "Loyalty and Forbearance", "Filial Piety", "Propriety", "Righteousness", "Moral Ethic" and "Trustworthiness" etc.

Form and content, internal nature and external performance should be put in an organic unity. How could a person who does not have benevolence inside of him be able to formulate and follow the system of propriety? How could such person perform the ritual of music?⁴ Therefore, "benevolence", as the body of virtue, is the foundation of the system of social rites and music.

Confucius required that everyone cultivate their benevolence. People who upheld such benevolence would fulfill their "filial piety" in daily life so as to honor their elders; in political life, the ruling class would cherish their people and govern

⁴Back to that time, "music" was an indispensable part of the ritual performance required by "Propriety".

them by virtue; in personal morality, individuals would restrain themselves with “propriety” without doing anything that was against the rites or upsetting their minds; in interpersonal communication, people would put themselves in the place of others and be compassionate and understanding. In other words, they want to succeed and also help others do the same thing; they want to move up and develop and also help others do so; they do not impose what they cannot tolerate upon others.

During the Spring and Autumn Period, the social contradiction among classes was acute. Confucius attributed it to the absence of “benevolence” and hoped to solve the social problems with upholding “benevolence”. It should be said that the theory of individual cultivation and value realization of Confucius’s benevolence was of particular significance to the ruling class at that time.

Confucius believed that the implementation of “virtuous policies” should be based on the benevolence of the rulers. Therefore, he required that they “cultivate themselves”, “rectify their behaviors”, “cultivate themselves solemnly to show respect”, “cultivate themselves to appease others” and “cultivate themselves to ease the people”.⁵ In Confucius’ view, the so-called politics is nothing more than correcting the ruler’s own behavior and mind. If the rulers do so, who else dares not to? A ruler of good behavior does not have to issue orders, for his people will follow his behavior as a good example; whereas the order of a ruler of misconduct will not be taken seriously since it is natural for the people to follow the misconduct of their rulers. Therefore, the governance a great power lies in the ruler’s cultivating his “benevolence”, his dedication to state affairs, his trustworthiness, his mercy to people, his frugality and lenience toward others.

“A man of virtue is sure to have like-minded companions” (德不孤，必有鄰), said Confucius in the *Liren Chapter of The Analects of Confucius*. “A gentleman should straighten his thought with respect and squaring his behavior with righteousness so that he has companions of the same virtue” (直其正也，方其義也，君子敬以直內，義以方外，敬義立而德不孤), as recorded in an interpretation of the 62nd Kun Diagram in the Wenyan Chapter, *The Book of Changes*. This interpretation inherited the legacy of Confucius who believed that “straightening” represents the uprightness of one’s mind while “squaring” the righteousness of one’s conduct. In other words, the creed “Straightening Thought with Respect” requires that one concentrate on cultivating the virtues of benevolence, righteousness, propriety, wisdom and restraining oneself from indulgence, and “Squaring Behavior with Righteousness” demands that one’s behaviors meet the requirements of the above-mentioned moral ethics. Only by doing so can an individual be a greater man, a man of great virtue and decent behaviors. It is believed that these creeds have made a precise summary of the cultural-ethical purport of Confucius’s theory.

⁵C.F. *The Analects of Confucius*.

(2) Magnanimousness and the true man spirits

Mencius was an influential representative of the Confucian school in the middle Warring States Period (475–211 B.C.). As for individuals' self-cultivation in life, Mencius stressed that everyone should cultivate their own "magnanimousness" and indomitable spirit of a "true man".

Mencius said: "I'm good at cultivating my magnanimousness."⁶ As for what is conveyed in magnanimousness, Mencius believed that it was hard to explain it verbally; that if it had to be explained, magnanimousness was a synonym of righteousness, or right track, or a status of self-cultivation that was bred after people fulfilled their righteous duties. In other words, magnanimousness is an awe of inspiring righteousness, which can be as immense as the universe, filled in both the heaven and the earth; of course, if one has misconducts or is guilty of anything, he or she will not be able to have magnanimousness, but only the feelings of emptiness and weakness. Hence no one is possibly going to reach magnanimousness by chance. They have to cultivate it consciously and properly, during which no damage should be caused to benevolence or righteousness. Since magnanimousness is, according to Mencius, triggered by one's internal benevolence and righteousness, the creed proposed by Gao Zi⁷ that benevolence and righteousness are external codes of conducts does not hold true.

In Mencius's view, if one wants to cultivate his magnanimousness, he should first cultivate his state of mind, constantly search his own conscience, and be diligent in it, which is all reflected in "things that are meant to happen". If one fails to do so, he might be doing either too much or too little; of course, one is not supposed to do good deeds intentionally just for the sake of self-cultivation. That's why one should not expect the result of it. If one does something good deliberately, he does it too much; too much means too little, thus there is no guarantee that he is right in the middle. So, if one wants to cultivate his own magnanimousness, on the one hand, he has to be "diligent in it", and on the other hand, he has to restrain himself from encouraging it intentionally.

Mencius did not deny the fact that man has natural desires. He believed that there is not much difference between mankind and animals in many ways. However, people feel uncomfortable when called a "beast" and they all prefer the word "human". Why is that? Mencius believed that there is a fundamental difference between human beings and animals, that is, the former have a natural sense of morality. To this end, Mencius proposed his famous idea that "humans are kind by nature", which was later backed up by his philosophy that anyone would have a strike of sympathy when seeing a child falling into a well.

One cannot help feeling tension and anxiety to the point that he will naturally have a sense of "sorrowfulness and sympathy" in his heart when he sees a little child crawl at the edge of the well and about to fall into a well. Mencius believed that this is completely out of his human nature, something that makes him humane.

⁶C.F. *The Book of Mencius* (*Meng Zi*, 孟子).

⁷Gao Zi (告子), an ideologist in the Warring States Period (475–221 B.C.).

He used “intolerability” to describe this feeling. In addition to the sense of “sympathy”, mankind was born with senses of “shame”, “modesty” and “right and wrong”.

Mencius argued that some people are unable or unwilling to keep their own goodness. Rather, they abandon or lose their inherent senses of “sympathy”, “shame”, “modesty” and “right and wrong”. As a result, there comes a difference of good people and bad people. Therefore, “learning is nothing but restore what one had in his heart at birth.” (學問之道無他，求其放心而已矣).⁸ One can perfect his moral ethics once he restores what has been lost in his good nature, or do things by following the goodness that he has been naturally endowed with in his heart.

Mencius also proposed the ideal personality of a “True Man”. He was once told that those political strategists such as Zhang Yi and Gongsun Yan in the Warring States Period were qualified for the name of “True Man” since rulers of the vassal states were intimidated once they threw a tantrum and the wars would be stopped around the globe once they settled down. Mencius refuted that these men did not deserve the name of “True Man”, for a genuine true man should be living in the most spacious shelter of the world: Benevolence, a place that was his cultural-ethical home; be standing in the middlemost spot of the world: Propriety, regulating his conducts by the name of it; be walking in the broadest way of the world: Righteousness, practicing it in his daily life. A true man should lead and educate the people when he gets his way, and should also stick to his values when unappreciated. Only those “who cannot be corrupted by wealth, changed by poverty and bent by force” (富貴不能淫，貧賤不能移，威武不能屈)⁹ deserve the name of “True Man”.

(3) Remolding nature and being humble and single-minded

Another famous Pre-Qin Confucian Xun Zi (荀子), who was born in the late Warring States period, was so dissatisfied with the political and social environment of his time that he believed it was an era of “filthiness” when Confucius’ “Grand Way” was blocked from the world, when there were a chaos of successive invasions and tyrants, and when vulgarity prevailed. He was eager to illuminate Confucius’ “Grand Way” in the hope of remolding the evil nature of human beings in reality, establishing a set of effective rituals and legal systems so that “even the common people can be men of virtue” (塗之人可以爲禹).¹⁰

Xun Zi said: “humans are evil by nature and their goodness is cultivated after birth” (人之性惡，其善者僞也).¹¹ Accordingly, he proposed that the ideas of “categorizing things” and “determining the nature of things by naming them” so as to restrain the evilness of human nature by “rites” and “laws”. He believed that the world would be rendered into a state of chaos if there were no “rites” and “laws”

⁸C.F. *The Book of Mencius*.

⁹C.F. *The Book of Mencius*.

¹⁰C.F. *The Book of Xun Zi* (荀子).

¹¹Ibid.

and if the evilness of human nature were let loose. It is human nature to do what one feels like doing, and if the evil side of their nature were to be developed, they would become over competitive and the convention of modesty would be abandoned. It is human nature to envy and loathe others, and if this nature were to be encouraged, they would become cruel, predatory and the convention of loyalty and integrity would be abandoned. It is human nature to be addicted to sensual desires, and if those desires were to be indulged, the society, with the rites gone, would be filled with licentiousness. Therefore, if encouraged, the human nature would inevitably become competitive and aggressive, thus endangering social order and the system of rites, which would finally lead to riots. So, it is necessary to teach people with “rites” and “laws” so that the society will be integrated with civilization and the country will be appropriately administered. The evil side of human nature, like a twisted stick that needs straightening or a blunt knife that needs sharpening for better use, needs cultivating to give up its evilness and return to goodness. Without the guidance of righteousness and propriety, mankind tends to take the perilous path rather than the right one. The making of rites and laws is to rectify the evilness of human nature and steer its way toward goodness. Only by doing so can society meet the requirements of the Dao. The greedy nature of mankind makes them seek for gains. Brothers would, when dividing up their family property, turn against and fight each other if their greediness were let be. On the contrary, even strangers would be modest to each other if they were educated with rites and laws. Therefore, the evil side of human nature can be converted to goodness through “remolding their nature” and “enforcing rites and laws”.

Eradicating the evilness of human nature through formulating rites and making laws will ensure a peaceful society, which is a sign of the presence of the Dao. To better abide by the rites and laws made, Xun Zi further proposed the idea of “being humble and single-minded” for self-cultivation, which means every individual is able to abide by rites and laws in their daily life by being humble, dedicated and single-minded so that they can reach “grand clarity” and the “grand way” and therefore improve their practice of “enforcing rites and laws” and “remolding the nature”.

(4) Following moral ethics while reasoning with the aid of righteousness; exhausting truth, knowing human nature and changing the course of human life

The Book of Changes (易經, also I Ching) is one of the important Pre-Qin classics.

The philosophy in The Book of Changes has been fully enunciated in Commentaries on The Book of Changes (易傳),¹² which explained that the ultimate goal of the Saint who wrote this book was to “follow the Dao and its virtue while

¹²The current edition of this book is a collection of seven commentaries (ten chapters in all) on *The Book of Changes*, including *Tuan* (象), *Xiang* (象), *Xi Ci* (繫辭), *Wen Yan* (文言), *Shuo Gua* (說卦), *Xu Gua* (序卦), *Za Gua* (雜卦). In modern and contemporary times, several editions of this book was unearthed in the forms of bamboo slips and silk manuscripts.

reason with the aid of righteousness, exhaust truth, know human nature so as to change the course of human life” (和順于道德而理於義，窮理盡性以至於命).¹³ Therefore, The Book of Changes is, according to what’s recorded in the Commentaries, a book of the fundamental principles of the universe and the rules of self-cultivation for mankind, which includes the important part of the Confucianism’s personality cultivation as a gentleman.

As for the life course of the individual, the Commentaries first emphasizes that people should “strive for self-perfection” and “hold the outer world with broad moral ethics” in the process of their self-cultivation and career development, as it is put in The Book of Changes that “As the heaven maintains vigor through movements, a gentleman should strive for self-perfection” and “As the earth’s condition is in receptive devotion, a gentleman should hold the outer world with broad moral ethics”. According to the Commentaries, the greatest virtue of Heaven and the earth lies in their joint creation of mankind and all things. To be brief, “the greatest virtue of heaven and the earth is their creation”, which expresses their benevolence to mankind and all things. They have never ceased their cultivation of the living and their creation, as a constant reminder of their grand love to the mankind and all things, has never stopped. Having inherited the benevolence bestowed to them by birth, mankind should follow the example of their unremitting efforts to strive for self-perfection and show their everlasting love for others and all things. Similarly, the earth is deep and wide, so it can accommodate, bear the weight of and facilitate the achievements of all things. In view of this grand virtue, a gentleman should also follow the earth’s thickness and broadness, cultivate their own moral ethics, strengthen their capacity and make themselves as strong as the earth to bear the great responsibility so that they can also be tolerant of other people and things for their free development.

There is a terminology called “Three Statements and Nine Diagrams” in the Xi Ci chapter of the Commentaries. “Three Statements” refers to the three paraphrases made to the self-cultivation rules in the Nine Diagrams selected from the Sixty Four Diagrams of The Book of Changes. For example, it is paraphrased in the Lǚ (Fulfillment 履) Diagram that how a gentleman can fulfill his duties in accordance with rites; in the Qian (Humble 謙) Diagram that how a gentleman can be humble; in the Fu (Restore 復) Diagram that how a gentleman who has sinned can restore his uprightness; in the Heng (Perpetuity 恒) Diagram that how a gentleman can keep his uprightness in perpetuity; in the Sun (Remove 損) Diagram that how a gentleman can remove his imperfection; in the Yi (Goodness 益) Diagram that how a gentleman can benefit others; in the Kun (Trap 困) Diagram that how a gentleman can honor his integrity when trapped; in the Jing (Well 井) Diagram that how a gentleman can cultivate and defend his virtues like the springing up of well water; in the Xun (Wind 巽) Diagram that how a gentleman can, like the wind, demonstrate his moral ethics by being obedient and submissive.

¹³C.F. *Commentaries on The Book of Changes* (易傳).

According to the Commentaries, *The Book of Changes*, by exploring mysteries, inquiring changes and questing profound truth, aims to the rules and laws of changes, with which the ideological cultivation and behavioral practices of mankind should comply. For instance, in the Fou (Decline 否) Diagram, the Qian (the earth, the Yin 乾) is above the Kun (the heaven, the Yang 坤) and they are isolated, with the former rising while the latter falling. This diagram is a sign of isolation and deviation. Inspired by this diagram, a gentleman should hide his talents and moral ethics, avoid the troubled times, decline the offers of high position and great wealth in case that he may associate with evil persons. In the Gu (Bewitchment 蠱) Diagram, which shows there are winds at the foot of a mountain, meaning that it is time that a gentleman motivated the people and cultivated their moral ethics, the Gen (mountain 艮) is above the Xun (Wind 巽), a sign that the wind is blocked by the mountain and grass and trees are rotten. Having seen this diagram, a gentleman should know that he needs to inspire the people by cultivating their moral ethics. In the Yi Diagram, which shows goodness by the interaction of winds and thunders, meaning that a gentleman should approach goodness and correct his mistakes, the Xun is above the Zhen (Thunder 震), a sign that the fiercer the wind is and the stronger the thunder becomes, and vice versa. The sign that the wind and the thunder bring out the best of each other in an enlightenment to a gentleman, which tells him that he should attend self-cultivation, approaching other's goodness like the wind to learn from them with a humble attitude and being determined to correct his mistakes like the thunder. Only by doing so can the moral ethics of a gentleman be perfected.

(5) Harmony in diversity, the middle way and eight ways for self-cultivation¹⁴

The *Book of Rites* is, compiled by the school of Confucianism from the Pre-Qin to Early Han Dynasties, a collection of essays interpreting the Pre-Qin classics *Li Jing*, in which *The Great Learning* (大學, *Da Xue*) and *The Doctrine of the Middle Way* (中庸, *Zhong Yong*) are two important essays praised highly by later generations of Confucians. The Chinese character “Zhong” in “Zhong Yong” is generally considered to bear the meanings of “moderate, neutral and impartial”, while the other one means “mediocrity”.

The two concepts about self-cultivation “Self-Restraining in Privacy” and “The Moderateness-Harmony” are proposed in *The Doctrine of the Middle Way*. What an individual is endowed with by birth is called his “Disposition”; his choice to follow the kindness in his natural endowment is called “the Dao”; the principles of “the Dao” used for self-cultivation is called “Education”. Mankind cannot, ever for one second, be separated from “the Dao”. Otherwise, the Dao does not deserve its name if they can be separated. Because of this, a gentleman is always cautious and fearful even when others cannot see or hear him, lest his actions do not correspond

¹⁴The four internal cultivations refer to Studying Things, Acquiring Knowledge, Fulfilling Sincerity and Rectifying Mind; the four external cultivations refer to Cultivating Moral Character, Managing Family Affairs, Administering the Country and Ruling the World. These together are considered by Confucians the Eight Ways for Self-Cultivation.

to the Dao. Every individual, when they do their work, will find that the more hidden and subtle the things they do, the more accurately can these things reflect their sincerity to correspond to the Dao. Therefore, a gentleman who lives alone must be very cautious of his behaviors, which is the so-called “Self-Restraining in Privacy”.

According to The Doctrine of the Middle Way, “One is in the middle way when he restrains himself from being delighted, angry, sad and cheerful; he achieves harmony when he shows strict self-control. Moderateness-Harmony is a fundamental principle in the world and harmony itself is the supreme path under the sky. When impartiality and harmony are achieved, the whole world will be on the right path and all things will thrive.”¹⁵ If everyone can achieve “the Moderateness-Harmony”, everyone in the whole society can keep a calm mind, and the society and the nature can be harmonious world. And above all, the whole world can be at peace.

The Doctrine of the Middle Way emphasizes that a gentleman should always keep himself in the middle, no more and no less. Confucius proposed that moderation is such a good virtue and a fine way of self-cultivation that it is not easy for everyone to achieve it. Of course, there is a difference between the Confucian “the Middle Way” and “hypocrisy”. The latter, which has a nature of pandering, pleasing and flattering others, is seemingly the same with the former with an attitude of going along with others but actually against what the former is.

Therefore, Confucius said: “Hypocrisy is the culprit of virtue”,¹⁶ which was later reconfirmed by Mencius that “the one who agrees with prevalent vulgarity and filthiness of the world may seem to be faithful and honest in his words and actions. He might be popular and become presumptuous because of this. However, he can never be on the supreme path of mankind and is therefore called ‘the culprit of virtue’”.¹⁷ The true Middle Way should have one’s inner Dao and righteousness as its backbone as in “Gentlemen seek harmony but not uniformity”.¹⁸ “When dealing with things or people, a gentleman does not act according to his closeness or distance to them but rather according to the requirement of righteousness.”¹⁹ It means that because there is righteousness so that a gentleman can behave in line with the Middle Way by using it to measure his judgment and decision.

It is put forward in The Great Learning that self-cultivation has “Three Guiding Principles” and “Eight Items”. The “Three Guiding Principles” refer to “manifesting virtue”, “loving the people” and “aiming at absolute perfection”,²⁰ which can be elaborated as follows:

¹⁵C.F. *The Book of Rites*.

¹⁶C.F. *The Analects of Confucius*.

¹⁷C.F. *The Book of Mencius*.

¹⁸C.F. *The Analects of Confucius*.

¹⁹Ibid.

²⁰C.F. *The Book of Rites*.

The way of the great learning involves manifesting virtue, loving the people, and aiming at absolute perfection. Having known where to rest at the end, one will be able to determine the object of pursuit, having determined the object of pursuit, one will be able to calm down, having been calm down, one will be able to attain tranquility, having attained tranquility, one will be able to deliberate carefully, having deliberated carefully, one will be able to gain the desired outcome. Things have their root and their branches. Affairs have their end and their beginning. Knowing which comes first and which comes last, one is already close enough to the right path.

The term “Great Learning”, which refers to the things learned by adults, is coined relative to things taught in primary schools. Usually, the children in ancient times went to primary school at the age of eight to learn basic knowledge like “propriety, music, archery, driving a chariot, calligraphy and mathematics” and social manners like “doing household duties, striking interpersonal conversations or receiving guests”. After turning fifteen, they started the academic journey of the “Great Learning”, studying for the purpose of “exhausting truth and rectifying the mind, cultivating inner self and educating the people”. Therefore, the purpose of “Great Learning” is to enable everyone to carry forward their innate honorable virtues, to renew oneself by getting rid of their evil practice and doing good deeds in daily life and to make their virtues to the point of absolute perfection. People will become oriented and ambitious when they know the truth of aiming at absolute perfection. They will therefore become determined and calm, which further leads to a peaceful mind that makes them so thoughtful that their efforts of self-cultivation will be fruitful. So, everything always has their beginning and ending. People will get close to the Dao once they understand this.

The “Eight Items” in The Great Learning refers to investigating things, acquiring knowledge, nurturing sincerity, rectifying the mind, cultivating the moral character, regulating the family, administering the country and achieving world peace. Those who want to disseminate the moral ethics of a gentleman in the whole world must first govern their country properly; to govern their country properly, they must know how to make their own family harmonious and orderly; to manage their own family, they must first cultivate their own moral character; to cultivate their moral character, they must first rectify their own mind by making it pure and free from desires; to rectify their mind, they must first nurture their sincerity to the point that they can truthfully show their conscience with no self-deception; to avoid self-deception, they should give full play to their conscience in its role of dictating to the body because when the mind and the external things make contact, they can illuminate the physical properties of things and enlighten the mind; after investigating things, their mind can acquire knowledge about them; after knowing them, they can show their capabilities and conscience so as to not deceive themselves; when their conscience are fully displayed, they can have their mind rectified; after rectifying their mind, they can cultivate their moral character; when having a moral character, they will be able to regulate their family matters; when they are able to handle their own family, they will be able to govern the country and thus finally put the world will at peace! Therefore, everyone should consider cultivating their own character the basic purpose of life. If the cultivation of one’s character is disturbed,

the family, the country and the world will not be governed at all. So, these things have to be done orderly and the priorities cannot be reversed; one will be unable to know his “true self” if he focuses on external things and neglect self-cultivation. That’s why it is said that moral ethics can moisturize people’s mind, and clemency breeds broad-mindedness which naturally makes one’s body comfortable.

It is also stressed in *The Great Learning* that “Self-Restraining in Privacy” plays an important role in self-cultivation, which means one must not deceive himself if he wants to manifest his true conscience; rather, he should, like their natural reaction to disgusting odor or stunning beauty, let their conscience spring up from the bottom of their heart so that they can be genuinely satisfied.

- (6) Obeying divine instructions and following destiny, indoctrinating the people to foster customs; approaching kindness and correcting mistakes

In the Han Dynasty, Confucians generally attributed the foundation of self-cultivation to divine orders, thus setting up a set of theological teleology of heaven-human induction. “The heaven is the ancestor of all things, without which none of them will come into being”,²¹ said Dong Zhongshu, the renowned Confucian scholar in the Western Han Dynasty. According to his theory, the command of heaven should be deemed as divine orders. The heaven has the most beautiful moral ethic called benevolence. As the mother of all things, it creates them, nurtures them and cultures them; its divine duty of breeding and cultivating things never ceases with a purpose of serving the people. Observing the will of the heaven that is filled with infinite benevolence, one should follow its divine instructions, learn from its great deeds and thus become a benevolent man. However, human nature cannot accomplish anything without enlightenment; the desire of mankind is called love which cannot be restrained without measurement and control. Therefore, mankind should be very cautious in bearing the will of the heaven to follow its instruction; regulations, laws and ritual orders should be established in order to prevent the expansion of man’s desires.

In Dong Zhongshu’s view, humanity is as good as seedlings, and kindness is like rice which sprouts from seedlings but are not entirely the same with them; likewise, goodness is originated from humanity but they are not entirely the same thing. Both kindness and rice are man-bred by following the endowments from the heaven rather than being directly created by it. The creative ability of the heaven is bound to certain limit. What’s created within this limit is called natural endowment while what’s made beyond this limit is called humanity. One’s natural endowment has to grow into virtues because humanity goes beyond the limit of natural endowment.

Human nature is not entirely good. Therefore, if not supported by indoctrination, its nature may be turned upside down, rampant and blocked from kindness. Dong Zhongshu also pointed out that humanity is like the eyes of mankind in the darkness. When people sleep with their eyes closed, the world is invisible to the eyes;

²¹C.F. Following One’s Destiny (順命 Shun Ming) in the book *Luxuriant Dew of the Spring and Autumn Annals* (春秋繁露 Chun Qiu Fan Lu).

when they wake up and come to light, they will be able see; the regular people who have potential kindness but are not enlightened yet are just like those who cannot see until they are awakened. Therefore, one has to be cultivated to have a good nature; he can only be said to have potentials rather than the true kindness when his human nature has not yet been awakened.

To say that human nature is good is to say that mankind do not need enlightenment but should let nature take its course, which is against the way of governing the country. A name is used to express the actual content of something or some one's nature, which is also called their intrinsic quality; this quality, without proper indoctrination, cannot become their kindness. The nature of mankind is simple and pure while their kindness is the result of indoctrination from a sage ruler. A sage ruler's indoctrination will not succeed without the aid of the intrinsic quality; in other words, one's simple and pure nature will not be converted to kindness without the indoctrination of a sage ruler. To sum up, it is an age ruler or a gentleman's responsibility to obey divine instructions and follow destiny, indoctrinate the people to foster customs, approach kindness and correct mistake.

(7) Uplifting intrinsic quality and the unity of knowledge and practice

Confucian school of idealist philosophy of the Song and Ming dynasties inherited and developed the Confucianism of the Pre-Qin Period. The cultivation of an individual's moral ethics and character, together with the uplifting of their intrinsic quality, were especially stressed in these two dynasties.

"Honesty" and "The Moderateness-Harmony" are related. Zhou Dunyi, the Neo-Confucianism founder in the Northern Song Dynasty, argued that the Heavenly Dao prevailed so that the heaven, the earth and all things were created; it was such a fact that the Dao itself is sincere in nature; the Dao of mankind was generated by the Heavenly Dao, and the two have been united as one so that the former is called "the Sincere One". The heaven and mankind are channeled by "Honesty" and the Heavenly Dao can also be called the Tai Chi, in the movement of which Yin and Yang, the heaven, the earth, mankind and all things were born. That's why, according to Zhou Dunyi, the so-called "disposition" exists in not only all things but also mankind; Mankind has five dispositions: strong kindness, strong evilness, gentle kindness, gentle evilness and moderateness. He also emphasized that self-cultivation should reach the state of moderateness, which is the same with harmony. Achieving moderateness-harmony has always been the Great Dao and the cause of saints since it can meet the requirements of benevolence and propriety.

"One should ready his mind for the heaven and the earth, contribute one's life to the people, inherit the lost knowledge of past sages and make a peaceful world that lasts forever." This is the legacy of Zhang Zai,²² a famous thinker who also proposed that the intrinsic quality of the heaven and the earth is absolutely perfect while that of mankind varies between kindness and evilness because of their

²²Zhang Zai (1020–1077 A.D.) is a thinker, educator and founder of the Neo-Confucian School in the Northern Song Dynasty.

diversified dispositions; the purpose of cultivating one's moral ethics is to get rid of what's evil in one's intrinsic quality and resume their original status of being absolutely perfect. To this end, he put forward the theory of "Uplifting Intrinsic Quality", which argued that everyone should make efforts to cultivate their virtues, correct their mistakes, approach kindness and thus perpetuate benevolence and love in his mind. If one thinks and acts in accordance with the requirements of benevolence and love, he or she can uplift his intrinsic quality and become a saint. Another theory called "Exhausting the Truth and Knowing Human Nature" was also proposed by Zhang Zhai, which argued that to know human nature is a process of understanding and controlling one's personality by birth, and one could reach the highest virtue status of being "honest" through probing into the nature of himself or herself to finally know the true nature of mankind and the whole world.

"Determined Benevolence" should become the pursuit of every individual to internalize "Benevolence" and "Kindness" before spreading them to the whole world, which would be evolved into "Trustworthiness", "Beauty" and "Greatness" and thus shape one's character and own benevolence; both benevolence and personality are not abstract ideas but something that prevails in the universe actively with a constantly changing nature called "Spirit". "A scholar should make resolutions for the heaven and the earth, develop moral virtues for the people, inherit the lost knowledge of past sages and make a peaceful world that lasts forever", stressed Zhang Zhai in his *Collected Essays of Zhang Zhai*. He believed, on the basis of his theories concerning the intrinsic quality of the heaven and the earth, the great void and the Qi, that everything in the universe has been evolved from Qi. All mankind, therefore, are brothers and sisters and all things are the companions of mankind. That's why we should love all human beings and extend this love to all things in the world. This theory, which reflects his cultural-ethical realm of universal love, can be elaborated as "people are my brothers and sisters and all things are my kinds."

"Examining Personality" and "Understanding Benevolence". Cheng Hao²³ believed that the original nature of mankind is good, but after a person is born, in addition to the influences from the heaven and the earth, he or she also receives the influence of different human temperaments. In others words, the human nature is good at birth, but due to the influences such as intrinsically endowed qualities and the acquired habits after birth, it is possible for them to develop an evil side. So he advocated that "the principle of learning lies in uplifting one's intrinsic quality, getting rid of one's bad habits. To uplift the intrinsic quality, one must first "examine his personality". That is to say people should examine their internally bestowed qualities by the heaven and the earth and show their absolute respect to them with an innocent mind. In his *The Book of Examining One's Personality*, Cheng Hao argued that to keep the purity of one's personality, one does not have to remain completely isolated from the outside world, rather, he or she should follow the heavenly instructions in dealing with everything. If so, one will have a peaceful

²³Cheng Hao (1032–1085 A.D.) is a philosopher, educator, poet and founder of the Neo-onfucian School in the Northern Song Dynasty.

mind and his intrinsic qualities will also be nurtured. Cheng Hao also proposed the idea of “understanding benevolence”, emphasizing that mankind should not only understand the benevolent intellectually, but also have to experience and practice them in real life. The meaning of life lies in one’s dedication to follow the truth and righteousness regardless of personal gains and losses. Only by doing so, can one be content with what one actually is and be completely integrated as one with the whole universe, e.g. the realm of oneness of nature and man.

“One has to dedicate his whole life to self-cultivation, and to advance learning, one has to take the initiative to acquire knowledge.” Different from his elder brother’s emphasis on “examining personality” and “understanding benevolence”, Cheng Yi²⁴ put his stress in self-cultivation on “exhausting the truth” and “upholding dedication”. The former idea refers to the process of gradually knowing the universal truth by investigating things in the world. However, what he was concerned with is not the scientific laws that governing the things but the knowledge and experience derived from one’s virtue cultivation. He, in his *The Book of Posthumous Essays* by Cheng Hao, combined this idea with “upholding dedication” to advocate the theory that “One has to dedicate his whole life to self-cultivation, and to advance learning, one has to take the initiative to acquire knowledge”. In his book, the word “dedication” is paraphrased as “the one who focuses on one single goal is said to have the spirit of dedication and sincerity.” Therefore, his idea of “upholding dedication” (Zhujing, 主敬) is different from the Daoist “upholding tranquility” (Zhujing, 主靜) even though they sound exactly the same in Chinese. The former refers to a state of mind: inactive, tranquil and being free from “prejudice” so the nature of all things will be self-evident. However, the latter requires that everyone has to dedicate themselves to the “Heavenly Moral Ethics” so that they will not be distracted by the outside world and perpetuate “Heavenly Moral Ethics” and their own kindness in the mind. He stressed that one should cultivate themselves through their uplifting dedication and keeping the “Heavenly Moral Ethics”. Of course, his theory is not restricted to inner cultivation because “it is in vain to just uplift one’s dedication but not collect righteousness. It is one who wants to practice filial piety. Is it enough for one to just fulfill his or her filial duty blindly? Of course not. Filial piety can only be truly practiced when one understands why and how this has to be done, and with what an attitude.” In a similar way, self-cultivation can only be realized when one actually understand and experience the moral ethics in real life.

“Differentiating Moral Ethics from Desires”. Zhu Xi²⁵ believed that for an individual self-cultivation has to be achieved through “upholding heavenly moral ethics whilst annihilating human desires” simply because mankind is the product of the combination of virtues and Qi, and virtues are embodied by mankind’s nature

²⁴Cheng Yi (1033–1107 A.D.) is an educator and founder of the Neo-Confucian School in the Northern Song Dynasty, Cheng Hao’s younger brother.

²⁵Zhu Xi (1130–1200 A.D.) is a representative figure of the Neo-Confucian School, thinker, educator, philosopher and poet. His thoughts had major influence upon the Yuan, Ming and Qing dynasties.

towards supreme goodness. The combination of moral ethics and personality is realized through the media of mentality. The mentality of mankind remains inactive when it is in tune with moral ethics and personality, which makes it home to supreme goodness; emotions that have both positive and negative sides come into being when it discords with personality; the emotions that strike an accord with personality fall into the category of heavenly moral ethics by the name of “heavenly mentality” while the ones that do not are categorized as “desires” by the name of “secular mentality”. The kindness of heavenly moral ethics and the evilness of human desires are irreconcilable with each other, as in “human desires die when heavenly moral ethics stand, while heavenly moral ethics die when human desires prevail. The two cannot be kept in peace inside of one individual”.²⁶ If one wants to be a moral person, he or she should make a choice between the two, either upholding the heavenly moral ethics or destroying human desires. Every individual in social life has a moral mission that is to preserve and develop their good moral ethics and get rid of all selfish desires, which is called “differentiating moral ethics from desires” by Zhu Xi.

“Revering Moral Ethics”. Lu Jiuyuan,²⁷ an important figure in the School of the Mind, disagreed with Zhu Xi on the dichotomy of “Heavenly Moral Ethics” and “Qi” by arguing that the “Heavenly Moral Ethics” live in one’s mind and to exhaust truth is to understand one’s own mind as in “we cannot have two minds at the same time, can we?”²⁸ He believed that the purpose of self-cultivation is to understand the moral ethics bestowed at birth, which is called “revering moral ethics”; “Evilness” rises when one’s conscience is blocked or contaminated. As long as people can take the initiative to get rid of the blockage or contamination, they will be able to restore their conscience. From this point of view, goodness and evilness are nothing but the right and wrong intentions in the mind. Therefore, there is no clear cut between the so-called “heavenly mentality” and “secular mentality”. However, the mentality in Zhu Jiuyuan’s theory that “mentality is but moral ethics” is without doubt the mentality of an actual human body, or in other words, humanity, which is different from affections, love or thoughts in the mind.

“Accessing conscience” and the “Unity of Knowledge and Action”. Wang Shouren (also known as Wang Yangming), a Neo-Confucian philosopher in the Ming Dynasty, dissolved Cheng-Zhu’s “Heavenly Moral Ethics” by upholding that moral ethics do not exist entirely independent of the mind, and by attributing external moral norms to innate virtue conscience.

²⁶C.F. *Quotations from Zhu Xi* (Zhu Zi Yu Lei, 朱子語類).

²⁷Lu Jiuyuan (1139–1193 A.D.) is a philosopher in the Southern Song Dynasty.

²⁸C.F. *A Collections of Essays by Zhu Jiuyuan* (Lu Jiuyuan Ji, 陸九淵集).

He once argued:

The Manifestation of “mind” is “meaning”; the body of “meaning” is “knowledge”; the place where “meaning” lies is “things”. “A thing” could be caring for families when “meaning” lies with caring for families. In the same way, “a thing” could be serving the monarch, or showing benevolence for the people and loving the things, or viewing, listening, speaking, and acting when “meaning” lies with these “actions”. Thus, principles or objects do not exist entirely independent of the mind.²⁹

By saying so, Wang Shouren does not mean that, in this world, there would be no things if there were no mind, but rather he means that things that exist independently of people’s mind is of no value and meaning. His comprehension of the world is more from the perspective of value rather than from the perspective of cognition. Hence, in his view, the whole world is just a world of meanings endowed by people’s mind and conscience, the external world begins to be of value and meaning only when it involves people’s practice and people’s mind, and things that exist independently of people’s practice and mind is valueless and meaningless.

Discarding the “Heavenly Moral Ethics” of Cheng-Zhu’s School, Wang Shouren turned to the mind of man. He regarded “conscience” as the body of mind and believed that man’s virtue cultivation rests with manifestation and extension of the conscience of the mind in specific action.

Accessing conscience in one’s mind is “being a saint”. To be a saint just means to access the conscience. Those who naturally access it are saints. Those who take efforts to access it are good people. Those who blind themselves and reject to access it are fools. Though fools get blinded, yet conscience still exists in them, and they would be of no difference from saints if they can access it. This is just the reason that saints and fools both bear conscience, and everyone could become a sage.³⁰

As for whether a person is a saint or a fool, the key lies with whether he or she could access the conscience inside of them. A person who can naturally follow the development of his or her innate conscience is a saint. While, conscience in people who are fools does not vanish but just temporarily gets covered, and if they can make the body of conscience existing in their minds recovered, they could still become saints. In this perspective, conscience exists in man’s mind perpetually. Though it could be covered, yet it would not disappear. As long as a person follows conscience, he or she would naturally perform the benevolence and righteousness of human virtue in daily practice, and fulfill the duties of being human. As for the evil, it is just lack or fault of the good, but is not another fundamental origin equivalent to the “supreme goodness”.

Wang Shouren argued that conscience is the body of the supreme good, and the intention produced from mind allured by external things could be evil or good. A gentleman’s effort to cultivate himself is just to “do good deed and eliminate evilness”. As for individual’s cultivation and their performance of moral ethics, Wang Shouren proposed the “Unification of Knowledge and Action”. As a person

²⁹C.F. *The Complete Collection of Wang Yangming’s Works* (Vol. 8).

³⁰*The Complete Collection of Wang Yangming’s Works* (Vol. 8).

can cognize an object, naturally he would have reaction to that object in terms of volition or emotion, and further produce a kind of value intention that could be responsive or repulsive. The value intention is not only the “knowledge” of receiving external information, but at the same time is the “action” in terms of psychological activity.

Wang Shouren directly defined the virtue intention in people’s mind as “action” to realize the “unification of knowledge and action” in subjective consciousness. While, virtue intention is different from common knowledge in that it bears a kind of trend and capability of inevitably externalizing itself. Thus, Wang Shouren further put forward the “unification of knowledge and action” at the levels of subjective consciousness and external action. Wang Shouren once remarked: “Concrete fulfillment of knowledge is action, and true insight of action is knowledge. Knowledge and action are inseparable in function.”³¹ In the view of Wang Shouren, true knowledge entails action, and concrete action involves knowledge. The two are integrated as oneness, and neither of them can function independently.

“Disposition Produces and Completes Daily”. Wang Fuzhi, a prominent Confucian in the late Ming and early Qing dynasties, believed that the Dao of heaven evolve and cultivate all things, and there was no issue of whether it is good or evil, or whether it is present or absent since it is indiscriminate and nonselective. While, with human beings, there is the issue of inheritance or noninheritance since the fundamental nature of human beings is the unification of Yin and Yang. Inheritance is good, while, non-inheritance is non-good. Evil will appear when there is non-good. Such a difference is reflected in the quote of Wang Fuzhi, a naive materialist in the Ming Dynasty, that “The Dao of heaven is non-selective, and the Dao of human is selective”. Wang Fuzhi differentiated the Dao of heaven and the Dao of human in his argument “the Dao of heaven is non-selective, and the Dao of human is selective”, upholding that human beings, as product of the nature, should not violate the law of nature “to incorporate the heaven into the human”. But at the same time, human beings, different from common natural things, had high-level wisdom and could consciously cultivate themselves to reach the life of goodness and the society of goodness. On this basis, Wang Fuzhi proposed that “disposition produces and completes daily”, his disposition-cultivating and “life-creating” theory, and upheld that human disposition was gradually cultivated through postnatal education, that is, “disposition, as the principle of the life, produces and completes daily”. Factors such as environment and education etc. are of significance for cultivation of human disposition.

It should be said that, the Song-Ming philosophy contains in-depth and rich fruits of value theories, producing significant and far-reaching influences on later generations. For instance, there are thoughts on the body of value such as “Heaven Moral Ethics”, “Innate Mind”, “Benevolence” and “Honesty”, approaches to cultivation of moral values such as “cultivating what’s of great significance in the first place”, “studying the phenomena to acquire knowledge”, “exploring things to know

³¹C.F. *The Complete Collection of Wang Yangming’s Works* (Vol. 2).

truth”, “feeling internal cultivation and examining external action”, and “uniting knowledge and action”, thoughts on value judgment such as “righteousness” and “benefit”, “mind of Dao” and “mind of human”, “principle” and “desire”, “disposition” and “emotion”, “non-developed” and “developed”, and ideal realms of value transcendence such as “holding the outer world with broad moral ethics”, “being willing to follow the Dao of heaven and accept the destiny”, and “conforming to virtues of the heaven and the earth”. Interpretation and development of these thoughts to meet the needs of the times and the society is of significance for constructing values for contemporary people.

1.1.3.2 Revering the Dao and Its Moral Ethics, and Enjoying Unconstraint Life

The thoughts of Lao Zi and Zhuang Zi, and the Daoism that derived from them, all attach great importance to the holistic physical and mental health of the individual life. Generally, it is known that Confucianism emphasizes the construction of social rituals and norms, with a clear inclination to the civilization system, while Daoism emphasizes the Heavenly Dao: spontaneity and Wu Wei (non-action) by upholding that the construction of norms in human society should conform to the Heavenly Dao and by opposing the civilization system’s intention to denaturalize humanity.

(1) Naturalness, Simplicity, and Detachment from Desires

Lao Zi made criticism on ethical norms such as benevolence, righteousness and propriety, as in his remarks that “There are benevolence and righteousness when the Great Way is abandoned; there is dishonesty when wisdom appears; there are parental love and filial piety when disharmony happens to families; there are loyal officials when the country is in disorder.”³² Yet, in the view of Lao Zi, moral norms in human society should be founded on the basis of natural principles. In fact, Daoism does not deny moral concepts such as loyalty, sincerity, filial piety, benevolent affection, but believes that another approach should be taken, that is “If we stopped the making of saint idols and refused to take opportunist wisdom, all people would benefit from it one hundred more times; if we opposed benevolence and discarded righteousness, true filial piety and benevolent affection would be restored in people.”³³ To sustain the true and original content of moral ethics in people such as filial piety, benevolence, loyalty and honesty, it is required to dissolve the malpractices in forms such as man-made benevolence and rites, and prevent denaturalizing and decaying the “moral ethics” that are naturally immanent in man and all things. The denaturalization leads to destruction and degeneration, therefore, it emphasizes “revering the Dao and its moral ethics”.

³²C.F. *Dao De Jing* (Chap. 18).

³³C.F. *Dao De Jing* (Chap. 19).

Regarding individual's cultivation of mind and disposition, Daoism emphasizes non-action and detachment from desires, which is different from Confucianism that usually advocates the theory of original goodness of human nature, upholds that man has emotions and desires, and in daily life, people could always experience various feelings such as liking, anger, sadness, joy, fear, dislike, desire and gain etc. It is whether these feelings conform to the principles and sustain within a certain range that Confucianism is really concerned with. While, Daoism reduces human affections and desires, emphasizing naturalness, simplicity, and detachment from desires, through which man can return to the congenital state of the Dao.

Regarding the cultivation of human mind and disposition, Lao Zi argued that human mind and disposition are originally natural and simple, and it is just the postnatal and non-natural intentional actions that disrupt their naturalness and simplicity. An individual's cultivation of mind and disposition should follow the naturalness, non-action, simplicity, and detachment from desires that bear the nature of the Dao in themselves.

According to Daoism, the social disorder and chaos at that time was originated from the expansion of personal desires among human feelings that led to fights, battles, killings, and disasters. To solve this problem, Lao Zi proposed a kind of ideal personality that is of qualities such as benefiting and loving all things, being free from contention, following the trend and time, and being benevolent and honest. It could be compared to water since "the supreme good is like water". Water is indispensable for all things. It cultivates all things and benefits them all, but never claims credit and never becomes arrogant, being easy of staying at the humble and low place, and this attitude of water is close to the Dao.

(2) Being unconstraint and carefree and upholding naturalness

In the Warring States Period, Zhuang Zi inherited and developed the thoughts of Lao Zi. He emphasized the realms of being unconstraint, freedom and naturalness. The realm of Xiao Yao (逍遥) in his works refers to that all things in the universe are complete in their heavenly nature, though they are different in size and life, and are of different qualities and fates, yet the values of their existence are all equal. As long as they can develop and reach their original nature, they all could reach the corresponding status of "being unconstraint".

It is Zhuang Zi's ideal that everyone can live a free, natural, and ecstatic life, which is theoretically founded on the theory of Qi Wu (equality of things). In the view of Zhuang Zi, all things are the same when measured by the Dao. "The Dao is universal and uniform", hence all things are equal. According to Zhuang Zi, the "equality of things" does not mean to eliminate the practical differences among all things, but rather to realize their equal status in terms of value among different things under the precondition of acknowledging individuality and diversity. Zhuang Zi believed that things in the universe are all different; each has their own unique quality and disposition, which exists on the basis of its own reason. For instance, a person may get a backache when he stays in a muddy place, while a loach particularly enjoys the same environment; mankind can appreciate the beauty of an

attractive woman, while a fish seeing her would escape into the deep water, and a bird seeing her would fly away; a horse can run a far distance in one day, but if you ask it to catch a mouse, it cannot match the skills of a little mouse-hunting animal because different animals are good at different skills; an owl can see tiny things clearly in night, but when it comes to daytime, a big mountain in front of it might be invisible because different things are of different qualities.

In the view of Zhuang Zi, as long as things can fully manifest the quality of their disposition and life, there would be no difference with the realization of the values of their existence. As long as all things independently have their own natural disposition and life, then they could reach equality in terms of value, and this is “when measured by the Dao, all things are same”. When a person cannot reach the status of “equality of things”, it is usually because of his insistence on his illusion of different values. Because people are usually constrained by their intentions and desires, often insist on their personal values, and exert these personal values on things and themselves, thus they view themselves superior to others. Zhuang Zi upholds that, though things in the universe are of much difference, yet they exist independently, complement mutually, and constitute a uniform completeness. On this basis, man should fully integrate into the nature, and return to the harmonious and uniform completeness of human beings, animals, and all things, with each existing on its own “quality of the Dao”, and reaching the “true naturalness”, just like “fish are not aware of the water surrounding them, and men are not aware of the quality of the Dao immanent in them.”³⁴

As for how to cultivate and obtain the “unconstraint status” of body and mind for an individual, Daoism has abundant theoretical descriptions and practical methods. While, different schools of Daoism, due to different aspects they emphasize, uphold varied views, methods, approaches when it comes to cultivation.

(3) Life first and disposition second

The southern branch of Jindan School in the Northern Song Dynasty, with Zhang Boduan as its prominent representative, advocated the theory of “Life First and Disposition Second”, with the unification of body and mind as the basis, and with valuing Jing (essence), cherishing Qi (vitality), storing Shen (spirit), cultivating Xing (disposition), and restoring Ming (life) as the main measures for individuals to cultivate their mind and body. In the view of Zhang Boduan, what Confucianism, Daoism, and Buddhism in the Chinese society have all emphasized is man’s disposition and life, namely the issue of harmony between body and mind. Regarding the body-mind and disposition-life issues, “life cultivation” in the physical aspect belongs to the realm of You Wei (action), while, “disposition cultivation” in the cultural-ethical aspect belongs to the realm of Wu Wei (non-action). Theoretically, cultivation could start from non-action of the disposition cultivation, and could also

³⁴C.F. *The Book of Zhuang Zi*.

begin with action of the life cultivation. Thus, there is a sequence of the first and the second, and two theories came into being because of this disparity over “Disposition First and Life Second” or “Life First and Disposition Second”.

Zhang Boduan, primarily from the perspective of practical effectiveness of alchemy, advocated “Life First and Disposition Second”. Emptying the mind and accessing the mind are behaviors for disposition cultivation, while, infilling the body and conducting alchemy are behaviors for life cultivation. Disposition and life are inseparable, but there is a sequential order. As for the human’s body, when it is infilled, the original “Jing” will exist, and furthermore the original “Qi” could be supplemented. With the original “Qi” supplemented, the original “Shen” would be boosted. When the “Shen” prospered and the mind emptied, the state of mind would be free from any disturbance, and then the natural “Xing” could be nurtured. One reason that “infilling the body” is made the first step for cultivating the body lies with the fact that human’s mind could not easily be “emptied”. It is recorded in *The Analects of Confucius* that Confucius himself once said that only at the age of seventy could one “reaches the unification of the freedom of life and the rules of the society”, indicating the difficulty of “emptying the mind” being relevant to disposition cultivation. As for infilling the body, it is relatively easier. As long as a person can stay away from sensual pleasures, reduce desires, sustain the true original, and protect the essence and vitality, then infilling the body could be reached. Therefore, the alchemy approach of “Life First and Disposition Second” is nothing but to collect together the spirit and vitality first to infill the body, which can lay a foundation for accessing the mind and cultivating the disposition.

In the view of Zhang Boduan, the core of body-mind harmony of Daoism lies in the concept of “disposition-life”. Hence, he emphasizes cultivation of both disposition and life, and believed that only there were both disposition and life, could the two be integrated into oneness, and further could the true unity with the Dao be realized. Life could have impact on disposition, and disposition could be manifested in life. Since disposition must depend on the body of life, and life must depend on function of disposition, thus, neither could Yang function independently, nor could Yin function independently. Only when body and function both complete, could perfection be realized.

(4) Disposition first and life second

The Quanzhen School in the Jin Dynasty, with the founder Wang Chongyang as its representative, inherited the thoughts of Lao Zi and Zhuang Zi in the Pre-Qin Period. He upheld that an individual’s cultivation should mainly be cultural-ethical, and proposed the theory of mind-body harmony, with completing the disposition and sustaining the naturalness as the main measures. Wang Chongyang also believed that the body-mind issue and the disposition-life issue are the fundamentals for cultivation. However, when a sequence is made between them, the mind, namely the disposition, should precede the body, namely the life. Cultivation does not only involve the body. Only cultivating the body without disposition does not usually work, because the body is not in charge, and only the true disposition is the exact master in charge of a man. If the life is cultivated without disposition, the

goal of cultivation cannot be reached. Therefore, in the view of Wang Chongyang, cultivation should start with the efforts for disposition such as Wu Shen (non-body) and Wu Wei (non-action), rather than with the efforts for life such as conducting alchemy and infilling the body, and emphasized that cultivation was just Wu Shen, Wu Wei, and Wu Lou (non-desire). Only when the mind is empty, can the body reach the unification of Yin and Yang. When the mind is still, the spirit will be static, along with the complete essence and vitality, the internal disposition can be awakened and the external body could be nurtured. When there are further efforts to spread virtues to all people, the status of being unconstraint wandering can be reached.

“Disposition First and Life Second” does not neglect the cultivation of life. It is that, in the view of Wang Chongyang, disposition can be life itself. The importance with cultivation is to access and obtain the true disposition. Cultivation could not take the external elegance as the only objective, and what is more important is with the manifestation of the sincere heart, that being the true mind. When the true mind is present, the true disposition will also manifest. If the cultivation of the mind and the disposition are effective, the body would naturally show corresponding changes. Self-cultivation usually refers to cultivating one’s mind. The mind should be upright and be free of desire and intention and the cultural-ethical easiness could be obtained.

All in all, in the traditional Chinese philosophy and culture, realizing the value of individuality is inseparable from the universality of the Heavenly Dao. The Dao, also called as the heaven, the Tai Chi, the heavenly principles, the innate mentality, the conscience, the supreme emptiness, is not only the source of values, but also the foundation of values, that being the body of values. An individual’s realizing his values is of an inevitable relationship with the body of values, namely the Heaven or the Dao. Thus, Chinese philosophy places special emphasis on the “oneness of nature and man”. At the same time, in the traditional Chinese philosophy, man is not purely atomic individuals. Every individual is innately endowed with universality of the body of value so that the realization of individual’s value could be manifested through its own body, and as long as an individual could get the body of his immanent value fully manifested, he or she could become a saint, a Buddhist, or an immortal. And during this process, there is also no damage made to the true individuality and independence. No matter whether it is the “Revering the Dao and its Moral Ethics” in Daoism, or the quote that “All things change conforming to the non-changing Dao, and all things coexist fulfilling their disposition and life” in Zhou Yi (also known as I Ching), or “there is a difference between the universality of the Heavenly Dao and the individuality of people.” emphasized by School of Principle in the Song and Ming dynasties, all of which believed in the uniformity between the universality of the body of value such as the Dao of Heaven or the Principle of Heaven and the characteristic of the existence of individuality. An individual is the carrier of values such as the Heavenly Dao, and represents the full individuality of the body of value. An individual innately possesses the value body of the universal Dao of Heaven. Thus, the value body of the Dao of Heaven, by combining itself with an individual, presents the obvious individual features.

However, this kind of unique features does not render individuals into the atomic or isolated state that is free of any communication. For instance, the “Differentiations” proposed by Confucians in the Song Dynasty means that individual contains the true quality obtained from the original body, and during this process, individuals present themselves in a specific form of existence, and the presentation is of special and innate features. However, these features do not contradict with those “Universal Principles”. This is like the reflections of the moon in the Dianchi Lake in Kunming, Yunnan Province and in the West Lake in Hangzhou, Zhejiang Province. Though their images are different geographically or in terminology, yet they are both the reflection of the original body of the moon in the sky, and their “principles” are “universal”, but they can still be “differentiated”. Therefore, differentiations among individuals do not mean isolation or irrelevance among individuals. On the contrary, individuals, because of the “Universal Principles”, have universal features; and because of the “Differentiations”, they also have differences. Among the “Differentiations”, there exists the “Universality” that makes it possible to reach the complete harmony among different individuals. This is the true meaning of “Harmony in Diversity” emphasized by Confucianism.

1.2 Concentrating on Intergroup Relationship and Righteousness-Gain Thought

People always follow their goals to pursue, realize, and create their own social values. Social practice is a kind of activity people consciously take for certain intentions. In the activity, people attempt to construct a world of “meanings”, and make it as a scale to measure the rationality of all human activities. In ancient China, the ideal social state with the holistic harmony and coordinated development of the society had been the value the people consistently pursued.

1.2.1 Benevolence, Loyalty, Filial Piety and Moral Ethics

In ancient China, people believed that the realization of individual’s unification of body and mind is closely related with social conditions provided by the universality of interpersonal harmony. The traditional Chinese philosophy, besides emphasizing individual’s unification of body and mind, also pays due attention to interpersonal relationship.

1.2.1.1 Views of Confucianism

Confucianism contains many thoughts regarding how to handle interpersonal relationships, how to deal with the relationships among different social classes, and how to properly live a rational life.

(1) Benevolence, loyalty, filial piety

According to Confucianism, “benevolence” is firstly a kind of internal realm of virtues or cultural-ethical standards. External manifestation of “benevolence” could be moral behaviors such as “loyalty”, “filial piety”, “propriety”, “morality” and “honesty”. In the view of Confucius, to fundamentally solve the problem of collapsing etiquettes during the Spring and Autumn Period, attention must be paid on “benevolence”, and rules and forms adjusting various social relationships, such as the system of rites, filial piety, loyalty, honesty, which should all be based on the “benevolence”. Form and content, and the external and the internal sides of things should be organically united. If a person is not “benevolent”, how can he formulate and observe the “system of rites”? How can he make good use of the “music”? “Benevolence” is the foundation of the social system of rites and music.

Confucius believed that the core of “benevolence” is “loving people”, that being “owning a heart of benevolent love”. With this benevolent heart, people would fulfill their “filial piety” in daily life so as to honor their elders; in political life, the ruling class would cherish their people and govern them by virtue; in personal morality, individuals would restrain themselves with “rites” without doing anything that was against the rites or upsetting their minds; in interpersonal communication, people would put themselves in the place of others and be compassionate and understanding. In other words, they would want to succeed and also help others do the same thing; they would want to move up and develop and also help others do so; they would not impose what they cannot tolerate upon others. To start with the issues in daily life is the method for implementing “benevolence”. Practicing “benevolence” could produce harmonious interpersonal relationship, including the monarch-minister relation, and the parent-child relation, and there would be no dissatisfaction across the country and within families.

It should be said that the theory of “benevolence” by Confucius is meant more to the rulers. When a disciple asked Confucius: “how is it if a person can satisfy the broad expectation of the people and help others selflessly? Can we say he has reached the realm of “benevolence”? Confucius replied that this was not merely “benevolence”; rather, we should say he was a “saint”! Even the ancient sage emperors like Emperor Yao and Emperor Shun³⁵ could not achieve this. Confucius believed that the rulers should follow the needs of the people, “do what is beneficial to the people to benefit the people”, and “save resources, love the people, and ask the people to serve the country when they are not busy so that disturbance caused to

³⁵Both are Chinese emperors of pre-historic eras recorded in legends.

them could be minimized.”³⁶ Therefore, Confucius emphasized that the rulers should not only cultivate their own hearts of “benevolence and virtue”, but also should implement “virtuous policies”.

In the mind of Confucius, when the rulers implemented the “virtuous policies”, its effect could be like the Big Dipper being surrounded by stars, and the rulers could win support and respect from the people. Since “virtuous policies” were based on the ruler’s heart of “benevolence and virtue”, thus Confucius required that the ruler should “cultivate themselves” and “rectify their behaviors”. “Cultivate themselves to show respect”, “cultivate themselves to appease others”, and “cultivate themselves to ease the people”.³⁷ Politics, to some extent, mean to rectify the ruler’s “body and heart” by himself. When the rulers take the lead to rectify themselves, then, who will dare to refuse to do the same thing? When the rulers act properly, it does not matter whether they issue an order or not since people will take him as the model. When the rulers act improperly, the people will not follow them even if he issues order because it is natural that the behaviors of the upper class will be followed by the lower one. When the rulers get their behaviors and conducts upright, it will not be difficult to govern the country. If the rulers cannot act properly, then how do they expect others to rectify themselves? Therefore, the key for a ruler to govern a country is just to require the ruler himself to take a serious and earnest attitude toward government affairs, emphasize credit, save the people’s efforts, practice frugality, and be tolerant to others.

Through the adjustment of “benevolence”, Confucius believed that society could reach the ideal realm. In the ideal realm, “the elders are given peace; friends are given trust; the young are given love”.³⁸ “All people across the country are brothers and sisters, like in a big family”.³⁹ “Benevolence” is the foundation of political and social systems such as the system of rites, and the norms for moral conducts, and it is also the core concept for ancient emperors to govern the country. Though as the times and social conditions have changed, and the specific content and forms of the system of rites and music have evolved, yet the basic spirit of “benevolence” remains the same.

When a disciple asked Confucius: “Can we know now what it would be like in ten generations?” Confucius answered: the Yin Dynasty inherited the system of rites from the Xia Dynasty, and in it, there was both loss and benefit. As for these loss and benefit, we already knew them both. The Zhou Dynasty inherited the system of rites from the Yin Dynasty, and in it, there was also both loss and benefit, and we also knew them both, too. If there was another dynasty after the Zhou Dynasty, even if it sustained one hundred generations, we could also know it.

Is there a constant core throughout the history of social development? Are political system and social culture sustainable? If so, what is the relation between this sustainability and social development? Confucius offered his answers to these

³⁶C.F. *The Analects of Confucius*.

³⁷Ibid.

³⁸*The Analects of Confucius*.

³⁹Ibid.

questions. In the view of Confucius, different periods in history are not independent of each other, and there is always a link to the previous society in a certain historical period. The link could be divided into two aspects. One is loss, and the other, gain. But both loss and gain are based on inheritance. So, when a disciple asked Confucius whether they could know what the world would be like in ten generations later, Confucius replied that, they could know what the world would be like even in one hundred generations. It was because that, after overthrowing the Xia Dynasty, the Shang Dynasty inherited many of its social and political systems; When the Zhou Dynasty replaced the Shang, its systems and culture were founded on the cultures in the Xia and Shang dynasties. This is the conclusion drawn by Confucius after studying the history of the three dynasties mentioned above. Confucius believed that the development of history is not exclusively black or white. Rather, certain elements will be inherited all through the way, and these elements usually remain the same. Confucius lived in the late years of the Eastern Zhou Dynasty, and he believed that another dynasty after Zhou would inevitably have systems and cultures with consistence in terms of the fundamental value of the Xia, Shang and Zhou dynasties, which must be “benevolence”.

Confucianism places emphasis on Zhong Shu (loyalty and forbearance), among which, Zhong (loyalty) refers one’s effort to use his benevolent heart to love others and things, usually meaning a kind of positive and sincere personality, and moral cultivation, while Shu (forbearance) refers to treating other people the way you want to be treated, being considerate for others, and having forbearance for others. Confucius attached great importance to loyalty by emphasizing that people should “be well-behaved when staying at home, be serious and prudent when handling affairs, and be honest and sincere when treating others”.⁴⁰ Confucius also emphasized forbearance by saying that

“when you express your own benevolence and love to others, you could be treated with benevolence and love from others. When you express your own generosity and tolerance to others, you could be treated with generosity and tolerance from others. Do not impose upon others what you do not want to be done to yourself.”⁴¹

Generally, loyalty and forbearance are a kind of “methodology of benevolence” in Confucianism, an important approach to implementing benevolence, and a key content of benevolence. Thereafter, Mencius also took loyalty as an important virtue and value for Confucianism by arguing that teaching others to be good was “loyalty”. In later generations, Confucians’ arguments and remarks on loyalty and compassion were more systematic, and established a link between loyalty and respect for the monarch, and love for the country. Thus, “loyalty” became a most important moral rule in the Chinese feudalist ethics.

Xiao Ti (filial piety and respect for elders) are also important moral values of Confucianism. Xiao refers to filial piety for parents, and Ti, respect for elders. Confucius and his disciples regard filial piety and respect for elders as the

⁴⁰*The Analects of Confucius.*

⁴¹*Ibid.*

“fundamentals of benevolence”. Mencius believed that filial piety and respect for elders are “good consciousness” and “good capacity” inborn with human beings. Everyone loves their parents when they are still in childhood, and when they grow up, they also should know how to respect his elder brothers. Loving one’s parents is benevolence, and respecting one’s elders is propriety. Only one who loves his or her parents and respects his or her elders will probably be loyal to the country, and be trustworthy to friends. Thus, filial piety and respect for elders are the precondition for Zhong (loyalty), and representation of Xin (trustworthiness). Therefore, Confucians in later generations usually combined Xiao, Ti, Zhong, Xin together and used them jointly.

(2) “Examining identities”

Confucians in the Han Dynasty inherited and developed the Pre-Qin Confucian values and thoughts on interpersonal relationship, and the relationship between individual and the society. On the one hand, they took benevolence, righteousness, filial piety, respect for elders, loyalty, and trustworthiness proposed by Confucius and Mencius as major value concepts for handling interpersonal relationship, and the relationship between individual and the society, and on the other hand, they absorbed the emphasis on the important role of systems and values in handling interpersonal relationship, and the relationship between individual and the society by Xun Zi, and combined Ren (benevolence) , Yi (righteousness), Li (propriety) , Zhi (wisdom), and Xin (trustworthiness) as the Wu Chang (Five Constants) for handling interpersonal relationship.

The Five Constants advocated by Confucians in the Han Dynasty are not only rules that people must follow when dealing with interpersonal ethical relations, but also are the fundamental guarantee for the rulers to obtain the Order of Heaven. Thus, the Five Constants are not only of moral significance, but also of political significance. For instance, in the view of Dong Zhongshu, benevolence and righteousness are the key to the Five Constants. The core of benevolence is loving people, and the role of righteousness is rectifying oneself. The method of benevolence lies in loving others but not loving oneself, and the method of righteousness rests with rectifying oneself but not rectifying others. “Benevolence” and “wisdom” are mutually complementary. If there is “benevolence” but no “wisdom”, people will not be able to know others, and if there is “wisdom” but no “benevolence”, people will not be able to love others. Therefore, having “benevolence” without “wisdom” could get people love others but cannot differentiate them, and having “wisdom” without “benevolence” could get people know others but cannot make them take actions. Thus, “benevolence” makes people love others, and “wisdom” makes people reduce their evilness. The theory of Five Constants promoted by Confucians in the Han Dynasty could be endowed with renewed meanings in modern society. For instance, the spirits, such as loving others and helping others promoted among citizens in modern society, could match up with “benevolence”. As for other aspects, such as equality, justice, and behaving righteously could be connected to “righteousness”. And the elements of social role, social responsibility,

interpersonal respect, and harmony could be relevant to the “propriety”. Giving full play to one’s wisdom and talent, and conducting one’s duties could match up with “wisdom”. Honesty and the spirit of execution could be relevant to the “trust-worthiness”. In short, all the Five Constants have their corresponding counterparts in modern society.

Confucians in the Han Dynasty also proposed the theory of San Gang (the Three Cardinals), believing that, among the interpersonal relationships and the relationship between individual and the society, the most important ones are of monarch-minister, father-son, and husband-wife, and the value concepts of loyalty, filial piety, and respect should respectively be the guides for handling the above three types of relationships. These values uplifted the hierarchy ethics in human relationships in the traditional Chinese society to the height of the perpetual Heavenly Dao, and have had far-reaching influences on later Chinese generations.

To properly handle one’s interpersonal relationship and one’s relationship with the society, Confucians in the Han Dynasty believed that it is firstly required to Zheng Ming (rectifying name) as noted by Confucius, that is, to embed individuals into the general society and clarify his rights, responsibilities, duties in the whole social system. For instance, Dong Zhongshu proposed the idea of Shencha Minghao (examining identities). He further analyzed those concepts of Ming Hao (names and descriptions) and Zhi Fen (posts and duties) of the five different social class identities including Tian Zi (son of heaven), Zhu Hou (duke), Da Fu (senior official), Shi (scholar), and Min (common people), and believed that people in different social classes had different identities, and their social responsibilities are also different. “Tian Zi” could obtain the qualification to become the monarch only after receiving the Order of Heaven. The Order of Heaven received by the monarch is endowed by the Heaven. Thus, those with the identity of “Tian Zi” should regard the Heaven as his father, serve the Heaven with filial piety, and follow the intention of the Heaven to teach and guide his people. Those with the identity of “Zhu Hou” should prudently treat the “Tian Zi” they serve, because the “Hou” in “Zhu Hou” means “to serve”. People with the identity of “Da Fu” should be specially loyal, and strive to promote propriety and righteousness, because the “Da” in “Da Fu” means “great”, indicating that his character and morality must exceed the common people, and reach the extent of teaching and educating others. The “Shi” is “to engage”, meaning to engage oneself in various undertakings, because “Shi” is still short of the qualification of teaching and educating, and could just conduct well his own duties by following orders from the superiors. While, “Min” means “being sleepy or confused” and needs to be taught and educated by others. The five identities, including Tian Zi, Zhu Hou, Da Fu, Shi, and Min, indicate their respective posts and duties. Each part of the posts and duties has its own “Ming” (name). There are more “names” than “descriptions” since Hao (alias) is used for a certain group, while “name” is used to each individual of the group. “Alias” is general, while “name” is specific. As a specific term, “name” is used to differentiate one individual from another, and as a general term, “alias” is used to illustrate an outline.

By proposing “examining identities”, Dong Zhongshu defined the posts and duties of various social identities from Tian Zi to Shi, and to Min. The objective of

“examining identities” lies in “rectifying name”. “Name” is used to differentiate and examine the right and the wrong, the true and the false. If an object does not conform to the definition of its “name”, it should be rectified, which is called “rectifying name”. Using “name” to differentiate the right and the wrong is actually using the thoughts, such as San Gang (the Three Cardinals) and Wu Chang (the Five Constants) of Confucianism, as the values to measure whether a social system is proper and reasonable.

(3) Propriety and righteousness indoctrination

Most Confucian philosophers in the Song and Ming dynasties believe that the realization of the ideal social values is completed through “indoctrination”. During this process, the indoctrinators, following objectives and intentions, would impose systematic moral influences on the indoctrinates by deepening their moral recognition, cultivating their moral sense, enhancing their moral conviction, and making them consciously engage in moral cultivation, implement certain moral duties, and carry out their responsibilities for others and the society. As for how to “indoctrinate”, the Song and Ming philosophers explored various representations and materializing methods for the moral goodness, providing the basic value principles and scales for individual cultivation and social improvement, and making them the general behavioral specification for adjusting various relationships among individuals, individual and the society, and man and the nature.

For mankind and all things existing in the world, the mainstream philosophers in the Song and Ming dynasties believe that they should not be measured by the single standard of utilitarianism, but should be measured by the value standard of morality. The Confucian school of idealist philosophy of the Song and Ming dynasties emphasizes that the representative of the Heavenly Moral Ethics in man is the supreme good in human nature, which is manifested via the human mind. When the mind does not move, it is consistent with the human nature and the heaven principle, and is in the mind of supreme goodness. When the mind moves, the human nature will be converted to emotion, and emotion in turn will become good or evil. Thus, by the good-evil standard, the mind can be divided into two: one is the mind of the Dao, namely the emotion consistent with the original nature, which is the good one. The other is the mind of the man, namely the emotion inconsistent with the original nature, which is the evil one. The good one is called the heavenly principle, while the evil one human desire. In face of the rampant human desires and collapsing heavenly moral ethics, the School promoted the idea of “differentiating moral ethics from desires” and the request to “upholding heavenly moral ethics whilst annihilating human desires”. Those heavenly moral ethics are usually taken as the cardinal guides and constant virtues in ethics and the patriarchal clan system. While, human desires are often taken as selfish desires violating the cardinal guides and constant virtues. If human desires were to be set free to develop, it would lead to fights for interests among individuals, and among social classes. Thus, from the perspective of maintaining the social stability, human desires should be restrained. The School directly links “upholding heavenly moral

ethics whilst annihilating human desires” with “restraining oneself and restoring propriety” in the belief that, as long as all people in the world could uphold heavenly moral ethics, reduce human desires, and follow proprietary norms, the society would naturally become stable and orderly.

1.2.1.2 Views of Daoism

(1) “Revering the Dao and its moral ethics”, and “following natural laws”

According to Daoism, the Dao and the Heavenly Moral Ethics are the innate traits of man and all things, and they actually specify the moral standards for human beings and all things in terms of existence and living. Therefore, they should be revered.

In the view of Daoism, man and all things in the world have their own natural disposition, and they are all equal in terms of this disposition. Thus, every person has his or her own talent so there are no “talentless people”, and each thing has its own function so there are no “functionless things”. All things are born in the Dao, and each has its own “moral ethics” or disposition. Though all things have shapes, images, and change all the time, yet they still sustain the “constants” of their moral ethics or disposition. Human’s intention should not be imposed on other people or other things. Instead, natural laws should be followed by man and things to reach their own “origins” and complete their own “disposition”.

From the perspective of Daoism, the nature is the most ideal state of man, and should therefore be the value rule for handling interpersonal relationship. In their natural state, every person is like a newborn that is pure, simple, and free of prejudice or bias. But the development of civilization and accumulation of knowledge could render man into a non-original state that prevents them from returning to their disposition and recovering to the original. Since “the Dao follows the law of the nature”, thus the “natural” value rules of the Dao should be used to correct the disorder of social ethics and impairment to human disposition by civilization, and embrace the existence of man’s original state.

(2) “The world of the supreme virtue” and “the world of the inclusive existence”

Zhuang Zi’s ideal society is “the world of the supreme virtue”, with Qi Wu (equality of things) as its theoretical basis. He believed that, though things in the universe are significantly varied, yet they are running without contradictions, mutually complementary and completing each other, and thus constitute a united oneness. On this basis, Zhuang Zi proposed his ideal society of “the world of the supreme virtue”: man completely being integrated into the nature, and returned to the realm of harmony and unity of man, animals and all things; all people being adapted to their own disposition, living a natural and simple life, and being free of excessive and abnormal civilization; there being no paths or tunnels in the mountains, no boats or bridges in the lakes or across the rivers, no private properties; people only working but with no need to store, giving instead of asking for return; people being all “knowledgeless” and “desireless”, and free from any forms of being constrained by ethics and value rules. This is the realm where

“people do not know where the righteousness should be placed, and people do not know where the propriety should be suited”.⁴²

Zhuang Zi emphasizes the simplicity and naturalness in the “world of the supreme virtue”, and regarding the approach to governing the country, he opposes any form of subjective rule by man, and advocates the “managementless” governance. In the view of Zhuang Zi, the most ideal political governance rests with non-action and naturalness, that is, “people only see everything existing inclusively, but do not see any rule by man”.⁴³ He believed that the enlightened monarch should allow all things in the world to naturally develop, but should not make any subjective “management”. As long as all people in the world do not reduce their original nature, and do not change the normality of their naturalness, then the world will need no “management”. “If there were no desire, the world would naturally be peaceful; if there were no action, all things would naturally evolve; if there were no disturbance in the mind, people would be naturally stable.” Zhuang Zi upholds that the subjective “management” is the root cause of all disorders. He therefore admires freedom and naturalness, and in this ideal freedom and naturalness, all people and all things can coexist harmoniously, which is the ideal society of his.

1.2.2 Harmony in Diversity, and Differentiation for the Sake of Unity

To handle the relationships between different social systems and classes in the society, the ancient Chinese people came up with mature principles.

1.2.2.1 Harmony Promotes Everything and Identicalness Holds Back Development

In ancient China, the ruling class attached great importance to coordinate and harmonize different classes in governance. At the late Western Zhou Dynasty, amid political plights, some progressive intellectuals started to consider why the crisis occurred. And they tended to believe that the crisis was caused by the escalated political conflicts, which hampered the harmony of the society. Shibo, a thinker at that time, thought that the chaos of the Western Zhou Dynasty was incurred by the fact that rulers made light of “harmony” but focused on “being identical”. “Harmony” means the coexistence and unity of different things and factors, while “being identical” refers to the simple addition and sameness of similar things. Therefore, the two concepts are quite different.

⁴²C.F. *The Book of Zhuang Zi*.

⁴³*Ibid*.

Duke Huan of Zheng, the founder of the state of Zheng and Minister of Land during the reign of the King You of Zhou, felt very horrified and anxious when he saw that the Zhou state was plagued with countless disasters and was at stake. So he consulted Tai Shibo over the destiny of the Zhou Dynasty, and how to unfetter from this plight. Shibo thought the wane of the Zhou Dynasty and the wax of Rongdi was inevitable as the rulers were alien to virtuous courtiers and close to knavish ones. At the theoretical level, this is called “discarding harmony and seeking identicalness”. As for this, Shibo proposed that “harmony promotes everything and identicalness holds back development”, which means that a harmonious political atmosphere ensures a sound development of the society and everything, but if governors require everything to follow the mindset of them, the society will lose the vigor of development.

The “harmony” put forward by Shibo refers to that if different things with different attributes harmoniously form an entity, they can enrich and grow well. “Being identical” means if we put similar things together and make no change, new objects will never emerge, and so “we will lose everything”. To oppose to the thought of “discarding harmony and seeking identicalness” and plump for his own view, Shibo gave a series of proofs. For example, everything in nature is composed of five basic elements: metal, wood, water, fire and earth; delicious food come out of adjusting five flavors: sour, sweet, bitter, spicy and salty; melodious music are made by setting the six temperaments, namely Huangzhong, Taicu, Guxi, Ruibin, Yize and Wushe, and so on.

In politics, we also need to follow the principle of harmony. Emperors must take attaining social harmony as the objective of governance, reconcile the contradictions between princes and dukes, ministers, scholars and others, and government officials also need to practice it. Emperors also need to choose women with different surnames as their queens, and appoint government officials with different political views. Only by practicing these, can emperors have a harmonious political environment, and can the society embrace harmony and stability. As Shibo says that a reasonable society must be a society pursuing harmony in diversity, and if we just seek common grounds but discard differences, the society will be in turmoil.

Since “harmony” and “unification” are inseparable periods in the development of things, Shibo put forward the thought of “harmony promotes everything”, which must be taken seriously in a peaceful and stable society. Only “harmony” can foster a stable society, and only harmony in diversity can make the society vibrant and progressive.

1.2.2.2 In Practicing the Rules of Propriety, Harmony Is to Be Prized

Being worried about the social status in the Spring and Autumn Period, Confucius thought efforts should be made to ease class contradictions and recover the harmony and stability of the society. It is difficult to run a state if the class and social conflicts are too severe, and to put a state in order, the rulers must appease contradictions and

meet the benefits of all classes. To achieve this, Confucius thought they need to tend to “propriety”, for it is useful to allay class and social contradictions.

Propriety is very important to advance the harmony of society. “In practicing the rules of propriety, harmony is to be prized.” Social harmony can be accomplished only when everything, regardless of major or minor things, are governed by rites. That is to say, harmony needs to be standardized and measured by rites. Otherwise, pursuing harmony is nothing but empty talk. If rulers govern the people only in accordance with laws and regulations and by imposing tough penalties, people may not commit crimes, but they will not foster evilness, shame and disgust rather than a sense of goodness. However, if rulers govern people by morality and virtue, people can not only avoid wrongdoings but also abide by rules with a sense of shame and disgust. That is to say that “if people are led by laws, and uniformity sought to be given them by punishments, they will try to avoid the punishment, but have no sense of shame; if they are led by virtue, and uniformity sought to be given them by the rules of propriety, they will have the sense of shame, and moreover will behave well”.⁴⁴

How to achieve the rule of virtue? In Confucius’s view, rectifying names holds the key because if names are not correct, words are not in accordance with the truth of things; if words are not in accordance with the truth of things, affairs cannot be carried on to success. When affairs cannot be carried on to success, proprieties and music will not flourish. When proprieties and music do not flourish, punishments will not be properly awarded. When punishments are not properly awarded, the people do not know how to move hand or foot. Under such circumstances, how can a country be governed properly? Therefore, a gentleman considers it necessary that the names he uses may be spoken appropriately and what he speaks may be carried out appropriately.

1.2.2.3 Everything Comes in Pairs

Actually, “harmony” never means rejecting “difference” and “contradiction”. Shimo, a historian of the Jin Dynasty in the Spring and Autumn Period, raised a philosophy proposition that “everything comes in pairs”, which, from the perspective of the struggle of contradictions, demonstrates the necessity of the existence of contradictions, and the struggle of opposites promoting the development of things. This does not go against the “harmony” stressed by Shibo, for “harmony” never means no difference, no conflict, no change or no development.

In Shimo’s view, everything is born in twos and threes, and can always find its opposites. In nature, up in the sky, there is the sun, the moon and stars, and down on the earth, there are five elements: metal, wood, water, fire and earth, and every object has its left side and right side, so we can see everything has its opposites. In society, the opposing forces between kings and dukes, princes and ministers also

⁴⁴C.F. *The Analects of Confucius*.

embody the struggle of contradictions. The existence of “twos” makes everything in the process of struggling and developing.

In nature, as we know, “high hills can change into valleys, and deep valleys can change into hills”. And the society also follows the laws that “nothing is permanent and all things perish in time”. So as Shimo maintained, contradictions exist in everything and among things. The struggle between opposites drives the change and development of things, and help contradictions to transform to their opposites. And this transformation promotes to achieve a more sound, reasonable, and higher level development of a harmonious society.

1.2.2.4 Attaching Importance to Rites and Laws, and Making Distinctions for the Sake of Unification

In Confucianism, there is a notion that we can adjust and handle the relationships among people by institutional systems, which attaches great importance to upholding values and improving those systems. For example, as for how to deal with the relationships between different people and different classes, Xun Zi proposed to “attach importance to rites and laws and make distinctions for the sake of unification”.

Why the relationships among people entail to be regulated and restricted by rites, laws and regulations? In Xun Zi’s view, the main reason is that people are different from wild animals and objects. As a kind of social and gregarious animal, people are not competent to cattle and horses in strength and speed. But why cattle and horses are enslaved by people? It is because that people know how to unite the overall strength of groups but cattle and horses cannot. If groups can coexist and unite as one, they will be so strong that other creatures will be subject to them. Therefore, people cannot live alone without societies and groups.

Mankind dominates over other creatures through grouping together, and we cannot live when separated from each other. But if a group has no systems, regulations and values, fierce clashes and conflicts will come thick and fast. People are different in nature, and if their differences are erased, imbalances and arguments will occur inside of them, and arguments lead to chaos, which consequently causes discord. If people cannot unite themselves as one, the whole society will go downhill and they cannot have command over other things. As a result, they will live in chaos and turmoil. To avoid this, the best way is to “make distinctions for the sake of unification”.

“Distinction” is very critical to “living together” and lays foundation for social survival and development. In Xun Zi’s view, “distinction” has two connotations: “differentiation between the nature and people”, which means since they each assumes their duties, so that people can know what they need to do; the second is “differentiation among peoples”. The system and principles on rites and laws, advocated by Xun Zi, aim at differentiating peoples. By “upholding rites and respecting virtuous people” and “revering laws and loving people”, the world can achieve great harmony. In the eyes of Xun Zi, making distinctions between people

includes ensuring the differentiations between the internal and external rites, fathers and sons, men and women, and superiors and inferiors. To be specific, what we should do is guarantee the affiliation between monarchs and courtiers, affection between fathers and sons, distinction between husbands and wives. The lifeblood of the country lies in the system of rites. Rulers can grapple the power if they attach importance to ritual system and respect sages, and even they can dominate over the nobilities if they value legal systems and people. But a country will be in peril if its cunning rulers covet interests, and a country will doom to collapse if its rulers harm people through political trickeries and tactics. Therefore, we need to differentiate virtuous people from the silly ones, uphold rites and respect sages, and make sure that sages are superior to morons. We should ascertain that virtuous and capable people are appointed by weighing their talents rather than their positions and classes. We should also lose no time in dismissing those who are incompetent and lax in action, resolutely persecute vicious and treacherous people. And it is advisable to rectify the name by the order of father and children, young and old, close and distant. For those who disobey rites and righteousness, they should be deemed as ordinary people even if they are descendent of the nobilities. Conversely, for those with humble birth, if they learn culture and knowledge, behave properly, abide by laws and rites, they can be promoted to be officials with high ranks.

Xun Zi believed that it is people who cause disasters like the vagueness of social values, the absence of rites and probity, promiscuous conducts between men and women, discredit between fathers and sons, and the discord between rulers and subjects. Since disasters made by people are the most horrible, so to run a society well, it is of significant importance to know how to handle the relations between monarchs and subjects, fathers and sons, husbands and wives. We need to make a clear distinction of the duties and ensure that everyone can shoulder his responsibilities willingly and consciously, never bear grudge against destinies and shirk duties. According to these ideas, we can properly handle the relationships among people, between people and the society, so as to attain the stability, peace and harmony of the world.

1.2.2.5 When Nothing Is Done, Nothing Is Left Undone

Daoism emphasizes that social life and governance must work by following natural laws, which should be the most ideal state of the society. When running the country, rulers of moral ethics do not intentionally employ methods but conform to the nature of people and the laws of things so as to achieve governance through non-action. The so-called “governance by non-action”, far from doing nothing, means acting in accordance with the internal laws and nature of things, and finally delivers fruitful results through “non-action, which is not intended to acting recklessly. If people don’t act recklessly but act in tune with the laws of things, anything can be accomplished. The Dao is not associated with any intentional action, but is concerned with acting by following the nature of people and the development laws of things. If the rulers govern the country not by their own wisdoms but by

following the real conditions of all things, then the great harmony will be achieved. As a result, to govern the country and the world, besides subjective will of the rulers and the action of people, the more important thing is to take actions in accordance with the laws of the nature.

Actually, Daoism does not reject all civilized systems but opposes the ones that cause the alienation of people's nature. Civilized systems are formulated in accordance with the nature of people and the laws of things. If these systems lose their original traits, they will rule people in an improper and unnatural way. People will go against the nature of themselves and other things, and so that people's nature will be suppressed and become alienated.

1.2.3 The Concepts of Yi-Li (Righteousness-Gain), and Gong-Si (Public-Private), Qun-Ji (Group-Individual)

As for handling interpersonal and group relationships, concepts like Yi-Li (righteousness-gain), Gong-Si (public-private) and Qun-Ji (group-individual) have been drawing people's attention and constitute the very important parts of traditional Chinese values.

1.2.3.1 Yi-Li Concept

The character "Yi" (義 Righteousness), originally founded in inscriptions on bones, tortoise, and bronzes, has the meaning of magnificence, goodness and suitability. It has gradually become the generic name of appropriate moral and conduct codes. Generally speaking, in Chinese culture, "Yi" means being in line with the moral principles advocated by a certain times and society. "Li" (利 gain) refers to personal interests or benefits. So, the Yi-Li thought is associated with the origin of values, assessment standards of values, and the social functions of values. In history, there are different opinions on righteousness and personal gains.

(1) A gentleman seeks righteousness, while a vile one seeks personal gains

Confucianism, with Confucius and Mencius as its representatives, esteems righteousness and belittles personal gains. Confucius advocates righteousness and believed that "A gentleman man considers righteousness to be essential in everything", and "A gentleman holds righteousness to be of greatest importance". Therefore, people of moral ethics should revere righteousness, belittle personal gains, and should be worried by seeking truth rather than by poverty. They shouldn't abandon righteousness and if they act with a persistent view on their own advantages, they will be stuck in a much "troublesome" situation.

In Confucius's eyes, acting on account of righteousness differentiates gentlemen from vile men. "The mind of a gentleman is conversant with righteousness; the mind of a vile one is conversant with personal gains." What a gentleman is concerned with is righteousness and a vile man, his own interests. Confucius deems that a gentleman should consider righteousness to be essential in everything, perform according to the rules of propriety and bear in mind them forever even if they are in poverty. With these virtues, they can claim them to be superior to others. Therefore, practicing propriety before personal gains is one of the important standards to see whether a man is a gentleman or not.

As Mencius sees it, propriety is an important value steaming from people's sense of shame and disgust. Mencius objects personal interests. When he went to see King Hui of Liang, he said that "Why must you speak of personal gains? What I have for you all is humaneness and righteousness".⁴⁵ He believed that a gentleman should not be driven by personal gains but by benevolence and righteousness. The Yi-Li thought has inherited and developed the thoughts of Confucius.

(2) Upholding righteousness and seeking truth over personal gains

Since the Han Dynasty, scholars of Confucianism start to associate teleology with deontology, and denounce material gains. In the Western Han Dynasty, Dong Zhongshu proposes "Five Constant Virtues", namely righteousness, benevolence, propriety, wisdom and faithfulness. Later, the five virtues become fundamental principles of practice in traditional Chinese culture. Dong Zhongshu says "People should pursue integrity not profit, seek truth not consider personal interests",⁴⁶ and thinks that the determined scholars and the men of virtue should act in line with integrity, but not act in purpose of seeking profit.

According to the record of *The Memoir of Dong Zhongshu of the History of Han Dynasty*, Dong Zhongshu was ever appointed as the prime minister of Prince Yi in Jiangdu. King Yi thought he was assisted by three virtuous men, namely Xie Yong, Wen Zhong and Fan Li. King Yi compared himself to the Duke Huan, and wanted to be the leader of all the princes with the assistance of Dong Zhongshu. However, Dong Zhongshu disagreed with Prince Yi on the notion and thought by arguing that even the youth were shamed of mentioning the five hegemony in the Spring and Autumn Period, for the five bullies championed for fraudulence and discarded benevolence and righteousness.

(3) If people act with righteousness and interests will come upon them

In general, the philosophy of the Song and Ming dynasties takes "public gains" as the criterion to assess values. It advocates that public benefits are essential and people should "be concerned about affairs of the state before others, and enjoy comforts after others". The philosophers defended their views on "differentiating righteousness from personal gains" by arguing that morality should be put above

⁴⁵C.F. *The Book of Mencius*.

⁴⁶C.F. *Luxuriant Dew of the Spring and Autumn Annals (Chun Qiu Fan Lu)*.

material gains and underscore righteousness. As Chen Hao put it, “Benefits come from discarding righteousness, and righteousness is maintained by giving up personal gains. All the affairs of the world are about righteousness and personal gains”.⁴⁷

Neo-Confucian philosopher Zhu Xi inherited the notions of Dong Zhongshu, Cheng Yi and Cheng Hao. He believed that justice is the main criteria for the ideal character of the gentlemen. “If people act with righteousness and gains will come upon them. If people only concern themselves with gains, they may not benefit from it at all”,⁴⁸ he pointed out. These arguments emphasize the importance of valuing righteousness. Later on, on the basis of these thoughts, Confucian thinkers of the Song and Ming dynasties proposed the value of “upholding heavenly moral ethics whilst annihilating human desires”.

In fact, the main thought of Confucianism prefers righteousness to personal gains by arguing that people should make decisions concerning issues of material gains according to the principle of righteousness rather than be profit-driven or abandon their moral ethics.

(4) The virtuous should do good deeds to and remove the evils from the world

Actually, there are so many arguments on the thought of righteousness and personal gains. For example, Mo Zi and the Utilitarian School of the Southern Song Dynasty disagreed over the thought of Confucianism.

Mo Zi thinks that “righteousness” means favoring other people, which is important to judge one’s values and ethics. In his eyes, “righteousness can benefit men”. Therefore, people of grand ideals should remain committed to “do good deeds to and remove the evils from the world”.⁴⁹

Righteousness is of paramount importance so that it is essential to procure benefits and averting calamities for the world. Mencius once said, if a man with heavy loads of rice on his back was unable to rise to his knees, the passers-by, regardless of young and old, in high or low ranks, should offer a hand to him, which is an example of righteousness. So it is not right to say “righteousness is inseparable with personal gains and righteousness means no benefits”. Then, Mo Zi further proposed the thought that “Of the multitude of things none is more valuable than righteousness”. This shows that righteousness is even more valuable than one’s own body. And Mo Zi believed that the virtuous should practice righteousness in life and even devote their life to righteousness.

The Utilitarian School of the Southern Song Dynasty believed that righteousness and personal gains are one entity and we should attach equal importance to both moral ethics and material gains. Chen Liang advocated that we should make profits and preserve righteousness by arguing that “People would be said to have become virtuous when they succeeded and made due contribution to the

⁴⁷C.F. *Henan Chengshi Yishu* (The Legacies of Cheng Hao, Chap. 11).

⁴⁸C.F. *Classified Utterances of Zhu Xi* (Chap. 37).

⁴⁹C.F. *The Book of Mo Zi*.

world”.⁵⁰ Ye Shi also agrees with the idea of seeking worldly gains by proposing the thought of “the coexistence of righteousness and personal gains” and highlighting the idea of “making personal achievements” with “upholding righteousness and moral ethics”. In the Qing Dynasty, another famous Confucian Yan Yuan remarked that “Profits come from practicing integrity and personal gains come from seeking truth. Doing things without considering personal gains is hypocritical and an act of putrid bookworms” and “Is there a person sowing without considering reaping or angling without caring about fish?”⁵¹

1.2.3.2 Gong-Si Concept

The debates over righteousness and personal gains are always associated with the distinction of public interests and personal interests. In traditional Chinese philosophy, the differences between these interests are embodied in the differences from one county to another, from oneself to other people, from oneself to other things, and from the public to the individuals. The traditional values are in line with both personal gains and the gains of other people, and of the society, and it is believed that the realization of personal interests is inseparable with the society people live in. So people should strike a balance between personal interests and public interests and unify individual development with social development.

(1) Righteousness and personal gains are of public and private interests

It can be said that “achievements” and “gains” in the Pre-Qin periods refer to two different concepts. “Achievements” corresponds to something “objective” and is the result delivered by people’s acts, while “gains” corresponds to righteousness and refers to the real interests that people obtain. Confucius and Mencius both exalt righteousness and stand for the argument that righteousness should outweigh personal gains.

The Confucian philosophers in the Song and Ming dynasties tended to associate righteousness and interest with public and personal interest. Cheng Yi pointed out that “righteousness and personal gains are of public and private interests”. Cheng Yi values righteousness as well as the distinction of personal gains, righteousness, public interests and personal ones needs deep deliberation. However, it seems contradictory in history that Confucius respected the Zhou Dynasty but Mencius encouraged the Qi and Liang State to be the leader of the world. However, the two thoughts are similar in connotation. At the times of Confucius, following the rites of the Zhou Dynasty could promote the harmony of the society, so Confucius respected the Zhou Dynasty and asked other princes to preserve the authority of the emperor of the Zhou Dynasty. But things had changed by the times of Mencius when the codes of the Zhou Dynasty were scraped and the king of the Zhou

⁵⁰C.F. *A Letter to Chen Tongpu*.

⁵¹C.F. *Yan Xing Lu of Yan Yuan* (Vol. 2).

Dynasty were overthrown, so Mencius encouraged the Qi and Liang State to rule over the world. The two actions were both taken for the purpose of public interests.

After studying history, Cheng Yi argued that on the prerequisite of being in line with righteousness, the functionality and the principle of utilitarianism should be taken into consideration. Denying the subjectivity of values evaluation, he insisted that the criteria to judge values is objective, and this criteria is in nature of righteousness, so the criteria is of ever-lasting value.

As for the debates over righteousness and personal gains, Lu Jiuyuan pointed out that what is right and wrong should be decided according to the motives, which falls in line with his self-cultivation thoughts and conforms to his soul ontology philosophy. When interpreting the sentence of “A gentleman seeks righteousness, while a vile one seeks personal gains” in the *Analects of Confucius*, he believed that although being addicted to make profits is not right, yet the “righteousness” in verbal and cognitive level is not real righteousness. It is just like some people who pretend to be virtuous but actually act shamelessly. And some people behave seemingly in accordance with righteousness, but in fact they are doing so to make personal interests in the name of righteousness. In Lu Jiuyuan’s mind, true righteousness is a virtue in people’s heart, and is a fundamental basis of people’s emotion, knowledge and conducts. Even reading classics with a motive of seeking personal gains is a kind of unrighteous act. As Lu Jiuyuan says, we cannot comprehend the essence of righteousness if we externalize it. Lu Jiuyuan’s outlook on life values the internal motive of people, assimilates Zhu Xi’s ontology philosophy, and abandons the search for physics and human relationship, which is unrelated to morality cultivation but goes deep to the heart of people and arbitrate on the basis of people’s motives.

- (2) Being public-oriented and no form a clique to pursue selfish interests; honoring public interests and getting rid of selfishness

Zhuang Zi and Daoism both appreciate “public interests”, viewing it as an important channel to achieve the “Dao”. Lao Zi said in Chap. 16th of *Dao De Jing* that “The knowledge of the unchanging rule produces a grand capacity and forbearance, and that capacity and forbearance lead to a community of feeling with all things. From this community of feeling comes a kingliness of character; and he who is king-like goes on to be heaven-like. In that likeness to heaven he possesses the Dao. Possessed of the Dao, he endures long; and to the end of his life, he is exempt from all dangers of decay”. Zhuang Zi also praised the thoughts of those virtues men such as Peng Meng, Tian Pian, and Shen Dao “who are being public-oriented and do not form a clique to pursue selfish interests; who are honoring the public interests while getting rid of their selfishness”.

It is recorded in *The Book of Guanzi* (Xin Shu Vol. 2) that “The saint embraces all things unselfishly like the heaven, and bears all things unselfishly like the earth”. And it is advocated in *Lü Shi Chun Qiu* (Lü’s Commentaries of History) that we should “honor public interests and get rid of selfishness”. According to the chapter of *Gui Gong* (貴公 Advocating Public Interests) of this book, the sage kings must

give righteousness and impartiality the priority, and that “When the sage kings of ancient times govern the world, they regard impartiality as the most important principle. Governing the world according to the guidelines of the impartiality, the world will be in a state of peace and order”. The toppling of the throne is accounted for largely by impartiality. “I have known this by doing research on documents from ancient times. Those sovereigns who have unified the world successfully throughout history do it largely by the introduction of impartiality”. In the chapter of Qu Si (去私 Get rid of Selfishness), there are examples like Emperor Yao who abdicated the throne in favor of Emperor Shun rather than his own son, and Shun who did the same thing to Emperor Yu. And Duke Huan of Qi recommended the sons of his personal enemies. These examples are supposed to tell us how the ancient saints get rid of their selfishness and how “Heaven does not give unprincipled protection to anything. Earth does not hold anything out of partiality. The sun and the moon do not illuminate anything out of bias. Nor do the four seasons move out of favoritism. They benefit all things, so the things can develop fully”.⁵²

There are so many philosophies concerning the relation between the public and the individuals, such as “the world belongs to people living in it”, “being open to the public”, “upholding righteousness and fairness”, “getting rid of selfishness by honoring righteousness”, and “being justified through reasons”, etc. In general, on the evaluation of values, Chinese philosophies employ “public interests” as the criteria and advocate “being concerned about the affairs of the state before others, and enjoying comfort after others”. They believe that public interests are prior to individual interests, and moral values outweigh material gains. And they hold the view that national development and social progress provide individuals with favorable conditions to achieve personal benefits. So, when individuals make contributions to the country and assume their obligations to other social citizens, they are achieving their own values.

1.2.3.3 Qun-Ji Concept

People live in groups in the society which has certain regulations to abide by. What's how group and individual relationships came into being. In the traditional Chinese culture, the view on public-individual relationship is closely related to the righteousness-benefit issue and the public-individual issue.

- (1) Treating others the way you expect to be treated by them, and convincing others with your moral ethics

In both history and real life, since people's acts may jeopardize others and the society, we must seriously handle the relationship between the public and individual. As for the principles, Confucius argued that “Anyone who expects to receive benevolence must be benevolent to others; anyone who expect to receive

⁵²C.F. Lü Shi Chun Qiu (Lü's Commentaries of History).

generosity must be generous to others”, and “People should put themselves in others’ place”. In addition, people should not consider others as the tool to meet their own desires and interests.

Mencius thinks that people should handle interpersonal relationship in accordance with moral ethics rather than “forces”. People should win popularity with kindness rather than suppress others by violence, or subject others to serve their own interests. Therefore, in an ideal society, people of small honors follow people of great honors, but in the domineering society, the weak succumb to the strong.

(2) Condemning hypocrisy and treachery, and acting at one’s will

Different social groups consist of different individuals. Every individual is unique, so to achieve social progress, we need to respect rather than stifle everyone’s personality. Therefore, Lao Zi believed that the civilization systems of the public are made in light of the personality of the individuals and the nature of things. The society needs to respect the character of them and should not distort their personality and freedom. If the inner spirits and external forms of these systems are separated, then the systems will lose their nature and constrain people in an inappropriate and unnatural way, and as a result, people will fall out of tune with their nature and other things. People’s nature will therefore be stifled and alienated in this way.

In fact, Lao Zi did not strictly reject systems and social life, and he simply believed that people should make use of these systems within an appropriate range.

Views on the public-individual relationship in Chinese history are listed as follows:

The first view is that individuals are of vital importance and the society must submit to them. In the Warring States Period, the School of Yang-Zhu proposed that “Even if he could have helped the whole world by plucking out a single hair, he would not do so”. Mencius says that “Yang Zi believes in every man for himself. If he could have helped the whole world by plucking out a single hair, he would not do so”. These thoughts represent Yang-Zhu School’s notion on honoring an individual body, which is not willing to help the world at the expense of a single hair. Because they think that the world is not as important as a single hair of the body.

The second view is that the society is of vital importance and individuals should be subject to the society. In the modern times, Kang Youwei maintained that all the miseries of people and the society are caused by nine barriers, such as the autocratic monarchy system and feudal patriarchal systems. Only by getting rid of these nine barriers can the world achieve Great Harmony.

The third view is that society and individual are one organic entity that the former needs individuals to serve it and individuals also need the existence of the society. Huang Zongxi, a famous philosophy of the late Ming and early Qing Dynasty, believed that governing the country is like hauling a heavy piece of wood. People in the front haul it with singing chant, and others at the back push it by echoing the chant. Emperors, subjects and people are like those hauling the wood. Emperors are those in the front and subjects and people are those at the end. So the

world belongs to all people, and the peace and chaos of the world is not led by some people but rely on all people. Therefore, everyone should shoulder the responsibility of governing the world.

1.3 Nursing a Sense of Boundless Love

In the Chinese philosophy, moral ethics and political ideals, many of their contents touch on the governess of the countries and the handling of relationship among countries. These thoughts have had a prolonged impact on the characteristics of traditional Chinese culture.

1.3.1 *Valuing Peace While Avoiding Conflicts*

Generations of Chinese philosophers unanimously cogitated about how to avoid the destruction of mankind's cultures and achievements out of their own stupidity.

Generally speaking, the Daoist⁵³ philosophy advocates peace while opposes warfare in particular. In pursuit of their own interests, vassal states in the Spring and Warring Periods (770–221 B.C.) drove the civilians to wars and incessant slaughters, which was, in the view of Daoists, not a world of what's proposed by them. Lao Zi who is believed to be the founder of Daoism, opposed warfare. He took battles, weaponry and manslaughter and so on as something hideous by arguing that fine weaponry was vicious and it therefore should be detested by all living things. Neither should a noble man glorify his possession of fine weaponry, nor should he wage war to suffuse his own desire. Even those who are either brave, wise in battle or unrivaled, should not glamorize it, because simply doing so could only corrupt people's morality and twist their mentality, thus causing the prevalence of killing spree in the society. But those who are infatuated with war and killing will not obtain the favor of the people.

Having profoundly realized the cruelty of warfare, Lao Zi said that the cheer for illustrious military exploits was not advisable. He even suggested that the winners of the war nurse a sense of remorse even if they triumphed. Instead of celebrating their victory, they should bury the dead with solemnly rituals, because warfare and slaughter added to people's misfortunes. The ruler of a country must keep in mind that the world could not be conquered in virtue of brutality and those who exhausted all resources to wage wars were doomed for self-destruction. In reality, what frequently seen are the infertility and sprawling weeds in areas where the troops once stationed during wartime as referred in the thirtieth chapter of Dao De

⁵³Daoism is a religious or philosophical tradition of Chinese origin, the founder of which is said to be Lao Zi.

Jing⁵⁴ that a famine year was imminent when a war was staging, with only the endemic diseases and famished refugees in its wake.

Lao Zi believed that should there exist righteousness, the common horses would not serve as war horses to carry people to kill in the battle. Instead, they would industriously play the role of farming tools. However, should there exist no such morality, even the pregnant horses would be driven to the battlefield. The very reason for the existence of warfare, in Lao Zi's view, came from the burning greediness of rulers. In pursuit of their own interests, the lords of vassal states drove the civilians to melees, leading to the killing spree. Lao Zi opposed warfare and advocated peace, which spoke for the interests and voices of the public at that time. Maybe he didn't draw a line between just wars and unjust ones, but we shouldn't pick at the ancients, after all, there were no such things as just wars in Spring and Warring Periods.

Lao Zi proposed that an ideal country should be one called "Xiao Guo Gua Min" (小國寡民), e.g. minimizing the role of the government and letting the individuals develop spontaneously. The idea "Xiao Guo" ("small country" in literal Chinese) do not mean that the country should be small in size, rather the character "Xiao" (small) here is a verb, referring to minimizing the role of the government. However, big countries are inevitably entrusted with many state affairs. So, how to minimize its role? In Lao Zi's view, minimizing the role of government is not the same with eliminating or reducing state affairs. Rather, it means that with the adoption of "conformity to the nature", there should be no or fewer impulses to meddle frequently in civilians' normal production and lives. The less such impulses appear, the less meddling from the government in civilians' development occurs. What's why it is called "minimizing the role of government". A country of these characteristics can be defined as "Xiao Guo". Likewise, "Gua Min" ("sparse population" in literal Chinese) indicates not the "sparse population" of a country but the few desires of the people, which mean the simplicity of people's lives. The civilians, though in possession of refined equipment, have no rapacity. As a result, they can live a life of harmony. The transportation facilities and weaponry find no way in their lives, even the words are of no use. People seem to have retreated to the simplest ancient society when their lives remained undisturbed. Yet, peace is restored in the world and countries are well governed, and civilians have deep love for their lives and are spared the necessity to seek refuge and eke out a living in foreign land. They are well fed, well clothed and well sheltered. They are entitled to good social environment and customs. Though the sounds of cocks and dogs in the neighboring countries could be heard, they make a living all through their lives from birth to their decaying time not primarily by frequent commercial intercourses, not to mention mutual bullies and mutual assaults.

⁵⁴Dao De Jing is a fundamental text for both philosophical and religious Daoism, which is said to be written and compiled by Lao Zi and his disciples.

1.3.2 Universal Love and Rejecting Aggression

During the Pre-Qin Period, when a hundred schools of thoughts contented, Mohism⁵⁵ was a school of thought that enjoyed an equal popularity as Confucianism. Mo Di (also known as Mo Zi), one of the influential figures of Mohism at that time, was a native of State Lu (today's Tengzhou, Shandong Province) in the late Spring and Warring States and was schooled Confucianism in his early years. But later he backtracked by launching criticism against Confucianism and other schools of thought, therefore initiated a set of philosophic characteristic of political ideals like "Conforming Upward", "Elevating the Worthy", "Universal Love", "Rejecting Aggression", "Thrift in Utilization", "Thrift in Funerals", "Rejecting Music" and "Rejecting Fatalism", thus the school of Mohism was formed with these distinctive features.

Mo Zi thought that he was in a turbulent times in which the strong bullied the weak, vassal states with more population plundered the ones with less population, the rich despised the poor, the noble disdained the humble, and the shrewd fooled the candid. It was all because of those issues that the public abandoned morality, and the killing and fighting emerged among those states, which contributed to a chaotic society. In the light of this, Mo Zi came up with the thoughts of "universal love" and "mutual benefits", in hope of stripping the society of its predicaments so as to establish a fairyland land.

This philosophy of Mo Zi entails that the public and the vassal states love each other for common interests regardless of their relationship. One's country would be treated by others as one treated the country of others; one's family would be treated by others as one treated the family of others, and one's body would be treated by others as one treated the body of others. Mo Zi held in belief that if one can meet those standards, he will "be respected by the whole world". This is, as well as, Mo Zi's assumption of ideal relationship among countries.

Mo Zi assumed that lofty and benevolent men "unanimously promoted benefits while eliminate harms for the world". Mo Zi took this philosophy as his standard in pursuit of his undertakings. So, what can be defined as "the benefits for the world" or "the harms for the world"? He argued that the then times had witness the mutual assaults from vassal states, the usurpation from families and the harm from people. The kings ceased to be grateful, the official ceased to be loyal, fathers ceased to be amiable, the sons ceased to be filial and brothers ceased to be harmonious. Such degenerations were condemned by Mo Zi as the harms for the world, which derived from the devoid of mutual love among people. Wars would be triggered in devoid of mutual love among the vassal states, usurpation tagged in devoid of love among officials, harm conducted in devoid of mutual love among average people, gratitude and loyalty abandoned in devoid of mutual love between kings and officials,

⁵⁵Mohism is an ancient Chinese philosophy of logic, rational thought and science developed by the academic scholars who studied under the ancient Chinese philosopher Mo Zi, who is believed to be the founder.

amiability and filial forsaken in devoid of mutual love between fathers and sons and harmony destroyed in devoid of mutual love among brothers. Should mutual love not be found in the world, a situation in which “the strong bully the weak, the rich despise the poor, the noble disdain the humble, the shrewd fool the candid”⁵⁶ may befall the world (Universal Love from Mo-Zi).

In order to reverse this situation, Mo Zi asserted that the idea of “Universal Love and Mutual Benefits” should be adopted to ensure love and respect among people in the world. “One’s country would be treated by others as one treated the country of others; one’s family would be treated by others as one treated the family of others, and one’s body would be treated by others as one treated the body of others.”⁵⁷ Should such philosophy be put into action, neither would the situation in which the strong bullied the weak, the big countries plundered the small ones, the rich insulted the poor, the noble disdained the humble and the shrewd fooled the candid nor the damage, usurpation and rancor be seen anymore, with the achievement of mutual love among people in the world.

Based on “universal love and mutual benefits”, Mo Zi advised to realize another ideal of “Rejecting Aggression” among countries. He opposed warfare as it serves to harm people’s benefits, making it an unjust move. It would be the same with the stealing of fruits in others’ orchard, a vile behavior of seeking personal gains while doing damage to others’. The same is true in the country-level. If the invasion and plunder of other countries out of one’s own self-interest should be twisted as a justified move, it is, according to Mo Zi, a move of confounding the right and the wrong.

The wars between countries could end up with massive casualty, which shows no respect for lives and will also be defined as an unjustified move. In a society, if one commits a murder, one could be condemned as being unjust. Therefore, one who kills a man should atone for his sin by his own death. Killing ten people means ten death penalties and killing one hundred means one hundred penalties.

However, some people highly praised the wars among countries that led to the tragic death of hundreds of thousand people, which was attributed to the lack of righteousness. Moreover, large-scale wars among countries profoundly impacted the lives of people, hindering social advances. Such things did no good to mankind, so Mo Zi argued that warfare should not be waged at any time.

1.3.3 Friendly Exchanges Among Nations

The ancient classics praised highly by the Confucians all mention “benevolence” and “harmony” among countries, such as “friendly exchanges among nations”

⁵⁶C.F. *Universal Love in The Book of Mo Zi*.

⁵⁷*Ibid.*

being mentioned in the chapter Yao Dian of Shang Shu (尚書·堯典)⁵⁸, and “When great harmony is preserved there will be a perfected world” mentioned in Treatise on the Tuan in the chapter Qian Hexagram in The Book of Changes. Here, nations refer to the vassal states, big or small, they all have the value of existence and their own rights, despite of their differences in economy and power. Therefore, respect should be shown to them by other countries; different countries should seek common grounds while sheltering their differences and live peacefully with each other, which is what we call “friendly exchanges”. Respecting the differences among countries is “great harmony being preserved”; and living in harmony with other countries is the “right path” to a “perfected world”.

Mencius⁵⁹ argued that every country has the responsibility to implement the policy of benevolence and justice, and every country should also have a sense of righteousness. In other words, benevolence and justice are essential qualities for countries to get along with each other, big or small, so that there can be a good international environment. Then, how should the big countries treat the small ones? Confucius⁶⁰ maintained that the great powers should strengthen its civilization and education to make people from afar subject to them. After that, those people from afar should also be settled down nicely and treated with kindness. According to Mencius, there are two kinds of valor—the petty one and the grand one. A man with a sword in his hand glaring at people and threatening “who dares stand in my way”, is the petty valor of a normal person and can only deal with one person, while those, like King Wen and King Wu of the Zhou Dynasty (1046–256 B.C.) who rose up angrily to punish those ruling the country in a tyrannous manner and having put it into disaster and settled down people in the country, are what we call the ones of grand valor. If there are countries that do not implement the policy of benevolence and justice, instead they hurt people from all over the country, people with lofty ideas should rise up and fight against them.

As for whether the fighting against another country is righteous or not? Mencius believed that it should be measured by the people whose country has been attacked. For example, the state of Qi won the battle against the state of Yan completely. In Mencius’s view, if the people of Yan would be pleased with Qi’s taking possession of their country, “they thought it would save them from agony and welcomed the troops with food and drink”,⁶¹ they should then do so. If the people of Yan would

⁵⁸C.F. *The Book of History* (Shang Shu, 尚書).

⁵⁹Mencius (371–289 B.C.) Chinese philosopher who is the most famous Confucian after Confucius himself. Mencius, also known by his birth name Meng Ke or Meng Ko, was born in the State of Zou, now forming the territory of the county-level city of Zoucheng, Shandong province, only thirty kilometres south of Qufu, Confucius’ birthplace.

⁶⁰Confucius (551–479 B.C.) was a Chinese educator, politician, thinker and philosopher of the Spring and Autumn Period.

⁶¹C.F. *The Book of Mencius*.

not be pleased with your taking possession of it, then do not do so. When King Xuan of Qi asked him about historical events that Emperor Tang of Shang⁶² banished Emperor Jie of Xia⁶³ and Emperor Wu smote Emperor Zhou of the Shang Dynasty (1600–1046 B.C.), Mencius remarked that he who outraged the benevolence was called a “thief”; and he who outraged righteousness was called a “ruffian”. The thief and the ruffian can both be called a “tyrant”. Emperor Zhou was nothing but a tyrant. So Emperor Wu killed a tyrant named Zhou, I’ve never heard the Emperor was murdered by a subordinate. “I have heard the beheading of a fellow named Zhou, but have never heard of the crime of regicide.”⁶⁴

In the view of Confucianism, states, like individuals, should also implement the policy of benevolence and make it the foundation of them. Lu Gu in early Han dynasty (206 B.C.–A.D.220) argued that the wine pools possessed by the Qin Dynasty (221–206 B.C.) were able to float canoes, and the vinasse left after brewing piled up like so high a mountain that one can see things over a long distance standing on top of it. All these indicated that the country was extremely wealthy; the Qin dynasty owned the territory of the whole country and governed every single person living in it, which manifested its strength. But even with all these, it could not save itself from perishing. This was not caused by poverty or weakness, but by the monarch’s inability to put moral ethics into themselves, and benevolence into their people. Therefore, if rulers merely enrich the country without publicizing the policy of moral ethics, its wealth is sure to be taken by others; and if they are merely infatuated with power without advocating righteousness, its power can not last long. The Qin Dynasty was replaced by the Han dynasty due to its lack of morality, and tortured by the people due to its lack of righteousness.

According to Confucianism, if a ruler runs the country with propriety and righteousness, then propriety and righteousness will be accumulated; and if a ruler runs the country with penalty, then penalty will be accumulated. After the Qin Dynasty destroyed the other six kingdoms and unified the whole country, its morality and policy were not changed, instead it still emphasized on depriving the force of people rather than focusing on benevolence, and made cruelty its top priority, so its perish could have been expected. Therefore, a country should be based on its morality and education, a man of noble character should not only implement the policy of benevolence in their own country, but also implement it when dealing with its relationships among other countries.

⁶²Tang of Shang (1675–1646 B.C.) was the first king of the Shang dynasty in Chinese history. He overthrew Jie of Xia, the last ruler of the Xia dynasty.

⁶³Jie of Xia (1728–1675 B.C.) was the 17th and last ruler of the Xia dynasty of China. He is traditionally regarded as a tyrant and oppressor who brought about the collapse of a dynasty.

⁶⁴C.F. *The Book of Mencius*.

1.3.4 Enriching the Country and Strengthening the Army

According to the chapter of Biography of the Grand Astrologer in Records of the Grand Historian, the book Spring and Autumn Annals records 36 cases that a monarch was murdered by a subordinate, 52 cases that the country was eliminated and innumerable cases that the feudal princes were banished by Da Fu (a senior official in feudal China) and the king lost his country. All these records demonstrate that the system of rites and music which symbolized Zhou culture in Spring and Autumn period (approximately 771–476 B.C.) were ended and replaced by a chaos in which the propriety system collapsed, and vassals fought with each other for supremacy. Being confronted with this situation, it had become prominent and crucial for the vassal states to seek self-improvement and self-insurance. Thus, legalism, one of the most important schools in the contention of a Hundred Schools of Thoughts in the Warring States period (475–221 B.C.), had ascended to the stage of history.

Legalists believe that an ideal country should be one ruled by law. If there is a rabbit running in a field, hundreds of people may be chasing after it. But it is not because one single rabbit is big enough to be shared equally by these hundreds of chasers, but because there is a possibility that any of them can get the rabbit. Similarly, even people, as virtuous as Emperor Yao⁶⁵, would try his best to chase this rabbit, not to mention other regular people. On the other hand, there are countless rabbits in the market, but people who pass by wouldn't give much attention to them. This does not mean that these people do not want to have these rabbits, but because the ownership of these rabbits have been ascertained. Although people are greedy, they wouldn't argue with each other since the ownership of things have already been settled. Therefore, the top priority to govern a country is nothing but formulating the rules.

What should be the standards to make the rules? The answer is "legislation". The laws are used to establish righteousness, which is used in turn for refraining people from "selfishness". Measurements like power and scale are used for establishing the standards of justice for society, words for establishing public faith, measuring tools for establishing the standard of auditing, and the rules of law and books for propriety and justice. All these laws that made for righteousness are used for abandoning selfishness.

It is much easier to govern a country with "righteousness" and "laws". Governing the country with no law would cause chaos, while sticking to the law without changes would make the country perish. Making law without conforming to it or doing things according to one's own willing can be called lawless. If people obeyed the law, officials enforced the law, and monarchs legislated and reformed the law, the whole society would be in harmony. Legalists believe that in an ideal country, all state affairs should be judged by law; carrying out things in accordance with the law is the most crucial way of governing a country.

⁶⁵Emperor Yao (2356–2255 B.C.) was a sage emperor in ancient Chinese legends.

Shang Yang⁶⁶ is an important representative of early legalism. He advocated the policy of making the country rich and the army strong, believing that a country's power can be shown by the level of farming and warfare. Only with power would a country obtain the rights to survival in the Spring and Autumn Period, and the Warring States Period, which followed the law of the jungle. Farming and warfare must be rewarded if we want to make the country rich and the army strong. For the relationship of farming and warfare, Shang Yang proposed that farming should be prepared for the war, believing that agriculture production can not only make the country rich, powerful, and provide abundant material basis for war, but the farmland production itself is a school for training soldiers. "If people's attention were devoted to agriculture, then they would be simple, and being simple means it would be easy to direct them; being trustworthy means that they may be used for defense and warfare."⁶⁷ In addition, farming and warfare are closely combined with each other and the two can be mutually transformed and promoted, in which the role of farming is producing strength which will make the country and society accumulate power, while warfare can be used for reducing strength which is also essential in Shang Yang's opinion. If a country that knew how to produce strength, but did not know how to reduce it, then the power would increase but not made use of, then people would pursue their own private interest. If everyone did that, then the country would be weakened. "Therefore, a country knew how to produce strength but not how to reduce it, was said to be the one that attacked itself, and it was certain to be dismembered".⁶⁸ So a country should combine farming and defense closely rather than focus on one of them.

Farming and warfare are the two toughest things for people. "Agriculture makes the people suffer physical hardships and war puts them in danger".⁶⁹ So how does a country drive its people to be willing to do farming and serve in warfare? Shang Yang replied that it needs relying on the compulsive force of the law. There are two specific measures, namely reward and punishment. If you rule them with punishment, people are willing to do farming; if you reward them in war, people are willing to fight to death. Legalists generally hold the view that people are all in favor of profits and this can be demonstrated by people's desire and needs to survive. "For the people, when alive, scheme for profit and when in danger of death, are anxious for fame".⁷⁰ It is people's nature to seek profit and this nature cannot be altered. Legalists believe that this is valid, and the monarch can make full use of it to make the country rich and the army strong.

⁶⁶Gongsun Yang (390–338 B.C.), also known as Shang Yang, is an important Chinese statesman of the State of Qin during the Warring States period.

⁶⁷C.F. *Of Agriculture and War in The Book of Lord Shang*.

⁶⁸C.F. *Of Civilians in The Book of Lord Shang*.

⁶⁹C.F. *Of Calculation of Land in The Book of Lord Shang*.

⁷⁰*Ibid*.

Han Fei⁷¹ is the epitome of the Pre-Qin legalism's thought. He synthesized the thoughts of his predecessors, such as Shang Yang, Shen Dao, Shen Buhai, and summarized the theory of Pre-Qin legalism. He believed that "things would change along with the world" and "we should be prepared for these changes".⁷² During the Warring States Period, the vassal states were competitive, so monarchs today cannot use the "previous policies" to "rule contemporary people". Instead, they must carry out political reform to make the country rich and the army strong, only when they follow the law of jungle, will they be able to find the opportunities to survive. Han Fei particularly opposed the preposition that Confucianism used to deal with the relations with other countries. He believed that "benevolence could be used before but not suitable for today", and it does not meet the demands of the development in the Warring States Period. If people today still praise the benevolence policy and diplomacy of Yao, Shun, Yu, Tang, Wu,⁷³ he is sure to be mocked by contemporary saints.

In the Grand Ancient Times⁷⁴, people contended in the field of moral ethics; in the Middle Ancient Times (476 B.C.–A.D.1453), people contended in the field of wisdom; in the Warring States Period, all countries competed in strength. To illustrate this problem, Han Fei gave the example of the war between Qi and Lu: the state of Qi was going to attack the state of Lu, the latter send Zigong⁷⁵ to lobby, hoping his country wouldn't be attacked. The people of Qi replied that it was reasonable what Zigong said, but what they need was land rather than those reasonable, pleasant words. So the state of Qi send its troops to attack the state of Lu and won the battle, Lu had to give all the land to Qi till ten Li⁷⁶ close to its capital as the boundary between Qi and Lu.

Han Fei proposed a non-moral political thought, believing that the essence of politics is "power", and the competition among countries is actually the competition of power. Therefore, power plays a decisive role in a country. He advocated the exclusion of moral principles from the realm of politics, arguing that upholding moral ethics in politics or taking them as the basic means of educating themselves is futile to reach its goal. He strongly opposed Confucianism's advocate of governing the country with righteousness, believing that it is not suitable for the development of the times; instead, a country should enrich the country and strengthen the army protect itself, carry out the policy of punishment to drive its people, and be highly centralized to make their country powerful.

⁷¹Han Fei (280–233 B.C.), also known as Han Fei Zi, was a Chinese philosopher of the Warring States period "Chinese Legalist" school.

⁷²C.F. *Of Wu Du in The Book of Han Fei Zi*. Here Wu Du means five kinds of people.

⁷³Here they refer to five kings.

⁷⁴The Ancient time refers to time before Xia dynasty was founded.

⁷⁵Zigong, Confucius's apprentice, good at lobbying.

⁷⁶Li, length unit, one Li equals 500 m.

1.3.5 *Treating People as the Foundation of the State*

In different stages of Chinese history, there are different viewpoints on the value pursuit of an ideal country and society, but the basic idea is inseparable from the thought of “treating people as the foundation of the state”.

1.3.5.1 **Treating People as the Foundation of the State and Only the Virtuous King Deserves the Power Blessed by the Emperor of Heaven**

In the Shang Dynasty, “My destiny has already been decided by Heaven (我生不有命在天)”⁷⁷ is a mainstream theory of destiny. According to this theory, there exists a god with the supremacy of domination called “the Emperor of Heaven (Tian Di)”. The Emperor of Heaven has absolute authority, and all things in the world are arranged by Him. The harvest being good or bad is determined by the Emperor of Heaven, who can bring people a good weather for crops or not sufficient rain in a year. One of the main duties of Him is to supervise the people on earth and to determine their destinies. As the ruler to govern the people on earth, the king’s power is entrusted by the Emperor of Heaven.

But then a question arises: if there is the Will of Heaven, then on what basis the Will of Heaven gives a person the monarchical power? Now that the Will of Heaven can give an individual the monarchical power, can the power be withdrawn? If the Will of Heaven can take back the monarchical power, what is the precondition? These questions are further inquiries into the theory of destiny that “My destiny is already decided by Heaven” in the Shang Dynasty.

With the development of societies, these inquiries become gradually easy to answer. Although the King of Zhou in the Shang Dynasty thought that “My destiny is already decided by Heaven”, the destiny did not stand on his side when the army of the Emperor of Wu in the Zhou Dynasty marched towards his palace. Eventually, the Zhou Dynasty took the place of the Shang Dynasty. Why did this happen? And how can the Zhou Dynasty not follow the track of the Shang Dynasty? The rulers of the Zhou Dynasty considered deeply about this issue.

In the Grand Ancient Times, the Emperor Tai Kang, the grandson of Emperor Da Yu, did not have virtues and failed to take monarchical responsibilities, and he also went hunting without backing to the throne for a long period. In the country complaints were heard everywhere. Then a rebellious prince Hou Yi took the chance and occupied Tai Kang’s capital. Tai Kang’s mother and five brothers were rushed to the River Luo. They had great resentment and regret, so they recalled Da Yu’s words to warn Tai Kang. They created The Songs of the Brothers: It was the lesson of our great ancestor: “The people should be cherished; they should not be down-trodden; the people are the foundation of a state; only when the foundation

⁷⁷C.F. *The Book of History (Shang Shu, 尚書)*.

remains solid can the state enjoy its peace.” (皇祖有訓，民可近不可下，民惟邦本，本固邦寧)⁷⁸ This song tells us that the people are the foundation of a state, and only with a solid foundation can the country be stable.

On this basis, the rulers at the early period of Zhou Dynasty reflected deeply and figured out that the reason why they got the favor from the Emperor of Heaven was they had been “cultivating their moral ethics in order to make themselves deserve the power given by the Emperor of Heaven”. They held the view that the Emperor of Heaven mainly focused on public interests and chose the person with virtues to take charge. Rulers on earth must “know moral ethics”, “respect moral ethics” and “improve their moral ethics”, so that they can deserve the power given by the Emperor of Heaven and obtain the recognition of the Emperor of Heaven. As a result, they can maintain the stability of the regime. One of the important aspects of improving the moral ethics is to care about people’s livelihood:

“Heaven will be found to grant what the people desire.” (民之所欲，天必從之)⁷⁹

“Heaven sees as my people see; Heaven hears as my people hear.” (天視自我民視，天聽自我民聽)⁸⁰

The will of the Emperor of Heaven is expressed through the wishes of the people. For example, at the early period of the Zhou Dynasty, the Emperor Zhou thought that the people’s eyes and ears are the embodiment of the Emperor of Heaven’s. Through people’s eyes and ears the Emperor of Heaven can supervise the behaviors of the king. The Emperor of Heaven monitors the whole country and decides whether to give the power to the king based on the condition that whether the people of the country are settled, also a sign to show whether the king can improve his moral ethics. Therefore, we must know the public opinion if we want to know the Will of Heaven. And only through complying with the public opinion and the Will of Heaven can the emperor be able to secure his throne.

The rulers of the early Zhou Dynasty still believed that they ruled the country by destiny. However, “destiny is not stable”, and it is changeable. There is inevitability about the change of destiny, which is called “De (moral ethics)”. Rulers must improve their “moral ethics” in order to make themselves deserve the power given by the Emperor of Heaven because virtues are the priority of the Will of Heaven. To “improve their moral ethics”, rulers must also pay attention to public opinions and treat people as the foundation of the country, which emphasizes the important position and role of people in the development of society.

⁷⁸C.F. *The Songs of the Brothers in The Book of History*.

⁷⁹C.F. *The Great Declaration in Xianggong in The Spring and Autumn Annals*. Xianggong (572–42 B.C.) is the Duke of the state of Lu.

⁸⁰*The Great Declaration in Wanzhang in The Book of Mencius*.

1.3.5.2 The People Being Important Than the Ruler, and Ruling with Benevolence and Moral Ethics

Mencius believed that improving people's livelihood is the purpose of the ruler's political actions. To govern the people with benevolence and moral ethics, the ruler should begin with caring about people's livelihood. The first action is to make sure people are able to improve and help each other. Being able to do so, people will not be hungry or cold, and thus the ruler can promote his governance with benevolence and virtues. For example, people have five acres of land to grow mulberry trees and another one hundred acres to grow crops. If the ruler does not levy additional taxes or take up people's time, an ordinary family does not have to be starved. Besides, people can wear silk clothes of good quality at the age of 50, and they can wear silk clothes, eat meat and get a good rest at the age of 70. The ruler also should educate their people to make them respect the elder and love the younger when they have good livelihoods. Till then, the ruler's governance with benevolence and virtues can be actualized. When people are suffering from coldness and starvation, and the ruler thinks themselves free of responsibilities or blames natural disasters but does not help the people, they are shirking their responsibilities.

To make true the ruler's governance with benevolence and virtues, the priority must be put on caring about people's livelihood. Why? According to Mencius, "the people are more important than the ruler". He pointed out that: "The people are the most important factors in a nation; the spirits of the land and grain are the next; the sovereign is the lightest." (民爲貴, 社稷次之, 君爲輕)⁸¹ "The love and protection of the people; with this there is no power which can prevent a ruler from attaining to it."⁸² (保民而王, 莫之能禦也) "A ruler who oppresses his people to the highest extent, will himself be slain, and his kingdom will perish." (暴其民甚, 則身弑國亡)⁸³ Mencius believed that only the one who enjoys the support of the people can be the rightful emperor, and only when there is a monarch on the throne can there be feudal vassals and scholar officials, so the most basic premise is still the people. Land, people and politics are the ruler's "three treasures". The support or opposition from the people is the key to the survival of the country. If a king is incapable, there can be another capable one; if a vassal is harmful to the country, there can be another good one; only the people cannot be replaced. And only the king enjoys the support of the people can he be the rightful emperor. If a king does not have the support of the people, even treats the people cruelly, the end that he comes to must be like that "the king is murdered and the country is conquered". In these words Mencius expressed a very valuable "people-oriented" thought.

⁸¹C.F. *The Book of Mencius*.

⁸²Ibid.

⁸³C.F. *The Book of Mencius*.

1.3.5.3 The Governance of a Sage King Who Observes the Ethical Order and Laws

The thought of “the governance of a sage king” is another political thought of Xun Zi’s. A “sage king” is a person who can strictly observe the ethical order and comply with rites and laws. The “sage king” is an example to the people of the world in two aspects of “observing the ethical order” and “complying with rites”. Only a sage man can be the rightful emperor who has a significant responsibility because the country has vast land and huge population. Only a “sage king” can be competent to rule the country because he is full of wisdom and can make a clear distinction between right and wrong.

The governance of a sage king means governing the people with benevolence and virtues rather than ruling the country with tyranny. The characteristic of tyranny is that the ruler pursues his own interests by means of waging wars. Tyrannical kings do not value rituals or talents. They only use force to convince others, which cannot let others truly believe him. Although sometimes they talk about benevolence, righteousness, and courtesy, they are actually hiding their intentions for private interests. “The governance of a sage king” is different. The sage king makes all things meet the demands of the people. He levies lower taxes and does not interfere with the seasons of husbandry or abuse people’s force so that the property can be reasonably distributed and circulated. The country is wide, but looks like a family where everyone works for their country and society, contributing their wisdom. Although a sage king has a strong power, he does not use it to oppress the people but to save and protect the weak and guide the bad to benevolence. A sage king correctively influences a violent country through benevolence and ethics, and the people he fights against are the ones without ethics.

Of course, Xun Zi also believed that the reason why the sage king is the rightful emperor is that the people in the world rely on him. If all people in the world abandon him, then the sage king dies. Therefore, the foundation of a country is the people, not the king. If a king can prosper the world and take out the evil, he can lay a foundation for all people to rely on him. However, if a king corrupts morals, throws rituals into disorder and take inhuman actions, all people in the country would abandon him.

1.3.5.4 Governing a Country by Non-actions

Lao Zi, a Pre-Qin Daoist thinker, conceived of an ideal society of “governing the country without taking actions”, believing that the ruler does not have to prefer virtuous and talented persons in case all people in the world fight for the position. The ruler should not prefer rare things in order to avoid inducing stealing actions. The ruler also should not be greedy because of material desires in case the peace of the people’s mind be interfered. A sage king should take measures to rule a country, including: to purify the people’s mind and meet their basic needs of living; not to incite the people and make them impetuous but to be committed to strengthen the

people's health; to make sure the people do not chase false reputation and improper interests so that they would not fight for them or do improper things because of material desires. Therefore, some people with ulterior motives dare not to outsmart themselves and commit outrages. The country will be peaceful if the ruler follows the guiding principles of taking no actions.

In this ideal society, when a sage king rules the country, he is making decisions according to the characteristics of the people and things, and taking no actions. If he does not do so and acts at his will, it is impossible for him to govern the country properly. Lao Zi thought that the regime is easy to maintain if the people are settled and society is stable; the scourge of plagues is easy to banish if the chaos is not obvious and the conflict is still in embryonic form; the situation is easy to improve if the crisis is not so severe; and the people are easy to convince if their resentment is not so deep. Therefore, the ruler should take preventive actions to avoid the emergence of troubles and manage to govern when the social unrest has not yet occurred. If the king always governs the country cautiously, he can manage to do everything he wants in the country.

In an ideal society, the king should not scramble for private interests from the people or oppress and exploit them. Lao Zi thought that the reason why rivers converge into the sea is that the sea is willing to lie in a lower place. Similarly, a sage king should learn the modest attitude of the sea if he wants to lead people; he should also consider people's interests and enjoy himself after doing hard work if he wants to guide people. In this way, people would not feel oppressed even the king is in a position higher than them. It does no harm to them when the king stands before them. People all over the country would support the king and not be bored because the king does not scramble for private interests from them in every aspect at all times.

1.3.5.5 Promoting Cultivation of Moral Ethics and National Power Simultaneously

Wang Chong, a philosopher in Eastern Han Dynasty, holds a theory that there are two ways to manage state affairs: one emphasizes the enhancement of national power, the other the etiquette education. Implementing just one of the two ways is not enough for the country. In Wang Chong's opinion, "the sole focus on etiquette could not build a strong state; the sole focus on power could not defend the country". (夫德不可以獨任以治國, 力不可以直任以禦敵也)⁸⁴ He took a different view from Han Fei in terms of "advocating law" and "emphasizing force" because he believed this kind of thoughts could deprive a state of etiquettes. This is like the dam built on a river with less water. Since the water just flows a long way away from the dam, someone regards the dam as useless and removes it. However, once summer comes and the river swells rapidly, the villages would suffer the

⁸⁴C.F. *Of Non-Han Fei* in the book of *Lun Heng*.

danger of being flooded. Rites and etiquettes are the criteria of value to maintain a normal-operating society. Once they were got rid of for the belief that it has no direct influence on the improvement of state power, a society would endure consequent harms. However, if society were full of rites and etiquettes, everything would have a certain standard on its values, thus the society could develop orderly, harmoniously and peacefully. It is because of these that Wang Chong called for the promoting the cultivation of moral ethics and national power simultaneously.

1.3.5.6 Treating the Masses as Masters, and the Emperor a Guest

Huang Zongxi in late Ming and early Qing dynasties regards an ideal society as a society with the masses as masters and the emperor as the guest. He lived in a time when China's feudal society was declining, the core of which was autocratic monarchy. During that time, people started to reckon whether this kind of system had any meaning for the later social development. For Huang, the answer is no.

Huang believed that China's feudal monarchy system is defected. As for how to solve this problem, Huang went through arduous theoretical thinking for the right answer.

In his masterpiece *Waiting for the Dawn: A Plan for the Prince*, he first discusses the origin of emperors and state system. The strive to gain public interest and the removal of public evils are the root causes for the emergency of emperors, state systems and governmental organizations. First and foremost, emperors are only servants to seek profits for his people. In the book, he said,

“people are born selfish and struggle for their own benefits after human society emerged. Something in the world could do the whole goodness. However, few are inclined to do that. Something could harm all the people, but no one is willing to eradicate it. Later, one man stands out and takes others' benefits as his mission while ignoring his own wishes. He regards others' troubles as his and does whatever he can to help others. No one could be more diligent than him. This kind of selfishness is so rare that an ordinary man would never try.”⁸⁵

Thus being an emperor in the early times is not an easy job, for he has to do all he can to serve others. It is his duty to bring benefits and remove harms.

However, as history develops, things might have changed. The emperor seizes the power and treats the world as his private property. He enjoys luxury life and passes down the kingdom to his sons, totally reversing the master-guest-relationship between the mass and the emperor. Huang said, “In ancient times, the masses are the masters while the emperor the guest. All the emperor strives to achieve is for the mass's good and he himself is just the servant for them.”⁸⁶ But emperors in the later generations behold they have the power to decide everything for the masses, and owes all the benefits to themselves while lets the masses suffer the harms. They ask

⁸⁵C.F. *Waiting for the Dawn in A Plan for the Prince*.

⁸⁶*Ibid*.

the masses to be selfless while they treat their selfishness as public welfare. At first, they also feel ashamed; however, as time goes on, they are used to it and take everything for granted. They think the world is their vast property, leave it to his off springs and enjoy widely.

By declaring that “the most dangerous thing in the world is the emperor”,⁸⁷ Huang strongly pointed out the harm of autocratic monarchy. Before controlling the state, the emperor spares no efforts, even starting wars and breaking up families to gain what he wants. Isn't it a miserable thing for the masses? After he becomes the emperor, he then blackmails and exploits the poor people for his own joy to such extremes that the masses are suffering. He takes it for granted that he could build his happiness upon others' pain and demands selflessness from the masses while treats his selfishness as public welfare.

Some shallow people take it a truth to maintain righteousness between the monarch and his ministers. To them, tyrants like the Emperor of Jie in Xia Dynasty and the Emperor of Zhou in Shang Dynasty did not deserve to be overthrown by the Emperor of Tang in the Shang Dynasty and Emperor Wu of Zhou Dynasty, thus they made up ridiculous such stories about those seemingly loyal ministers like Bo Yi and Shu Qi who would rather die than accept the food from Zhou Dynasty in an act of opposing Emperor Wu and finally were starved in Mountain Shouyang. Huang disproves this kind of tales by arguing: there are the millions of dead bodies of the long-suffering masses not equal to the rotten rats? Is it reasonable to let just one man or one family out of the rest millions to enjoy all the privileges? In Huang's opinion, Emperor Wu's uprising against Emperor Zhou is a holy career, for any emperor who treats the masses as enemies will naturally be overturned. To say the least, the emperors in later generations take the kingdom as their own property, which will certainly lead to jealousy and competition from the masses who want to become the emperor themselves. In this point, the biggest danger is still the emperor.

For Huang, the reason for the existence of an emperor should be clear: the previously reversed relationship between the emperor and the mass ought to be reversed back again-the mass be the master, while the emperor, a guest. “The emperor should take the mass's welfare as his benefits and do everything he can to remove harms of the society”.⁸⁸ This is Huang's answer on the future development after the end of feudal society, which embodies distinct democratic characteristics.

1.3.6 Achieving the Great Harmony in Society

Traditional Chinese culture emphasizes on HE (和) and HE (合). The former HE stands for harmony and peace, while the latter stands for integration and

⁸⁷C.F. *Waiting for the Dawn in A Plan for the Prince.*

⁸⁸*Waiting for the Dawn.*

cooperation. The initial meaning of HE (和) refers to matching echo and harmony among different music tones. The initial meaning of HE (合) refers to the close of upper and lower lips.

In political and social fields, these two characters are usually used to symbolize harmony and unity. As recorded in the chapter of Shang Tong in *The Book of Mo Zi* (the advocate of harmony), “in a family, if father and sons, or the brothers hate each other, with no inclination of unity, then there is no harmony whatsoever”. Similarly, in the *Records of the Grand Historian*, the education of the masses to create harmony both in the royals and the ordinary is also advocated. In natural environment, these two refer to integration and compromise. For example, in Volume three of the *Unauthorized Biography of Han’s Poems*, Han Ying believed that “the heaven and the earth are united in harmony and compromise”. These characters also have extended meanings as “luck” and “smooth development”.

Traditional Chinese culture also puts forward a “Great Harmony” and regards it as an ideal community or an ideal state. In the Great Harmony, everything in the world is for the public and not for a special someone. Thus it is advisable to select the capable and virtuous talents from the masses rather than going through heredity. The so-called “being honest and keeping harmony” requires credits and kindness. States and people enjoy equality and independence with no inclination of invasions. They will set peace treaties and keep them. Diverse social rules and regulations are also established according to varied community environments to facilitate affinity and friendship.

In the meantime, everyone regards himself as one part of the community and respects others equally. Since no one can guarantee his future (he could become old, widowed, childless or disabled), it is not wise to just rely on the limited number of relatives. It is more secure to have the public to care and help you. In this Great Harmony, every one ought to donate his part to the community to care for the needed ones within. In this way, the single ones will have no worries who to count on once they are old, sick, lonely or poor, then the society will be in harmony.

In this kind of society, strong though man is, he could not transgress other man’s power; weak though woman is, she lives independently, and others could not bully her. Man and woman have separate rules and obey them accordingly—it is the truth for married couples.

The most important characteristic of the Great Harmony focuses on publicly-owned properties, for there is no difference in people, nor there such things as wealth or poverty. People have no selfish intentions thus will not become unfaithful to seek power and wealth, let alone to rob or steal money to damage their reputation. With deeds accord with the words, people have no need to keep on guard or worry about wars. This is the landscape of a peaceful and harmonious society.

Traditional Chinese culture regards Great Harmony as the highest stage for human evolution. In this society, everything is for the public and there is equality but no ranks. The state is no longer a private property and becomes publicly owned. People love each other and donate their possessions to the public to help those who

are suffering in the community. Established on the basis of political justice and social equality, this society bears no exploitation, oppression or prejudice.

To pursue a Great Harmony, we ought to carry out these “harmonious” values. The developing process of Chinese Culture always embodies a “harmonious” spirit. Employing the spirit as guidance to solve the problems in modern times is deemed a rational way. Although the problems in today’s world differ greatly from those in ancient times, the attitudes and spirit in dealing with them are similar in essence.

1.4 Complying with Natural Laws and Heavenly Moral Ethics

1.4.1 *The Dao Follows Nature and Moral Ethics Channels All Things*

Ancient Chinese realized a long time ago that human beings are not the masters of nature; that they cannot exist independently out of nature; that they are a part of nature and the two should live in harmony interdependently and make each other better. In the Daoist view, all things in the universe, including human beings, have their own rules and own characteristics, and they themselves are all derived from their rules and characteristics, so only if all things including human beings follow these rules can they conform to the Heavenly Dao and succeed. If human beings want to be united with the Dao as one, they should not violate the laws of nature but follow their requirements. This means that people should respect the Heavenly Dao and all other things in the universe, including the laws of nature. Many kinds of theories explaining the rules of the heaven and the earth in Dao De Jing, such as “Revering the Dao and its moral ethics” (尊道貴德), “the Dao follows nature (道法自然)”, “The Dao moves in endless cycles” (反者道之動) and “The Dao is vulnerable and humble when it functions” (弱者道之用), are all theoretical achievements made by people after their research on the rules of the Heavenly Dao.

“The successive movement of the inactive (Yin) and active (Yang) constitutes what is called the course of all things. That which ensues as the result of their movement is goodness; that which shows it in its completeness is the natures of men and things... The daily renovation which it produces is what is meant by the abundance of its virtue. Production and reproduction is what is called the process of change.” (一陰一陽之謂道。繼之者，善也；成之者，性也...日新之謂盛德，生生之謂易)⁸⁹ Nature operates like this: the Yin and Yang’s movements influence each other and transform from each other, which is called the laws of nature; all things in the universe follow these laws, which is called goodness; everything has its inactive and active aspects, each of which has its own characteristics, so to display the two aspects of things is to reappear their essence. Some aspects of Yin and Yang are

⁸⁹C.F. *The Great Treatise in The Book of Changes*.

obvious, which shows that all things in the universe evolve from Yin and Yang; some other aspects are hard to find, which is why Yin and Yang form the functions of all things; Yin and Yang promote all things to grow and restore out of nature without paying attention to specific reasons. All things develop in perpetuity and have new looks each day under the influence of the interaction of Yin and Yang. The changes between heaven and earth and the rotation of the sun and the moon all have their own rules. Human beings should follow all the laws of nature and society, with their behaviors conforming to these laws. People who know the rules of the change of things can really understand and appreciate the mysterious changes of nature.

In the book Lü's Commentaries of History (Lü Shi Chun Qiu), there is a saying, "Whatever you do, do not violate the laws of nature. One must conform to the laws and do things according to their natural laws." (凡舉事無逆天數, 必順其時, 乃順其類) This quote emphasizes the importance of the fact that people should produce and live conforming to the laws of nature. According to Tai Ping Jing (太平經), an important Daoist classic, "In the whole universe, everything exists for a reason and should be allowed to develop on its own." (天地之性, 萬物各自有宜, 當任其所長) The author believed that nature is what human beings rely on and people should respect different things in nature and use them in line with their different characteristics. These thoughts all emphasize the altitude that human beings should treat nature in a civilized way.

Since modern times, people have been accustomed to making excessive demands on nature because of the human-centered ideology, leading to the serious over-exploitation of nature and natural resources, and a vicious ecological crisis, which directly threatens the survival and development of human beings. In traditional Chinese culture, human beings and nature are united as one, and nature has its own rules of operation. Nature are not only home to human beings, but also to all other lives on the Earth, so people should respect the laws of nature and value its ethics, follow the example of the Dao of Heaven and Earth, and create an ecological environment where human beings and nature can coexist harmoniously in order to "make nature endure while the world lasts". At the same time, human beings can develop sustainably. Even in today's view, these kinds of values still have positive meanings.

1.4.2 Nature Has Its Own Laws, and Humans Will Be Elevated After They Comprehend the Laws of Life and Cultivation

Nature operates in accordance with its own laws and cannot be changed by mankind's will. For example, according to Xun Zi, nature will not stop the winter just because people hate its cold weather and the land will not stop extending just

because people are bored with its vastness. The heaven and earth all have their unchanging laws, which is the Dao of Heaven and Earth. In a word, these are the laws of nature.

However, human beings and nature living in harmony does not mean that human beings cannot use nature for their own benefits of survival and development. Although human beings and nature are united as one, their characteristics are different from each other, thus the two exist according to their nature. Each of them has its own content and suitable setting, and they do not disturb each other so that they can exist naturally. As for this point, Xun Zi believed that “we should distinguish between nature and human beings (明於天人之分)⁹⁰”, and he thinks that “nature itself is the true law, and nature does not exist because of a wise monarch and also does not perish because of a tyrant. Conforming to the laws of nature leads to a good destiny, while treating nature in a chaotic way results in a bad one.”(天行有常, 不為堯存, 不為桀亡。應之以治則吉, 應之以亂則凶)⁹¹ In Xun Zi’s time, agriculture is the foundation of the country, so he thinks that promoting agricultural production is the foundation of governing the country. If people save money and not live in an extravagant lifestyle, then nature cannot make them materially poor; if people behave conforming to the change of nature when they have enough clothing, food and other subsistence reserves, then nature cannot bring them sickness; if people understand things, produce and practice by following their laws of development, then nature cannot do harm to them. As for the opposite versions of the facts mentioned above, the results are also conversed accordingly.

People in troubled times come across the same conditions which they meet in the times of peace, but they suffer from the scourge of plagues which does not exist in the times of peace. The reason why this happens is that people’s actions do not conform to the Dao of the times of peace. It is not nature to blame. People have their own rules of action, which is the law of governing the country. Nature and human beings have their own responsibilities and cannot be mingled. Even the governance of human’s society is not ideal, and nature should not be to blame. “People should distinguish between nature and human beings”, so that people would know their responsibilities and what to do to govern society well. Xun Zi once said, “Celestial operation and calendar are the same natural conditions which both Emperor Yu and Emperor Jie in Xia Dynasty had. By virtue of the conditions, Emperor Yu governed the country well, while Emperor Jie made the country in chaos, so peace and unrest are not what nature can decide.”(日月星辰瑞曆, 是禹桀之所同也。禹以治, 桀以亂, 治亂非天也) Is the peace or unrest of human’s society determined by the time? According to Xun Zi, in spring and summer days, animals and plants grow vigorously; while in autumn and winter days, fruits are reserved. Just as the four seasons of a year, the time which Emperor Yu and Emperor Jie lived in is the same, but the country under the two emperors’ control has different situations. Thus, we can say the peace or unrest of human’s society is not determined by the times. On the other hand, is the peace or unrest of human’s

⁹⁰C.F. *Of Heaven in The Book of Xun Zi* (荀子·天论).

⁹¹Ibid.

society determined by the land? Xun Zi believed that only with enough lands can a country exist, which is the condition both Emperor Yu and Emperor Jie had. Therefore, the status of human's society is also not determined by the land. In a word, the peace or unrest of human's society is not determined by nature, times or land, but the efforts and acts of humans.

Xun Zi believed that it is better to control nature by keeping everything rather than to yearn for nature by worshipping it; it is better to make use of nature by mastering the laws of celestial and time changes rather than to praise nature by complying with it; it is better to make use of nature by adapting to different conditions in different seasons rather than to sit and wait for the right condition; it is better to change the nature of things by using talents rather than to let things multiply by following their characteristics; it is better to ensure things do not disappear by complying with the reason of things rather than to make things be themselves by missing them; it is also better to promote the development of things by giving help rather than to just hope things would grow by themselves. Therefore, if one only relies on nature and gives up taking actions, then he or she will lose control of everything.

By observing the heaven and the earth while unraveling mysteries, mankind can understand the secrets of nature, and “comprehend the transformations of the heaven and the earth without making any errors and know the cultivation of all things in a humble mind.” (範圍天地之化而不過，曲成萬物而不遺)⁹² Thus, mankind can “be elevated after they comprehend the laws of life and cultivation” (參贊天地之化育)⁹³ and then “human's knowledge embraces all things, and the Dao is intended to be helpful to all under the same sky.” (知周乎萬物，而道濟天下)⁹⁴ People look up at the sky or observe the earth, so they can know why the sky is so bright and the earth is dark; people make enquiries into the beginning of things, so they can know why these things begin; people explore the cause of the end of things, so they can know the reason for their demise. If Jing (精 energy) and Qi (氣 breath/air)⁹⁵ are gathered together, things can evolve and have shapes; if Jing and Qi are separated, the essence of things would be lost and things would change. Although the changes of things are unpredictable, one can predict the growth and demise of things by knowing their laws of operation. Therefore, mankind should obey the laws of nature, get adapted to them and do not violate the Dao of Heaven and Earth, so that they can understand the transformations laws of the inactive and active aspects of nature and deal with things wisely.

⁹²C.F. *The Great Treatise in The Book of Changes*.

⁹³Ibid.

⁹⁴Ibid.

⁹⁵Jing (精) and Qi (氣) are two concepts in ancient Chinese philosophy. They are always inseparable and usually refer to something that constitutes human's life and spirit.

1.4.3 *Everything Exists for a Reason and Harmony and Moderation Are Favored*

Mankind usually satisfies their desires selfishly to the extreme regardless of nature. That's why Zhuang Zi put forward the idea that "human beings cannot destroy nature".

However, in real life, mankind often treats nature at will, and does not consider the bearing capacity of nature.

If mankind does not agree to the thought of "Humans will be elevated after they comprehend the laws of life and cultivation", but hold the human-centered view and conquer and transform nature with the posture of the conqueror, they would break the rules of things and cause bad consequences, just as what the story⁹⁶ reveals in the chapter of Replying the Emperors in The Book of Zhuang Zi.

Confucianism also emphasizes the harmonious coexistence between man and nature. For example, although Mencius holds the view that people should promote material production and constantly improve the standard of living, he also stresses that people should respect and protect nature, and that people cannot be arbitrary and reckless in production. "If the seasons of husbandry be not interfered with, the grain will be more than can be eaten." (不違農時，穀不可勝食矣)⁹⁷ If people do not use fishing nets with dense holes to catch fish, then fish and turtles would be enough to consume; if people cut down trees in the forests in suitable seasons, wood would be enough to use. Human beings should respect the laws of nature so that nature can produce and recover constantly. In return, they can get substantial returns from nature, achieving a win-win situation for human beings and nature.

To transform nature, mankind should follow its inherent laws and cannot rush into anything. If they treat nature at their own will, they would stifle nature's vitality even if they think they are bringing nature back to life.

Mencius also stressed that the renewable capability of resources and environment is the basis for people's survival and development. There is an example from the chapter of Gao Zi Part 1 in The Book of Mencius, describing the trees in the "Mount Cow". In the Mount Cow to the south of Lin Zi (Today's Zibo in Shandong Province), the trees have been very lush. However, there are always many people cutting down trees because these trees are located in the outskirts of the city. Can the trees in the Mount Cow be thriving? Their living habits show that these trees live and breed day and night with dew and rain moistening them. There are also new branches and shoots growing up, but people take advantage of them

⁹⁶In The Book of Zhuang Zi, there is a chapter entitled Replying the Emperors in which Zhuang Zi tells a story. The emperor of the South Sea is Shu (Haste, 倏); the emperor of the North Sea is Hu (Suddenness, 忽); the emperor of the Central Land is Hundun (Chaos, 混沌). Hundun treats Shu and Hu very well, so the two want to return the favor. They think that human beings have seven orifices (七竅) on their heads, but Hundun does not. Thus, they open an orifice each day for Hundun. Seven days later, Hundun dies. This story tells us to follow the laws of nature.

⁹⁷C.F. *The Book of Mencius*.

excessively by grazing cows and sheep soon, which exceeds the renewal capability of the trees. As a result, the Mount Cow becomes bald. The ecology is facing the similar situation, too. If the ecology gets good maintenance, everything can grow; if not, everything is likely to perish.

Therefore, the reason why ecology goes wrong lies in human beings, mainly in their ways of acting and developing. If human beings want to resolve ecological problems, we should review our behaviors and restrain our insatiable desires. Only by respecting nature, protecting ecology and following the laws of nature can we achieve the harmonious development between man and nature. “The moral ethics of a decent man complies with the merits of heaven and earth, the light of the sun and the moon, the timing of four seasons and the good or bad fortune of ghosts and gods. If people do things before the laws of nature, nature would not violate people’s will; if people do things after the laws of nature, then people should comply with the laws of nature.”⁹⁸ This can also explain the basic attitude and value orientation of Chinese culture in the relationship between man and nature.

1.4.4 Everything Is in an Endless Lifecycle and All Things Need to Be Thoroughly Comprehended and Properly Handled

In Chinese culture, the exploration of values of the “harmony” between man and nature must be related to the discussion of the relationship between man and universe and between man and the world, which is also a major feature of Chinese culture. Traditional Chinese values generally emphasize “the oneness of nature and man”. This notion stresses that people should be committed to building a harmonious relationship between man and nature. Traditional Chinese culture also emphasizes “everything is in an endless lifecycle”, among which there must be some important content of pursuing sustainable development of nature and human’s society.

It should be said that the thought “the oneness of nature and man” contains the meaning that people should live in “harmony” with nature, which has an important reference value for dissolving global ecological crisis today. Since modern times, people have focused on conquering and dominating nature with science and technology. However, science and technology not only has conquered the world but dominated human. While pursuing the rapid economic development, we should also emphasize that we should maintain a “harmonious”, “scientific” and “sustainable development”. We should protect our ecological environment, conserve resources, and advocate that human and nature live in harmony. Therefore, in Chinese philosophy and culture, the unique thinking on the relationship between man and nature still has an important enlightening significance in modern times.

⁹⁸C.F. *The Wen Yan chapter in The Book of Changes.*

During the long period of social and historical practice, the Chinese nation has formed a unique national culture and national spirit, such as the values of “Conscience (良知)”, “Benevolence (仁)” and “Honesty (诚)”; the social responsibilities including “Care about the interests of the country and of the people (急乎天下国家之用)”, “All things on earth need to be thoroughly comprehended and properly handled (开物成务)⁹⁹”, “Know people’s opinions and complete the task of the country (通天下之志, 成天下之务)”,¹⁰⁰ constantly “strive for self-perfection (自强不息)”,¹⁰¹ “Govern and benefit the people (经世济民)”; the thoughts of value judgment including “Good (善)” and “Evil (恶)”, “Public (公)” and “Private (私)”, “Righteousness (义)” and “Interests (利)”, “Group (群)” and “Individual (己)”, “Honor (荣)” and “Disgrace (辱)”; the moral value of “One can take charge of the world with broad moral ethics (厚德载物)”,¹⁰² “Be content with what one actually is (乐天知命)”,¹⁰³ “Be in harmony with the merits of heaven and earth (与天地合其德)”; etc. These constitute the backbone of our national culture and national spirit. In the process of constructing a socialist harmonious society, the patriotic spirit of actively entering the world and doing good to society and the idea of constructing an ideal personality and an ideal society are of great significance, which can serve the construction of socialist core value system.

At the same time, in order to achieve “indoctrination” or “enlightenment by education”, we have explored various patterns and ways of actualizing the good aspects of virtues, providing basic value principles and standards for improving personal morality and social perfection, and making it a code of conduct and criterion for adjusting the relationships among human beings, between people and society, and between human and nature, which are abundant in our national culture. For example, “Knowledge (知)” and “Actions (行)”, “Self-restraint (涵养)” and “Self-consciousness (省察)”, “Rectifying the mind (正心)” and “Self-cultivation (修身)”, “Holding a respectful attitude (持敬)” and “Having honesty (存诚)”, “Studying the phenomena (格物)” and “Acquiring knowledge (致知)”, etc. In these ways of cultivation for an ideal personality and an ideal society in our national culture, there exists a whole set of healthy, positive, and noble pursuit of moral ethics and values, which can inspire our people to explore creatively and provide cultural-ethical vigor for people to pursue these lofty ideals.

⁹⁹C.F. *The Book of Changes: The Great Treatise* (周易·系辞).

¹⁰⁰Ibid.

¹⁰¹C.F. *The Book of Changes: Qian* (周易·乾).

¹⁰²C.F. *The Book of Changes: Kun* (周易·坤).

¹⁰³C.F. *The Book of Changes: The Great Treatise* (周易·系辞).

Chapter 2

Inheritance and Transition: The Formation of China's Values in Modern Times



Chinese civilization has a history of thousands of years. For quite a long period of time, China had culturally enjoyed dominance in East Asia, with the influence of its civilization overflowing beyond its boundary into neighboring countries, so that people could easily conclude that only Chinese civilization could live up to the name of “civilization” itself, or it was at least the most advanced one or the center of the civilized world. While, the Chinese nation, after being the civilization center in East Asia for too long a time, developed a complacent and conservative attitude, which resulted in reducing its flexibility, resting on its laurels, and regressing from a creative strength to an arrogant stubbornness. With such a conservative mentality, China failed to view history as a progressive event and tradition as a new start for the future, and became poorly prepared in face of challenges brought about by Western cultures equipped with modern industrial civilization all through the 19th century. By the early 20th century, it still lingered in a passive position, which greatly hindered the modernization of Chinese culture. Particularly, defeats in the Opium Wars and the War of Jiawu (the First Sino-Japanese War) resulted in social disorders and exposed the Chinese rulers’ impotence.

Focusing on the question of “where China should be headed”, a great number of pioneering intellectuals, shouldering the mission of “saving the nation from perishing”, carried out unremitting explorations, and eventually, came to choose Marxism as the value pursuit for its modernization in line with China’s national reality. Thus, the door leading to the localization of Marxism in China, namely adapting Marxism to China’s reality, was opened, and consequentially after multiple faulted explorations, the splendid historical process of building the socialism with Chinese characteristics was started.

2.1 Values Embodied in the Efforts to “Save the Nation from Perishing”

Modern history, when viewed from the general process of human civilization, is the history of “marching out of the Middle Ages”, that is, the transition from agricultural civilization to industrial civilization. The modernization process in West Europe was completed within the evolutionary process of its own society, while, the case in China was entirely different, for invasion from western colonial forces disrupted its natural process. The fact that China was passively driven into the modernization process of the world played a decisive role in the close relationship between concerns of China’s values in modern times and the issue of addressing the Chinese nation’s perishing crisis.

2.1.1 Learning from Foreign Powers in Order to Empower National Defense

Since the late Qing dynasty, the Chinese nation had been confronted with both internal and external challenges to the extreme. Before the Opium Wars, the authorities, centralized to the royal regime which could exert strong power to mitigate local separatist forces, and could enjoy dominance in East Asia, was facing no competent rivals. This situation had lasted a long time before rulers of the Qing dynasty became complacent and arrogant, taking the temporary relative advantages as excuses for seclusion and isolation from the world. The sound of artillery in the Opium War in 1840 awakened the Chinese nation that had been sleeping for quite a long time, and western colonists, carrying opium, knocked open the rigid and hermit country. Meanwhile, China’s traditional agricultural civilization was also facing the inevitable destiny of being replaced by the modern industrial civilization, rendering China into a situation where changes had never been seen in the past thousands of years. In this background, numerous thinkers, with Gong Zizhen, Lin Zexu and Wei Yuan as the most prominent representatives, started to search answers to the question of “where China should be headed”.

The concept of “Changes” in traditional Chinese culture is of significance when it comes to the issue of rise and fall, or prosperity and decline, with its philosophic essence reflected in the ancient motto that “extremity leads to changes; changes lead to enlightenment; enlightenment leads to sustainability”, meaning that any circumstance reaching its extremity would begin to change, and changes would in turn lead to an enlightenment, which would finally lead to sustainability. Under the guide of “Changes” thought, Chinese intellectuals came to realize, for the first time from the most outer layer of the Chinese culture pattern, that China’s “technologies” were not as good as foreign ones, and put forward the proposition that only by learning from the West at the level of “Qi Wu” (technologies), could China finally reach the goal of “learning from foreign powers to empower defense”.

To try to salvage the nation out of the “fall”, Wei Yuan (1794–1857), a noted thinker in the Qing dynasty, became the first to propose the approach of “learning from foreign powers to empower national defense”. He compiled *Haiguo Tuzhi* (The Illustrated Treatise on the Maritime Kingdoms) to introduce western “advantageous technologies” to the Chinese. According to Wei Yuan, the world was, in size, far beyond “Tian Xia” (under the heaven) in the minds of the Chinese, and China, in face of its inferiority in competition with foreign powers, should not arrogantly isolate itself from foreign cultures, but must concretely “learn from foreign powers” to strengthen itself by utilizing their advantages. That is “those who are good at learning from foreign powers could conquer foreign powers, and those who are not could be conquered by foreign powers.”¹ Wei Yuan’s proposition “learning from foreign powers to empower national defense” not only acknowledged “foreign powers’ advantageous techniques”, but also required that China have the courage to face up to the challenge despite its inferiority in comparison with western advantages, improve itself by adopting advantageous techniques from foreign powers, and further sustain its own independent development. When viewed from the perspective of modern values, Wei Yuan’s “opening eyes to see the world” made the Chinese enlightened and “exposed to the world and foreign cultures”, which indicated that the Chinese nation rationally chose to sustain and develop within the new circumstances of the “world history”.

2.1.2 *Unity as Foundation, Reform as Tools*

China’s approach of “learning advantageous technologies from foreign powers” at the level of “implements” in modern times reached the extremity of its potential when it evolved into the “Yangwu Yundong” (Westernization Movement). However, the first Sino-Japanese War proclaimed the failure of the Westernization Movement, and at the same time, ushered in a “reform period” in China’s modernization process when reformists, with Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao as the leading ones, and revolutionists, with Sun Yat-sen as their representatives, tried to employ China’s traditional “Ren Zheng” (benevolent governance) as the basis for building a new western-style political system and achieving institutional innovation.

Kang Youwei was the first to initiate China’s “reform” movement in modern times. Recognizing that the Westernization Movement was unable to solve the nation’s perishing crisis, Kang Youwei tried another approach, striving to complete the historical mission of “saving the nation from perishing” by reforming the traditional polity. The logic with the values of Kang Youwei’s thought originated from the human’s essence of “pursuing happiness and avoiding bitterness”, and came to the proposition that “all human beings across the world pursue happiness and avoid

¹C.F. Wei Yuan: *The Illustrated Treatise on the Maritime Kingdoms* (vol. 37).

bitterness, which is a universal rule...²” Thus, every individual shall have the rights to take independent action to pursue both material and cultural-ethical satisfaction, and obtain the worldly happiness. Relevantly, an individual “pursuing happiness and avoiding bitterness” would inevitably live a social life, since “enjoying unity to prevent loneliness and reciprocating each other are what contribute to human beings’ happiness”. The reason why free and equal individuals could enjoy “unity” lies in the quality “benevolence” of human nature endowed by the universe. Its manifestation in an individual is “compassion”, and for the common people, the spirit of “universal love”. The “benevolence and virtue” of universal love relevant to social administration was nothing but the democratic “benevolent governance”. In the view of Kang Youwei, “benevolence” could evolve as society did. In ancient societies, “benevolence” was reflected in family relationship. In modern societies, “benevolence” was diffused within union. And the ultimate “benevolence”, namely the “uttermost benevolence”, was found in “the World of Universal Harmony” . The society of “universal harmony” was what Kang Youwei regarded as the completeness of the human nature of “pursuing happiness and avoiding bitterness”, and was the true completion of the universe’s “benevolence-love”.

Kang Youwei’s argument for “unity” started from free and equal individuals, and his interpretation of “benevolence” derived from “universal love”. Thus, the value logic of Kang Youwei’s thought is: “benevolence” leads to “love”, “love leads to “enlightenment”, and “enlightenment” leads to “unity”. Hence, the Dao of mankind is exactly the Dao of benevolence and of union. When it comes to politics, “unity as foundation”, if interpreted in terms of “reform as tools”, advocates the use of the new modern democracy to replace the old autocratic monarchy. This “benevolent governance” with modern meanings is essentially superior to the classical concept of “benevolent governance”. Kang Youwei, with his democratic “benevolent governance”, upheld that “the political power should be owned by the public rather than the emperor. Any argument should be judged by the Dao rather than sages....” Previously, all efforts made by the Chinese in pursuit of “benevolent governance” for national strength and public happiness were focused on “sages in power” within the dated framework of the emperor and his ministers. The approach “unity as foundation, reform as tools” proposed by Kang Youwei initiated China’s exploration into modern values at the level of social democracy for “benevolent governance”. The concept of the society in “Great Harmony” also coincided with the Chinese nation’s “social expectation” at that time. As China fell into a desperate situation, the ideal of “Great Harmony” became a silver lining for addressing the challenges China was facing in modern times. It provided a cultural-ethical support for people with high ideals in pursuit of their undertakings, illuminated the hope for the Chinese people to cast off the darkness and strive for the rosiness, motivated the Chinese people to consistently pursue the “ultimate goal”, and played an indispensable role in guiding China’s social values thereafter.

²C.F. Kang Youwei: *The Book of Great Harmony* (大同書 Da Tong Shu).

2.1.3 *Human Rights, Civil Rights and National Sovereignty*

China’s “institutional reform” movement in modern times that originated from those social activists such as Kang Youwei, Liang Qichao, Tan Sitong and Yan Fu etc. was continued to the times of Sun Yat-sen, the leader of the Xinhai Revolution that ended the imperial China and created historical preconditions for the Chinese nation to build a modern democracy.

In Sun Yat-sen’s times, the drawbacks of western capitalism started to be exposed, leading the Chinese to doubt the route of saving the nation from perishing by “imitating” the western mode. In face of this historical conundrum, Sun Yat-sen, through conducting in-depth reflections on the modernization processes in the West and China, designed China’s modernization road that was different from the western one. Sun Yat-sen believed that “we should catch up with foreign powers rather than learning by following behind them ... we now start to learn the advantageous techniques from foreign powers, and we should be able to do better than them, that is, the latecomers can surpass the foregoers.”³ China, as a latecomer in terms of modernization, didn’t necessarily need to get fully unfolded each segment of the western modernization process, but could learn from their experiences and lessons, “carry out political revolution and social revolution simultaneously”, and directly march into socialism.

Sun Yat-sen, focusing on the value “equity” promoted by socialists at that time and aiming to serve China’s pursuit of human rights, civil rights and national sovereignty, proposed the modernization guideline of “Three-Min Principles”, including the Principle of Min Sheng (People’s Livelihood), the Principle of Min Quan (Democracy), and the Principle of Min Zu (Nationalism). Sun Yat-sen believed that People’s Livelihood should be the foundation for the three Principles, being that every individual shall have the inalienable human rights for living. In the view of Sun Yat-sen, history is a process of “natural evolution and human activities”. “Human beings are originated from animals ... to make progress, we must get rid of bestiality in us and nurture humanity instead.” As society develops, our humanity has been continuously enriched. “Species take competition as the rule, while, humans take mutual assistance as the rule, a rule which should be continued.” Thus, Sun Yat-sen believed that only the socialism based on “equity and mutual assistance” is a society of “humanity”. The Principle of Min Quan represents Sun Yat-sen’s value proposition for the political system in his ideal “socialism”. This Principle is in nature the political power delegated by the people, and its implementation mode is that political elites lead the people to fully build a government of the people, by the people and for the people, and eventually actualize the ideal that “a just cause should be pursued for the common good.”

The Principle of Min Zu, or of Nationalism, refers to “national sovereignty” which is Sun Yat-sen’s fundamental purpose for his promotion of the People’s Livelihood and Democracy. This principle aims to build a modern nation-state to

³C.F. Sun (1981a).

save the nation from perishing, representing Sun Yat-sen's pursuit of the value of equity in terms of national sovereignty. People with grand ideals in China had already realized that the first step was to understand China's national characters by "differentiating ourselves from the foreign ones", and on this basis, to further build a nation-state adapted to China's conditions. Sun Yat-sen believed that the foundation for the Chinese nation is different from the "Social Contract Theory" in the West. "The relationship between the people and the state in China started originally from the family, later the clan, and finally the nation." Thus, the Chinese nation is not same as the western ones where "individuals are the foundation", while the case in China is usually the mode of "collective concern". Relatedly, the Chinese nation's ethos is also different from western ones. "The civilization in Europe and America rests with the aspect of materials ... their material science, for the past hundred years, has developed to the extremity, and many new inventions are unbelievable", while the Chinese nation's ethos is more of a "mindset civilization". "China's traditional virtues such as loyalty, benevolence, love, justice and peace etc. are just our national ethos. As for these spirits, we should not only get them sustained, but also should have them promoted."⁴

In face of China's circumstances in modern times, Sun Yat-sen incisively comprehended the fundamental difference between China's pursuit of values and the western ones in their modernization process. China's pursuit of values was a movement for national rejuvenation to save the nation from perishing. Therefore, Sun Yat-sen tried to guide the people into the traditional culture to explore the value resources for building a modern nation-state, and encourage them to "live" within the tradition to make independent development boosted by these traditional values and ethics.

2.1.4 Remolding "National Character" in the "New Culture Movement"

The Xin Hai Revolution (The Revolution of 1911) ended the imperial China that had lasted for thousands of years. However, the mission of "saving the nation from perishing" had not yet been completed. The republic polity that replaced the autocratic monarchy failed to win public participation and eventually became a tool for warlords. The nation was still on the verge of destruction due to consecutive events including restoration of monarchy by Yuan Shikai, Manchu Restoration by Zhang Xun, and dogfights among warlords. To address these challenges, it was essential that a system of values and culture being adapted to China's modernization process in modern times should be reconstructed. The May 4th Movement in the year of 1919, with Chen Duxiu, Hu Shi and Lu Xun etc. as the prominent

⁴C.F. Sun (1981b).

figures of the “New Youths”, proposed to take “democracy” and “science” as the new value system to remold the “national character” of China.

The so-called “democracy”, in the view of Chen Duxiu, meant on the one hand, that “individual rights for freedom is unalienable and should be enacted into the constitution”,⁵ and on the other, that the purpose of individual rights entailed with democracy was to “create personality”, which was to cultivate the personality of shouldering responsibility for the nation, change the national character, get every individual voluntarily contribute to the movement of “saving the nation”, and committed to the building of the “new state”, “new society” and “new nation”. Correspondingly, Lu Xun insisted that the orientation of “creating personality” and thus opened a new approach to remolding the “national character”. Lu Xun believed that it is China’s traditional culture that resulted in three major weaknesses in China’s national character: the first is being too ignorant to know ourselves, the second is too selfish to take responsibility, and the third is too rigid to open our eyes to the outside world. While, to address these problems, the attitude of “Nalai Zhuyi” (borrowism) should be employed to remold China’s national character by drawing reference from the characters of western nations. To this end, we should not only start from the “external” factors by reconstructing social norms and rules, but also start from the “internal” ones by criticizing our national character to stimulate individuals’ self-consciousness, subjectivity and independence.

The so-called “science”, in the view of Chen Duxiu, was mainly an ideological guarantee for “democracy”, and practically it was taken as the basis for interpreting all things and reevaluating all values. On this basis, Hu Shih further proposed the skeptic spirit and exploration approach of “science”, and tried to take “experimentalism” as the scientific methodology, seeking to “save the nation in a scientific way”. Hu Shih believed that “the fundamental spirit of science rests with the pursuit of the truth.” Due to the influence from the American pragmatism philosopher John Dewey, “scientific knowledge” in Hu Shih’s view is what he called “experience”. Hu Shih’s proposition to “boldly hypothesize and prudently verify” has two requirements: one is “evidence” and the other is “lab attitude”. In the view of Hu Shih, “scientific experiment” should be taken as the fundamental approach for China’s modernization. Based on this, he proposed in detail the four major projects of “scientific experiments”, including “studying the issue”, “introducing the theory”, “sorting the tradition” and “remaking the civilization”. Among them, “studying the issue” and “introducing the theory” are the foundation-laying projects for China’s modernization. Studying the issue refers to research on various urgent issues in the process of China’s social transition to modernization. While, to address the issues, it is required to “introduce the theory”, namely the scientific theories of western experimentalism, with the aim of making people develop the modern ways of thinking in the process of studying the issue. “Sorting the tradition”, in the eyes of Hu Shih, is the key for the modernization of the Chinese nation, and entails significance in two aspects: “on the one hand, objecting blind obedience and

⁵C.F. Ding (1995).

reconciliation, and on the other, applying the scientific methodology for sorting the tradition.”⁶ As for “sorting the tradition”, it means not only rendering the mysterious into the normal, and the miraculous into the ordinary, but also exploring the cultural-ethical reserves within the tradition which are still valuable today. This is Hu Shih’s query into “yesterday” for China’s today and tomorrow, and is also Hu Shih’s “experiment” to guide the transition of the traditional culture to modernization.

“Remaking the civilization”, in the mind of Hu Shih, is a project for China’s modernization to take shape, which is to actualize the ultimate goal of a “new civilization” in China by learning from the West and implementing a holistic reform. According to Hu Shih, to “remake the civilization” in China require “scientific experiment”, that is to solve specific issues by depending on various “scientific tools”. Thus, Hu Shih further extended his instrumentalist “value on social reform” and pragmatist “scientific value on life”. The former advocates that social progress should also apply the reformist approach since the instrumental efficiency of scientific experiment can only be gradually released, and the latter emphasizes that Chinese should reconstruct their values on life by introducing the “scientific” thoughts and “dissatisfactory” spirit from the West, and further release people’s “utilitarian” functions to realize the nation’s modernization. Obviously, the “experimentalism” promoted by Hu Shih is an inevitable choice for his thought of “saving the nation in a scientific way”, and also a kind of active effort made by intellectuals in the “May Fourth” period to “save the nation from perishing”.

Overall, the May 4th Movement initiated a significant turn from “destruction” to “construction” of values through China’s modernization process in modern times. After this New Culture Movement, it gradually became a general consensus to pass down the Chinese traditional culture, developed China’s modern values in the shallow-to-deep and surface-to-center way, and promoted concepts such as advocating science, objecting blind obedience, being practical-minded and pursuing individual liberation. However, compared with the Enlightenment Movement in the West, the New Culture Movement followed its own route and had its own features from the start until the end, serving China’s revolution for “saving the nation from perishing” in modern times and sticking to the key value concern about “social reconstruction”. Just in time, Marxist historical materialism arrived in China after the Russian October Revolution. As a complete worldview and methodology with a stringent logic, Marxist historical materialism met the expectation of the New Youths in the May 4th Period for a “fundamental solution” of China’s social problems. Such a special historical circumstance was then decisive that China’s value pursuit in modern times would inevitably shift from exploring “science” and “democracy” to Marxism which met the demand of further “saving the nation from perishing”. From a variety of “-isms”, the Chinese people chose Marxism, and thereafter, started exploring the localization of Marxism in China both in theory and practice.

⁶C.F. *The Anthology of Hu Shih* (vol. 1), Far Eastern Book Company, 1983: 736.

2.2 The Shift of Values During the Period of Democratic Revolution

In the early 20th century, the perishing crisis of the Chinese nation continued to deteriorate, and dogfights among warlords were rampant, making “existence of the nation and its people” the most urgent challenge for China. In face of this special historical circumstance, the New Youths in the May 4th Period started to extend the logic of their thoughts from “pursuing individual freedom” further to the mission that “everyone has a share of responsibility for the rise and fall of his country.” Since the value exploration of building a modern sovereign nation and establishing a modern industrial civilization cannot be completed through learning from the capitalist mode in the West, China’s pioneering intellectuals started to seek other approaches. With the May 4th patriotic movement as the symbol, the mainstream social value in China started to turn to a new democratic and socialist route.

2.2.1 The Emergence of Socialism

The Russian October Revolution (1917) presented the most practical theory for revolution and the most practical experience for success, and directly promoted the movement of socialist revolution with Chinese characteristics.

Based on China’s realities in modern times, the turning of the value pursuit to socialism, on the one hand, directly derived from the fact that it was more urgent to address the “existence of the nation and its people” than the “pursuit of individual freedom and development” (remarks of Cai Hesen), which resulted in the reasonable turn of the mainstream value pursuit of the May 4th youths to “striving for mutual assistance and existence”, and on the other hand, stemmed from the thoughts and principles of China’s traditional culture. An obvious feature of China’s traditional values is the superiority of collective interests and willpower in the relationship between individual and collective, which could be reflected in the propositions such as “upholding heavenly moral ethics whilst annihilating human desires”, “sacrificing personal interests for the sake of the public”, requiring obedience of individual to collective in the “differentiating moral ethics from desires”. Given that there is such a background, the value that “they do not care about poverty as much as about the uneven distribution of wealth”, and the collective consciousness within China’s traditional thought “concern about the nation before all others and enjoy oneself after all others”, naturally became the ideological foundation for Chinese pioneering intellectuals to accept socialism in modern times.

When viewed from the “subjective logic”, the turn of China’s social value pursuit to socialism in modern times mainly resulted from China’s failure in learning from capitalist culture. The May 4th Movement attempted to replace the value identity system of the Chinese traditional culture with “democracy” and “science”, and took a radical “anti-tradition” attitude towards local civilization.

It has been verified by the fact that, during the evolutionary process of a nation's culture, the old culture and value system is not simply a negative reality, and any straight and absolute disavowal of it would result in the fall of the reformist value judgment into a historical paradox or fallacy. Repeated arguments on eastern and western cultures during the New Culture Movement sufficiently indicated that capitalist culture had already been proved unable to play the leading role in China in early 20th century. "Since China's capitalists are impotent, the world has already entered the imperialist era, and the old capitalist democratic culture has rotted in the imperialist era, thus, the failure is inevitable."⁷ Moreover, when the reformists attempted to use a kind of "otherness" cultural value system to entirely replace the local one but did not reasonably incorporate the "subjective logic" of the local civilization, it would go against the evolutionary rule of social culture, which would inevitably lead to the failure of this value transition. Under these historical circumstances, the value approach of a social culture overstating individual had to give way to Marxism which happened to meet the demand of "saving the nation from perishing" and liberating the people through "revolution".

From the perspective of their intrinsic quality, "science" and "democracy" advocated by the May 4th Movement has a cultural-ethical mechanism of transiting to Marxism and socialism. First, "individualism" in the May 4th Period was in nature a kind of "cultural-ethical individualism" which upheld individual's rights and responsibilities for political participation in saving the nation, rather than any of individual's practical interests. Thus, when the focus of China's historical movement in modern times turned to social revolution, the May 4th youths reasonably realized the connection between "individualism" and Marxism at the level of humanitarianism, thus shifting the tool of "saving the nation" from "individualism" to Marxism. Hearing the news concerning Shandong Province in the Paris Peace Conference, Chinese intellectuals not only started to have doubts about whether "individualism" could be taken as the theoretical basis for saving the nation, but also didn't have the ability to criticize capitalism by returning to the traditional culture since they were already endowed with characters such as "learning from foreign powers to empower national defense" and "anti-tradition". At that time, Marxism, with its criticism on imperialism and its value pursuit of "human liberation", not only came from the "advanced" West, but also met the expectations of the May 4th patriotic youths in their doubt of western capitalism, which seemed very amiable for those enlightened scholars with critical attitude towards narrow-minded "patriotism" and "nationalism". Thus, the fact that the nation-saving function of individualism was replaced by Marxism was historically inevitable.

In addition, the true meaning of "individualism" during the May 4th period rested with the awakening of individual self-consciousness: the sense of responsibility for the nation. Since individuals in real life were mostly "civilians", they were concerned with their self-consciousness as civilians. That's why they rose up

⁷C.F. *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung* (vol. 2), People's Publishing House, 1952: 657.

to get united together to save the nation, which was crucial for the collective objective of saving the nation from perishing as a united community. Such a value concern, which further took effect on the people at the bottom and the newly emerging working class, namely the proletariats, logically transformed into the socialist value in pursuit of eliminating class exploitation and oppression, and actualizing democracy and equity. Just as what Li Dazhao⁸ noted: “the true and reasonable individualism is concerned with social order, with individual freedom. Individual is the original element for a union, and society is the union of individuals.” Furthermore, the genuine meaning of “individualism” advocated by the New Culture Movement rested with completing China’s social transition from agricultural civilization to industrial civilization, and realizing cultural reform. However, due to the lack of a systematic methodology as the foundation, the “fundamental solution” for social transition wasn’t found through “individualism” during the May 4th Period. Marxist historical materialism arrived in China after the Russian October Revolution, providing a complete worldview and methodology for the May Fourth youths. For Chinese pioneering intellectuals in modern times, historical materialism could not only interpret the history and the reality in a scientific way, but also help them clarify their mission and strengthen their conviction, thus meeting the value expectation of the “fundamental solution” for China’s social problems. Therefore, historical materialism naturally became the choice and destination for Chinese pioneering intellectuals in modern times.

2.2.2 The Early “Chinese Characteristic” Interpretation of Socialist Values

In the May 4th Period, the traditional autocratic regime and its cultural value system started to dissolve, however, the new “republic” polity established after the 1911 Revolution also experienced repeated setbacks. In that period, two major events in the world exerted significant impact on China in various aspects including politics and culture. One was the First World War and the Paris Peace Conference after it, which exposed the true intention of imperialism and awakened Chinese pioneering intellectuals to discard their illusion toward it. The other was the success of the Russian October Revolution, which encouraged those Chinese pioneering intellectuals to adopt the Russian approach to address China’s issues. Centering on the issue “where China should be headed”, the May 4th intellectuals, with Chen Duxiu and Li Dazhao as the most prominent figures, initiated a new practice for China’s modernization movement beyond the early capitalist “westernization” mode, and started a creative attempt to seek a path with Chinese characteristics.

Socialism was taken as a western culture introduced to China in the New Culture Movement, yet as for what was socialism, it was still not clear in China at that time.

⁸C.F. Li (1984, p. 437).

It took quite a long time, lasting for several centuries, for socialism to go from being a utopian idea to being a scientific practice in Europe. Regarding the process of Russia's exploration of scientific socialism, Lenin once said:

“During half the century, Russia indeed experienced unprecedented suffering and sacrifice ... Russia once got disappointed at, experimented and learned from European experience, and finally discovered the true theory for revolution, which is Marxism.”⁹

Indeed, there were already the experiences in Europe and Russia, especially the huge influence of the October Revolution. For Chinese, it didn't need to take several centuries or “half a century” to find Marxism. However, in light of the general law of cognition, it was inevitable for the Chinese to experience the process of from practice to cognition, and again repeat this process.

From the second half of the year 1920, a number of intellectuals with early communist thought initiated a tide of pursuing scientific socialism. A number of young Marxists emerged from social activities in China, and from work-study trips in Russia and France. In July 1921, the Communist Party of China (CPC), a proletariat party, was founded in China. The early Marxists in China carried out variety of explorations on analysis and argumentation concerning such issues as the relation between economy and culture, the definition and the nature of culture, the class character of culture, the service for the mass people, the national nature of culture, and the inheritance of tradition etc. Among those pioneering intellectuals, Li Dazhao became the first, drawing inspiration from the Russian October Revolution, to discover that Marxism was “a new civilization in the world” and “a new trend”, and predicted that civilization after early 20th century “will surely trigger a huge change, with its sprout originating from the tide of the Russian revolution.”¹⁰

Different from Chen Duxiu who focused more on the practical function of “Russian-style socialism”, Li Dazhao interpreted Marxism from the perspectives of theory and values. Regarding how to comprehend socialist economy, Li Dazhao noted that the fundamental defect with capitalism rested with the forced separation between laborers and means of production, which further reduced laborers to “non-humans” with no freedom and self-consciousness. The inevitability that socialist public ownership would replace capitalist private ownership entailed disrupting all economic privileges that could enslave or oppress the people, eliminating social contradictions in economic interests, and laying a solid foundation for the people to realize freedom and development. What's more, he also emphasized that the people's freedom and development required a rich productivity as a guarantee, and therefore “socialism aims to be enrich them, not to impoverish them”, “A society advances through competition. Since sound competition is both

⁹C.F. Lenin (1972).

¹⁰C.F. Li (1918).

pleasant and beneficial, it is possible to become universal. As for the capitalist competition, it renders human beings to a desperate situation, which should not be allowed at all.”¹¹

As for how to comprehend socialist politics, Li Dazhao argued that, no matter it was in sphere of economic basis or superstructure, socialism should implement “democracy” in both fields, since historical materialism upheld that the people were the creator of history. Only under a democratic system could the people truly play the role as masters and really be able to become the creator of history. Viewed from this point of view, the mission of socialist movement should include two aspects, employing humanitarianism to reconstruct the human spirit and at the same time, employing socialism to reconstruct the economic organization. “We advocate the two-side material- and cultural-ethical reconstructions, and the consistent mental-physical reconstruction.” Thus, in the view of the early communist Li Dazhao, socialism was a kind of humanitarian social system, implementing cooperative production in economy, emphasizing mutual coordination in social relationship, and advocating philanthropic spirit in virtue. Correspondingly, Li Dazhao underlined that the operating mechanism of democratic and humanitarian socialist politics was “freedom” and “rule of law”. On the one hand, socialist politics must take root in the foundation of “freedom”. The fundamental strength of Marxism lies in convincing people by reasoning. Any act promoting “exclusive” doctrine through “forced power” rather than theoretic reasoning would make the doctrine a specious abnormality in lack of a fundamental strength, and would absolutely be unable to produce an advancing role in people’s mentality. On the other hand, people’s freedom must be based on “rule of law”. “Freedom enacted in the constitution is a necessity for the people’s living.” Hence, “the freedom guaranteed by the constitution should be firstly pursued”, and “such a custom respects freedom ... people are strict with themselves, and have respect for others’ freedom, which is equivalent to requiring other people to respect their own freedom. Thus the foundation of freedom could take hold, and constitutional governance could be completed.”¹²

Regarding the value pursuit of socialist culture, Li Dazhao, based on dialectical reasoning, noted that socialism must be “oriented at the uniformity between individual and society”, and the mission of developing individual freedom was an indispensable part of the new life and new order of socialism. While, socialist reconstruction of human nature should also be conducted in a humanitarian way. In the view of Li Dazhao, to address the issue of laboring, it was more important to form the consensus that “laboring is divine” across the whole society besides implementing such principles as “distribution according to work” and “he who does not work shall not eat”. Thus, the value pursuit of socialist culture could reasonably be defined as: “the true and reasonable individualism is concerned with social order and individual freedom.”¹³ In a socialist society, individuals can enjoy freedom and

¹¹C.F. Li (1984, p. 374).

¹²C.F. Li (1984, p. 315).

¹³C.F. Li (1984, p. 151).

the society is in order. However, order does not equal absolute uniformity. Rather, it should guarantee the freedom for individuals.

The early Marxist thinkers in China, with Li Dazhao as the most prominent representative, had many insights into socialist values, particularly their intrinsic comprehension of the relationship between individual and society, and between freedom and order in a socialist society, which embodies the expectation and rational exploration of Chinese pioneering intellectuals in modern times when seeking an ideal society. From this historical perspective, socialism, which had inherited and developed the western civilization mode, became a substitute solution for China's modernization.

2.2.3 The Chinese Comprehension of the Evolution of Socialist Civilization

The interpretation of socialism in China by early communists, with Li Dazhao as the most prominent representative, was focused more on the theoretical dimensions of socialist values. While, Qu Qiubai, one of the early key leaders and theorists of the CPC, initiated an indispensable and crucial segment of the evolution process of socialism with Chinese characteristics: based on the law of historical evolution, socialist civilization was logically taken as the ideal objective for China's modernization and the conviction of striving for socialism was endowed to the Chinese people.

After the New Culture Movement, Qu Qiubai came to realize that the issue of China's modernization was not simply a theoretical one, but rather an issue relevant to China's realities. Bearing the "mission of developing a thought for China's rebirth" and seeking to obtain a nation-saving solution from Soviet Russia, Qu Qiubai emphasized the relationship between individual's initiative and the universal law of human evolution, and took it as the truth that needed to be firstly comprehended. He proposed that human development is an evolutionary process from individual to society and from self-spontaneity to self-consciousness. An individual's motivation always starts from oneself, but inevitably will be related to society and class since an individual cannot live without a society. Thus, different intentions and activities of numerous individuals cannot be separated from social and cultural circumstances though all individuals participate in the historical process of transition from self-interest to altruism. Social and cultural circumstances are an "integrated" world formed through cultural reciprocation by people in the whole society throughout the history. It is not only an origin for self-awareness, but also the medium between self and the external world, and only through this medium, could self-awareness continuously deepen, extend, and expand to lay a foundation for new practice and cognition.

In general, there is no superiority or inferiority with the civilizations in the West and East. From the perspective of the world civilization, it would be completely

fallacious to regard a certain cultural mode as an absolute advanced value. Yet, Qu Qiubai maintained that: according to the development of productivity, there was a time difference between the civilizations in the West and East. The technology civilization in the West had already reached the science stage. Since science could produce significant volume of material wealth, achievements made by the material civilization in the West were particularly outstanding. The civilizations in the East and West were in a synchronic status in terms of the calendar time, but were in two different stages in the historical time, with one in feudalism and the other in capitalism. However, science civilization of capitalism was not the ideal circumstance for humans since it bore two fatal weaknesses. One was that science and technology was monopolized and utilized by the minority of capitalist class, and couldn't bring about benefits for the majority of humans, or even could cause disasters to human beings. The other was that science and technology was unable to solve the issue of person-to-person relationship. Qu Qiubai once said:

“technical development would surely produce impact on social relationship ... uld cause person-to-person relationship to take a new form....in this new form, most civilians become proletariats, practically living in material civilization but having no happiness at all ... ”¹⁴

On this basis, Qu Qiubai further noted that, to address the relationship between human beings and nature, and the person-to-person relationship, humans shouldn't settle for the scientific civilization of capitalism, but should further march into the socialist civilization where “technology is of the art quality”. Therefore, this “evolution” must be completed through fierce social revolutions. Under such a situation, the proletariat's breaking of the monopoly through revolution became the precondition for this socialist civilization.

Qu Qiubai, according to the law of human history, depicted three stages for the development of human civilization, namely from feudalist civilization “where technology is of a mysterious quality” to capitalist civilization “where technology is of a scientific quality”, and further to socialist civilization “where technology is of an art quality”. However, the right approach for China to “save the perishing nation” was just to realize the socialist civilization “where technology is of an art quality”.

Qu Qiubai argued that, no matter how unique a nation's culture may seem, it had to be fundamentally subject to “the general law of culture”.

“For the society, I am a unique character. For the world, a nation is a unique character. There would be no society if there is no unique character. And there would be no world if there is no national character.” Similarly, “if there were no society and no world, there would be no connection and cooperation, no individual, no nation and no culture.”¹⁵

These remarks indicate that, regarding individual and nation, there are multiple forces of cultural values, and the forces form a general cultural value existing

¹⁴C.F. Qu (1953, p. 107).

¹⁵C.F. Qu (1953, p. 166).

beyond individuals and nations, presenting a kind of law of the holistic trend, and exerting certain impact on all specific cultural modes in that era. Socialist civilization represents the force of the holistic cultural value in modern times and will be the ultimate destination for all nations' cultural evolution.

Socialist civilization is capable of inheriting and developing all prior civilizations, sufficiently extending the function of science and making it serve social development. Qu Qiubai said that the highest form of civilization was the art civilization which was a free world humans were eager for, and which was of the key characters of completeness and harmony, including the completeness and harmony of the relationship between human beings and the nature, among persons, and in individual life. Under socialist conditions and within the social relationship of completeness, mankind should naturally pursue perfectness in technology and work not just for getting adapted to the environment or improving one's material life. Working outcomes were no longer important, while the process would become a necessity for every person within the socialist system. Thus, the socialist civilization was not only a world of freedom, but also a world of justice, and a world of higher beauty. In the view of Qu Qiubai, the socialist civilization is potentially consistent with what Marx had noted as the humanitarian spirit that "free development of every person is a condition for free development of all humans".

The socialist civilization deduced by Qu Qiubai by the historical logic alerted the Chinese people in his vision to pay more attention to their own circumstances. Qu Qiubai acknowledged that the general evolutionary law of human civilization constituted the identicalness among civilizations in the West and East, and noted that variation between two comparable civilizations was chronologic, and an urging attitude should be applied towards the eastern civilization that was lagging behind. Meanwhile, deriving an ideal tomorrow from the current West at that time, taking humans' creativity in practice as the fundamental force for social functioning, and advocating the birth of a culture exceeding the times and the disciplines of West and East through storming revolution, all these fully reflected the mentality of the then Chinese intellectuals who were eager to advance people's liberation and the nation's development.

2.2.4 Testing Marxism in China

The development of socialist thought in China was initiated by Chen Duxiu and Li Dazhao, and promoted by Qu Qiubai. When it comes to the era of Mao Tse-tung, he did not only clarified issues such as objectives, routes, guidelines and measures for conducting democratic revolution in theory, but also gradually combined together the socialist ideals and China's practical conditions, opened the successful path of "encircling the urban areas with the rural ones", and started the localization of Marxism in China, namely testing the application of socialism with Chinese characteristics.

Mao Tse-tung stepped onto China's political stage at a time when China was experiencing huge changes triggered by external challenges, with the old social form going dissolved and a new one still being absent. Regarding the issue that few achievements were obtained in decades of China's modernization process in modern times, Mao Tse-tung believed that it was because "current reforms had all started from detailed matters", but only making efforts on "minor branches" rather than addressing the "fundamentals". Following this enlightenment, Mao Tse-tung explored the "fundamentals" of human society and found the answer in historical materialism: setting the goal acceptable to the people, that is socialism, and stimulating the "people's" concern and enthusiasm for society from the bottom of the people's "heart" to carry out "movement" reform practices to reconstruct the Chinese society.

In the view of Mao Tse-tung, since human's future rests with the pursuit of the "fundamentals" of the universe, correspondingly, only by getting integrated into this pursuit, could individual's life gain the meaning of the ultimate care, which is the individuals' responsibility for the "fundamentals" and their subjectivity as practitioners. It means that, the reason why people have human rights lies in the legitimacy deduced from the legitimacy of "I". Individuals should have the rights to conduct their behavior of self-existence and self-creation, and should be responsible for themselves. Moreover, individuals should also extend their responsibility to society and others, and try their best to serve society and others. This logic naturally leads to the value orientation of "uniformity between individual and society", and at the same time emphasizes that "collectivism" is the "true community" all individuals maintain to secure their common rights and interests, which constitutes an internal dialectic tension.

Mao Tse-tung's reflection on socialism contains a sense of moral utopia in pursuit of the "fundamentals" but at the same time, it includes a pragmatic attitude of "feasibility" based on the national conditions and goes beyond rigid doctrines, which later has developed into the Marxist approach of "seeking truth from facts". Following this approach, Mao Tse-tung successfully solved the historical problem of China's modernization, creatively applied Marxism to China's reality, realized the localization of Marxism in China, activated the historical mission of transforming the ancient nation into a modern one, and made unprecedented achievements in both theory and practice.

According to the new situation in world history, Mao Tse-tung insisted that "there is no foundation-approach difference with learning, neither is there west-east difference with theory",¹⁶ and cultural varieties across nations do not lie in the differences of the West and East, but rather in the varied appearances of the fundamental theories in different countries. When it comes to culture, the true "foundation" does not rest with any thought, but with the activities in real life, and theories must be based on practice. At the same time, it should be insisted that

¹⁶In corresponding to the advocate of "taking traditional Chinese social systems as the foundation while the modern Western technologies as an approach" in late Qing Dynasty.

“the ancient civilization should be used in the present, and the foreign civilization should be introduced to China”, meaning that learning from historical experience should serve the current social practice, and introducing foreign thoughts should aim at addressing China’s challenges. Besides, “Criticism and innovation” should also be insisted. An analytical and critical attitude should be applied when treating all cultural elements so as to absorb the essence and eliminate the dross. However, the objective standard for differentiating essence from dross should exclusively be people’s practice, in which traditional culture could not only be inherited critically, but also produce new achievements. Innovation is meant to organically realize integration of various cultural essence, rather than mechanical combination. The new culture should not only bear content helpful for revolution and construction, but also demonstrate the Chinese characteristics and patterns that are fresh, vivid, and popular among the people, involving innovation in terms of both form and content.¹⁷

According to China’s realities in modern times, Mao Tse-tung proposed the “two-step” strategy for socialist revolution, setting the “new democratic revolution” as the station preceding socialism. For the old China which suffered the three-fold oppression and exploitation from imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism for a long time, the birth of its socialist vision should be based on a shorter-term goal. The “new democratic theory” established by Mao Tse-tung was based on China’s semi-feudal and semi-colonial reality in modern times, on the comprehension of the past and the present, and on the comparison of the West and the East. It advocated the trinity modernization program including “political freedom” (new democratic republic), economic prosperity (industrialization), and cultural advances (cultures of the nation, the science, and the people), which was a value integration from series of reforming movements such as the Self-Strengthening Movement, the Revolution Movement, and the New Culture Movement, and further clarified the vision of socialist modernization. Thus, China’s socialist movement was effectively started through taking China’s transformation in modern times as the “transitional stage” of its socialist value in contemporary times.

Mao Tse-tung and his comrades, following the realistic principle of “seeking truth from facts” and drawing reference from China’s specific conditions, opened a unique path of “a farmers’ war led by the proletariats”. Previously, the only pattern of socialist mode was the October Revolution in Russia. However, China’s realities back then made it clear that simply borrowing classical Marxism or the Russian mode was futile. Mao Tse-tung originally surpassed the dogmatic theory, discovered the subjects of China’s revolution-the farmers, confirmed the nature of China’s revolution-a new democratic revolution, and found the major force of China’s revolution-alliance of workers and farmers. The farmer revolution theory was greatly original, opening a feasible approach for the colonial or semi-colonial agricultural countries in the East for its socialist modernization, and uncovering the twists and complexities in the path of materializing socialism.

¹⁷C.F. *Selected Readings from the Works of Mao Tse-tung*, People’s Publishing House, 1991: 751.

2.3 Remolding China's National Character in Modern and Contemporary Times

Ever since Qin and Han dynasties, the Chinese society generally experienced three different social forms including feudal society in ancient times, semi-colonial and semi-feudal society in modern times, and socialist society in contemporary times. From the perspective of history, China in modern times was placed in a crucial turning phase when China was transformed into the history of modernization. The unique feature of “transition”, inheriting from the past and ushering in the future, resulted in the fact that changes in China's society in modern times were particularly extensive and significant. In China's society during the transitional period, various evolving patterns were interacting with each other, continuously changing the faces of China's society and at the same time, reshaping the cultural-ethical tradition of the Chinese nation.

2.3.1 Awakening of National Consciousness

National consciousness is the fundamental thought, value and concept that sustains a nation's existence and development, and it is also the basis for all nation-related concepts such as national ethos, national virtues, and national culture. Ever since its modern times, China's national consciousness of crisis, of self-strengthening and of rejuvenating the nation experienced a series of changes, from the awakening in the period of the Opium Wars and the first Sino-Japanese War to the sublimation in the May 4th Movement, and later to the uplifting status in the period of the Chinese People's Anti-Japanese War.

The two Opium Wars brought about unprecedented disasters and humiliation to the Chinese nation. Painful lessons from the wars stimulated the Chinese people and urged them to rethink the relationship between China and the world. The mentality of “China being superior to foreign countries” that had constrained the Chinese for thousands of years started to change, and a number of pioneering activists started to open their eyes to see the world. Facing the fact that western nations did not only have “advantageous techniques”, such as warship, artillery, and soldier training, but also have advantages in personnel utilization, economic development, and social system, their consciousness of crisis and of self-strengthening naturally began to grow. China's pioneering intellectuals in modern times, with Lin Zexu, Wei Yuan, and Feng Guifen as the prominent representatives, acknowledged the fact that China had been left behind by western powers, and at the same time, they realized that “it is shameful to know we are inferior to others, but being shameful means there is something that we must do.

Since already recognizing the shame, it is time for self-strengthening”.¹⁸ They also advocated that the Chinese nation should regard this backwardness as shame and establish confidence in self-strengthening, and finally end it by taking actions rather than sulking in self-pity.

The breakout of the Sino-Japanese War in 1894 set the Chinese nation into an unprecedented crisis, and “country’s dissolving” and “nation’s perishing” were serious realities the Chinese must face up to at that time. Defeats in the war produced huge shocks to the Chinese people’s mentality, thus causing a country-wide awakening of national consciousness. “Our nation’s over-four-thousand-years illusion has in fact started to awaken since the ceding of Taiwan and paying of indemnity of two hundred million taels of silver after the defeat of the First Sino-Japanese War.”¹⁹ The wide-range wakening of national consciousness in that period represented the strengthening awareness of crisis and forming of new national concepts and awareness. The “Gongche Shangshu Movement” (literally “Public Vehicle Petition”) initiated by those reformists Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao presented the national crisis to the public, and called on them to “safeguard the state power, the national independence, and the traditional Confucianism”, highlighting the sense of national crisis while enlightening patriotism to save the nation from perishing. The Xing Zhong Hui (Reviving China Society) founded by Sun Yat-sen swore an oath to “expel barbarians and revive China”, and further made nationalism an important element of the Three People’s Principles. The revolutionists, with Sun Yat-sen as the most prominent representative, advocated that “the policy for saving the nation and safeguarding the independence today lies only in nationalism which could bring a silver lining for survival.”²⁰ In the early 20th century, pioneering groups in China regarded nationalism as an inevitable approach for the Chinese nation to get out of crisis and march towards independence and prosperity, and at the same time, they started to emphasize theoretical interpretation of nationalism and revolution, gradually getting rid of constraints of the traditional nationalism, introducing theories of nationalism from the West, deepening the modern content of nationalism in theory, and developing modern concepts and thoughts of nationalism.

After the 1911 Revolution, China suffered a diplomatic failure at the Paris Peace Conference. To protest foreign powers’ encroachment on China’s sovereignty and the Beiyang Government’s betrayal of national interests, patriotic students and civilians staged the May 4th Movement, calling for “protecting national sovereignty and punishing domestic traitors”. “China’s diplomatic failure at the Paris Peace Conference stimulated the national awakening of the Chinese people who began to get united to pursue shared ideals and take shared actions.”²¹ The May 4th

¹⁸C.F. Feng Guifen: *Of Manufacturing Foreign Appliances* (制洋器物議), published in *Hundred Days’ Reform* (vol. 1) edited by the Chinese History Society, p. 29.

¹⁹C.F. Liang (1989a).

²⁰C.F. Zheng and Shi (2014, p. 313).

²¹C.F. Reinsch (1982).

Movement demonstrated China's true and active national characters, the national consciousness of the Chinese nation historically sublimated, and the Chinese people renewed and deepened their comprehension of the nature of the imperialist powers. As what Mao Tse-tung pointed out in *Of Practice*:

the Chinese people's comprehension of the imperialism was superficial and perceptual in the first stage ... and in the second stage, became rational...recognizing the nature that the imperialism joined hands with China's comprador bourgeoisie and feudal class to oppress the Chinese people. This kind of comprehension appeared just around the May 4th Movement in 1919.²²

During that period, Chen Duxiu and Li Dazhao initially applied Marxism to expose the nature of imperialism, call on the Chinese people to oppose imperialism and struggle for national independence. Whilst, Sun Yat-sen further deepened the comprehension of the concept of nation, and put forward the nationalist mission of rejecting the imperialist invasion, laying an ideological foundation for introduction of nationalism into the New Three People's Principles, and preparing crucial political conditions for the high tides of struggles of anti-imperialism, anti-feudalism, patriotism, national independence during the First National Revolution.

After the "September 18th Incident" in 1931, the imperialist Japan annexed the three provinces in northeastern China. On July 7th, 1937, its army plotted the Lugou Bridge Incident, and waged the full-scale war to China, aiming to perish the whole nation. The Chinese nation was facing a life-or-death moment. Answering to the call of the Chinese United Front against Japanese aggression, all social classes and peoples in China got united and staged a nation-wide war of resistance. During the war, the national consciousness of the Chinese nation became unprecedentedly united, forming a huge strength for Chinese people's success over Japanese fascism. The unprecedented national consciousness in the war was most prominently reflected in the priority the Chinese people placed on national interests, solidified unity of the Chinese people, and the strong will of them to address national difficulties. Neither the national consciousness of the Chinese people nor the unity of the Chinese nation had ever been so strong. As it is stated in an article *On Motivating the Farmers to Join the Resistance War* written by Yan Yangchu:

"For several thousands of years, what had been cherished by the Chinese people were concepts such as the well-being of the whole world and one's family. The western concepts like national cautiousness in modern times had never found its way in the mind of common people in China. Now, our national consciousness was awakened by bombs and shells of the invading enemy...from the nation's perishing crisis, we started to become aware of integrity and inseparability of the Chinese nation. We either live together, or die together. This was the beginning of the history of national consciousness, and was the prelude for a truly new Chinese nation."²³

²²C.F. *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung* (vol. 1), People's Publishing House, 1991: 289.

²³C.F. *The Chinese National Spirits from a Historical Perspective*, Guangdong People's Publishing House, 2014: 318.

The invasion of Japanese Imperialism unprecedentedly accelerated the Chinese nation's perishing crisis, and stimulated strong consciousness from the Chinese people for national rejuvenation. The increasingly strengthening sense of nation and the continuously sublimating of national consciousness finally became a great cultural-ethical drive giving birth to the Chinese nation's liberation movement in modern times. It was by depending on this "strong national consciousness" that the Chinese nation safeguarded its independence and dignity, and wrote down a heroic and touching chapter in the history of China.

2.3.2 *The Sublimation of Patriotism*

China's national ethos is rooted in its rich soil of history, and has experienced evolution and innovation with the change of times. In modern times, all peoples in China sublimated their cultural-ethical pursuits, such as patriotism, science, democracy, and self-strengthening, in struggles for national independence and strength, and promoting their national spirit unprecedentedly.

Compared with China's realities in ancient times, major challenges facing China in modern times required that its national spirit evolve and adapt to development through the times. Since ancient times, the Chinese nation had been bearing the tradition of patriotic spirit. Throughout thousands of years from the Pre-Qin Period till the Ming and Qing dynasties, patriotism had consistently been sustaining the will and conviction of the whole Chinese nation, and had always been the strong cultural-ethical strength encouraging the Chinese nation to strive forward. After the Opium Wars, China's historical conditions experienced drastic changes, during which the patriotism got "re-forged" in the furnace of the historical chaos and social transformation, and sublimated to become the patriotism in modern times and the strong cultural-ethical strength encouraging all peoples in China to struggle for saving the nation from perishing.

In ancient times, moral ethics such as "everyone has a share of responsibility for the rise and fall of his country", and "concern about the nation before all others and enjoy oneself after all others", are national virtues highly praised. However, the "nation" in ancient China was a different notion from the present one in that the then "nation" meant the monarch, who was supposed to be the representative and embodiment of the whole nation. Therefore, patriotism in ancient China meant not only the love for the nation, but also the thought that "monarch and nation are integrated, and loyalty to monarch is patriotism". When it comes to the modern times, as struggles for saving the nation from perishing deepened and western concepts introduced, the value on nation with the core concept that "the monarch is the supreme" was challenged. People with lofty ideals in modern times started to replace the monarch thought that "the monarch is the nation" with new concepts such as "the people are the foundation of the nation", historically transforming the concept of "nation" together with the related patriotism from a traditional one to a modern one.

During the Constitutional Reform and Modernization in late Qing Dynasty, reformists reexamined the traditional concept of nation, and reshaped their “nation” as “public property” of all nationals, rather than the “private property” of the monarch, which was reflected in their political proposal that “nation is the public property, while emperors, generals and ministers are all servants for the nation.”²⁴ Those thinkers, with Yan Fu and Tan Sitong as their representatives, lashed critical attack at the concept of the monarchical power, and initially interpreted the new concept of “nation”. In early 20th century, Liang Qichao explained his ideas about “nation” in articles such as “On Patriotism” and “Youth China Declaration” on issues including constituents and main body of the nation, rights of citizens, and relation between nation and the people, and further enriched the concept of nation. “What is a nation? It is the community of civilians ... what is a patriotist? It is a citizen loving himself. Hence, when civil rights rise, the national rights rise... patriotism must begin with the rise of civil rights.”²⁵

Different from the concept of “nation” which reformists such as Yan Fu had and was relevant to constitutional monarchy, revolutionists led by Sun Yat-sen completely denied monarchy by calling for the “establishment of a republic nation”, advocated the implementation of the democratic and republic system to build a modern state, and further employed the modern state’s structure to differentiate “patriotism” clearly from “loyalty to the monarch”, initiating the starting point for the traditional patriotism to sublimate into the modern patriotism. “...To make China in early 20th century a power in the world, and this is just our nation’s patriotism.”²⁶ As a matter of fact, in early 20th century, though people mostly used phrases such as “nation-loving heart”, “national soul” and “civil soul” to express the meaning of “patriotism”, yet in that period, the thought of patriotism was already transformed from tradition, and became a crucial cultural-ethical power motivating the Chinese nation in modern times.

The unprecedented national crisis resulting from the breakout of the War of Jiawu in 1894 was of significance in stimulating the Chinese nation’s patriotism. Liang Qichao once said: “right before the War of Jiawu, Chinese scholars and officials were seldom concerned with national issues. After the battle ... patriotists started to grow, and there were more and more people making proposals to protect the nation...”²⁷ The perishing crisis resulting from the defeat of the War of Jiawu extremely shocked the Chinese nation, and due to this unprecedented national crisis, the Chinese nation’s patriotism was deepened and entered a new stage. Reformists actively explored ways to save the nation from perishing, using the national crisis to awaken the Chinese nation’s sense of patriotism and “concerns

²⁴C.F. Yan (1986).

²⁵C.F. *Chinese Nations’ Spirits in Historical Perspectives*, Guangdong People’s Publishing House, 2014: 330.

²⁶C.F. *Chinese Nations’ Spirits in Historical Perspectives*, Guangdong People’s Publishing House, 2014: 332.

²⁷Liang (1989b).

about protecting the nation”, and discovering ways to strengthen the nation by conducting reforms of the national institutional system, learning from economic development and political systems from western powers, which enriched the patriotism in modern times. Reformists did not only promote the thought of patriotism to save the nation from perishing and strived to explore ways to conduct reforms to strengthen the nation, but also made sacrifices in participating in political activities during the Constitutional Reform and Modernization. Those who sacrificed their lives such as Tan Sitong became China’s national models in modern times for promoting the patriotic spirit through their political thought of making sacrifices to strengthen the nation by reforms.

In the early 20th century, China’s patriotic figures with high ideals, facing the nation’s crisis of being partitioned by foreign powers, combined the mission of saving the nation from perishing, democratic republic, and national sovereignty, seeding the thought of overthrowing the monarchic regime and building a republic into the hearts of the Chinese people. Sun Yat-sen and Tung Meng Hui (the Chinese Revolutionary Alliance) under his leadership made “to revive China” the strong call of the times, exhibited the revolutionary spirit of sacrificing for the nation, united with other pioneering forces, and carried out epic struggles for national independence and prosperity. Their vision of the Chinese nation’s prosperity and strength became a splendid chapter in the history of the Chinese nation’s patriotism during the revolutionary practices in saving the nation and salvaging the people.

2.3.3 The Promotion of National Ethos by the CPC

The CPC, which was born in a time when the Chinese nation was facing perishing crisis, shouldered the mission of national independence and people’s liberation, inherited Chinese nation’s patriotic tradition, united all possible forces, and further promoted the patriotic spirit in its long-time revolutionary struggles.

After the New Culture Movement, the Chinese communists, influenced by the Russian October Revolution, chose Marxism as their ideological weapon for national independence and people’s liberation, and took patriotism and serving the people as their cultural-ethical pillars for the Party. Those CPC leaders, such as Chen Duxiu, Li Dazhao and Mao Tse-tung, and numerous party members, during the process of exploring ways to save the nation from crisis, made brilliant interpretations and conclusions regarding patriotism. Mao Tse-tung wrote articles with the special intention to praise and promote the Lu Xun Spirit, the Zhang Side Spirit, the Bethune Spirit, and the Foolish Old Man’s Spirit,²⁸ and used new materials to

²⁸Foolish Old Man is a heroic character in a Chinese fable, who called on his sons and grandsons to move away the mountains that used to block his home from the outside world. He was laughed at by his seemingly “foolish” idea of “moving the mountains by human hands” and thus nicknamed the “Foolish Old Man”. His spirit finally moved a god of titanic power who cast a spell and the mountain was relocated to somewhere else.

enrich and develop patriotism. The Chinese communists united all peoples in China, followed the banner of patriotism, conducted outstanding struggles for independence, liberation and prosperity of the Chinese nation, created and cultivated the encouraging spirits including Jinggang Mountain Spirit, Long March Spirit and Yan'an Spirit, overthrew the cruel ruling of the "Three Mountains"-imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism, and finally obtained the great victory of the new democratic revolution.

First, the Jinggang Mountain Spirit. After the defeat in the First National Revolution in 1927, "where Chinese revolution should be headed" became an extremely serious question for the Chinese communists. In August in the same year, Chinese communists, including Zhou Enlai, He Long and Zhu De, initiated Nanchang Uprising, which took the first step onto the path that "the revolution in China can only succeed through armed struggles and overthrowing current political powers". Later, communists, including Mao Tse-tung, led the Qiushou Uprising and founded the first rural revolutionary base under the leadership of the CPC in Jinggang Mountain at the border between Hunan Province and Jiangxi Province, igniting the sparks for "armed independent regimes of workers and peasants". Thereafter, the Chinese revolution embarked on the road of establishing rural bases, encircling the urban areas with the rural ones, and eventually obtaining the country-wide victory. During those harsh struggles, Chinese communists, equipped with the lofty ideals and the persistent willpower of daring sacrifices, forged the Jinggang Mountain Spirit, a kind of pioneering thought and excellent style of conduct for revolution. Hu Jintao once refined concisely the Jinggang Mountain Spirit as: under the new historical conditions, to promote the Jinggang Mountain Spirit requires that we promote the spirit of seeking truth from facts, of daring to open new roads, of being persistent in faith and indomitable against difficulties, and of being hardworking and brave to move forward.²⁹

The Jinggang Mountain Revolutionary Base was a great achievement in the history of China's revolution, while, the Jinggang Mountain Spirit was the main pillar for the founding of the Chinese Workers and Peasants Red Army and its development and strengthening. The Jinggang Mountain Spirit was the condensation of concerns and enthusiasm of the Chinese communists and the Workers and Peasants Red Army for their nation and their people. They were faithfully confident that only through revolutionary struggles, could the ruling of reactionary forces from home and abroad be overthrown. Thus, Jinggang Mountain Spirit became the origin of various revolutionary spirits in later development of China's revolution.

Second, the Long March Spirit. During those two years from October 1934 to October 1936, the First Front Army, the Second Front Army, the Fourth Front Army and the Twenty-Fifth Front Army of the Chinese Workers and Peasants Red Army, under the leadership of the CPC, conquered high mountains covered under heavy snow, crossed vast marsh grasslands, and completed the arduous and outstanding Long March. Soldiers of the Red Army broke through repeated

²⁹C.F. Lai and Fu (2013).

encirclements and dealt with extreme difficulties. Length of the duration, distance of the journey, harshness of the route, and fierceness of the battles were all unprecedented in human history. “The Long March is the first one in history. It is a manifesto, a publicizing team, and a seeder ... spreading many seeds across eleven provinces, and later, the seeds sprout, grow, blossom and fruit, and in future, there will be a harvest”,³⁰ wrote Mao Tse-tung. The Chinese Workers and Peasants Red Army, bearing the heroic spirit of struggling, conquered countless difficulties, completed the unprecedentedly shocking journey by making extreme sacrifices, wrote down a splendidly revolutionary epic, and forged the greatness of the Long March Spirit.

Hu Jintao once remarked in a conference commemorating the 70th anniversary of the victory of the Red Army’s Long March:

“The Long March Spirit is the spirit of taking the fundamental interests of the people and the nation as the top priority, firming the revolutionary ideal and conviction, and being confident in the inevitable victory of the just cause; it is the spirit of braving any difficulty and hardship, and daring sacrificing for the nation and the people; it is the spirit of adhering to independence, seeking truth from facts, and taking actions in accordance with practices; it is the spirit of paying attention to the interests of the whole, following strictly the discipline, and solidifying the unity; it is the spirit of depending closely on the people, sharing burdens of the people, and striving together with the people. The Long March Spirit is the vivid reflection of the revolutionary demeanor of the Chinese communists and the people’s army, the condensed demonstration of the constantly striving national quality of the Chinese nation, and the ultimate embodiment of the national ethos with patriotism as its core.”³¹

The Long March Spirit is of rich content, with hardships and excellence as its representation, perseverance and persistence as its backbone, unity and striving as its pillar, and seeking truth from facts as its core. The Long March Spirit is the vivid reflection of the revolutionary demeanor of the Chinese communists and the people’s army. It is not only the extension of the tradition of China’s revolutionary history, but also is of richness of the times, bearing remarkable influence, appeal, and charisma, and leaving behind a valuable cultural-ethical heritage not just for the Chinese nation, but for all the people in the world.

Third, the Yan’an Spirit. Yan’an is a sacred place for China’s revolution. From 1935 to 1948, it was at this place that the CPC Central Committee, under the leadership of Mao Tse-tung, led and commanded the Anti-Japanese War and the War of Liberation, laying a solid foundation for the founding of the People’s Republic of China, and giving birth to the Yan’an Spirit that is inspiring and uplifting. During 1930s and 1940s, though facing attacks both from the Japanese army and reactionary members of Kuomintang, the CPC and its armed forces, after experiencing the hardships and struggles in the Long March, matured both in

³⁰C.F. *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung* (vol. 1), People’s Publishing House, 1991: 149–150.

³¹C.F. Hu (2006).

thought and politics. They established the leadership of the CPC Central Committee with Mao Tse-tung as the core, learnt lessons from both positive and negative experiences in a scientific way, carried out the thought-rectification movement, and successfully advanced the localization of Marxism in China. Many significant works by Mao Tse-tung, such as *Of Practice, Of Contradiction, New Democratic Theory, and Of United Government*, were all completed during this period in Yan'an, and Mao Tse-tung Thought gradually became mature through this period and was officially engraved onto the banner of CPC.

During the Yan'an period, to solve the shortage of supplies because of the siege, the CPC Central Committee made the timely call of "making clothes and growing crops by own hands". They realized that the only way-out to conquer the difficulties was "doing it ourselves", which emphasized the profound significance of promoting self-reliance from the height of the development of human history, motivated all Party members, government officials, soldiers and peasants to advance production activities, and made the infertile land in northern Shaanxi into a productive soil. At the same time, to cultivate cadres for the War of Resistance, the Chinese People's Military and Political University of Resistance Against Japan (University of Resistance) was established. In this university, courses concerning revolution and military theories, simultaneously conducting study, struggle, and production were taught, and a series of revolution and education theories that met the needs of the War of Resistance and had obvious Chinese characteristics was produced. The university, by following the motto of "Unity, Tension, Solemnness, and Vitality" and adhering to the "persistence of political direction, style of hardworking, and flexibility of strategy and tactics", formed a new learning style and the new spirit of the University of Resistance. The spirit of the University of Resistance, together with CPC's excellent working styles such as seeking truth from facts, hardworking, staying close with the people, criticism and self-criticism, became the essence of the Yan'an Spirit and the new trend of the era, a trend that represented China's hope and future.

The Yan'an Spirit is a complete set of revolutionary experiences and an excellent working style bred by Chinese communists in the times of revolution. Its content basically includes: a firm and correct political direction; an ideological route of liberating the minds and seeking truth from facts; a fundamental tenet of serving the people heart and soul; and an enterprising spirit of self-reliance and hardworking. It is the convergence of revolutionary spirits represented by armies and civilians in various revolutionary bases and liberated areas with Yan'an as the center under the leadership of the CPC.

Forth, the Spirit of the War of Resistance. The War of Resistance refers to the Anti-Japanese War which lasted for 14 years, which was the first national liberation war the Chinese people achieved a complete victory during nearly one hundred years since the Opium Wars, and was also an important turning point during the process in which the Chinese nation transformed from perishing to rejuvenating and China's national liberation as well as democratic revolution marched toward victory. The Chinese people's victory in the War of Resistance against Japanese

Aggression owed a lot not only to the support from international anti-fascism forces, but also to the motivation and inspiration of the Spirit during the war itself.

During this war, the rise of China's national spirit was gradually fueled by the Japanese aggression and eventually took shape, and was later deepened as the Japanese aggression expanded. The "September 18 Incident" in 1931 triggered unprecedentedly a nation-wide anti-Japan protests in China. The Chinese communists upheld the banner of patriotism, called on the whole nation to stop civil wars and get united to fight against the Japanese aggression. In September 1937, the founding of the Chinese National United Front against Japanese Aggression played a key role in motivating a nation-wide resistance. In this war, the Chinese nation was completely awakened, and all peoples in China were united. They went all out in the war, and the Spirit of the War of Resistance became a powerful source for the Chinese nation.

The national spirit demonstrated by the Chinese nation during the War of Resistance has distinctive features of times. The first one is the spirit of sacrificing one's life for the nation, and the second one is the spirit of getting united against the enemy.³² During the War of Resistance, all peoples in China, from the south to the north, no matter the young or the elderly, sacrificed their lives to save the nation from the perishing crisis. National martyrs, such as Yang Jingyu, and the women soldiers from the Northeast Anti-Japanese United Army who died by throwing themselves arm in arm into the river, the five heroes who jumped off the Langya Mountain...are all embodiment of the revolutionary soldiers' spirit of sacrificing themselves for the nation. The Great Victory of Pingxingguan, the Hundred Regiments Offensive, the Battle of Liulaozhuang in which the whole company sacrificed their lives ... are the representation of the Chinese army's spirit of struggling, bravery and fearlessness. For this spirit, Zhu De, the then chief commander, commented that:

"The heroism of the Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army is neither for personal interests nor serve the reactionary forces, but one made for the revolution and the people. It takes the interests of the revolution as its top priority, bears high sense of responsibility and enthusiasm for the revolutionary cause, shares difficulties and hardships in the revolution, and makes utter devotion to the revolutionary career ... to serve the revolutionary cause, the people could not only get their personal interests compromised, but also take no hesitation to sacrifice their lives."³³

In the War of Resistance against Japanese Aggression, the Chinese nation was united under the banner of the National United Front against Japanese Aggression, and all social classes and all peoples reached unprecedented unity against the enemy, launching a large scale national liberation war to save the nation from perishing. During the war, ethnic groups across the country organized various anti-Japan communions which became important forces against Japanese

³²Zheng and Shi (2014).

³³C.F. *Selected Works of Zhu De*, People's Publishing House, 1983: 116–118.

Aggression. The number of those groups, the scope of regions, and the solidity of the people's willpower in the war were far beyond those in all defensive wars against foreign powers since the Opium Wars. After the breakout of the nation-wide war against Japanese aggression, patriots in the religious fields lashed out at the invasion of the imperialist Japan. They set up organizations to save the nation, and participated in the work of anti-Japan publicity and rescue of injured people. As the war further expanded, people from all walks of life across the country contributed their money and strength in various ways to support the fight. Overseas Chinese organized activities such as donating campaign or boycotting movements against Japanese products, collected plenty of supplies, and supported, in different ways, their motherland's war against Japanese Aggression. The army of Kuomintang and the army under the leadership of the CPC shouldered respectively the missions in the front and rear battlefields, forming the joint strategic stance against the Japanese Aggression. The whole Chinese nation, despite their social classes and backgrounds, was united firmly for the common aim of defending national independence and saving the nation, which wrote down a glorious cultural-ethical chapter in the history of the Chinese nation.

2.4 The Manifestation of Socialist Spirits in Contemporary China

The founding of the People's Republic of China on October 1st, 1949 marked a new chapter in China's history, and the Chinese nation entered the brand-new socialist era. China, an ancient nation with a history of more than five thousand years, witnessed the reality of its people becoming the masters of their own country, society, and their own destinies only after the founding of New China which completely ended the disunity in old China, and reached the higher uniformity of the nation and unprecedented unity of all peoples in China. The CPC, as the ruling party, took the transition from new democratism to socialism as its first mission, led the people to conduct persistent explorations for the nation's prosperity and people's wellbeing, and made unprecedented glorious achievements. China's strength in economy, defense and technology significantly have been uplifted, reaching the leading positions in the world in various fields including industry, agriculture, national defense, and technology, thus laying a sound material foundation for the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation.

As New China's comprehensive national strength being significantly uplifted, the socialist culture has also being continuously enhanced. The CPC adhered to the guiding thought of Marxism, promoted patriotism, collectivism, and socialism, and prominently advanced socialist cultural-ethical standards. The socialist spirit, as the most brilliant banner, became the core value and cultural-ethical pursuit of the Chinese nation during that period.

2.4.1 Independence and Self-reliance

Ever since ancient times, independence and self-reliance have always been the cultural-ethical strength that is unbreakable and fundamental for the Chinese nation. Inspired by this strength, China, as one of the cradles of human civilization, has witnessed its culture and tradition independently developing and extending throughout the historical process of thousands of years. In modern times, though China repeatedly suffered bullying and humiliation from foreign powers, yet all peoples in China persistently adhered to independent struggling for about one hundred years. During the Anti-Japanese War, the CPC pointed out that, China should, whenever and wherever, take self-reliance as its fundamental stance, and should also be confident that China would win the war against Japanese invaders by self-reliance. After the founding of the People's Republic of China, bearing the determination and willpower of self-reliance, the Chinese people, under the leadership of the CPC, conquered various formidable difficulties, and a number of heroes of the times appeared in different fields including industry, agriculture, national defense, science, and technology.

In the early stage after the founding of the People's Republic of China, to get rid of the backward image of "poverty and backwardness", the Chinese people, taking on the role of masters, actively participated in the socialist revolution and construction. A number of model workers from the bottom of the society, such as Meng Tai, Hao Jianxiu, and Shi Chuanxiang, made extraordinary achievements at ordinary working positions, and vividly demonstrated the essence of the spirit of the socialist times with their bravery in the harsh working conditions, their loyalty and sense of responsibility for the duty, and their sacrifices for others and the society. On the battlefields in the Korean War, numerous soldiers of the Chinese voluntary army such as Yang Gensi, Huang Jiguang, Qiu Shaoyun, and Luo Shengjiao embodied greatness of the socialist spirit and the internationalist spirit with their blood, lives and fearlessness. In the scientific research field, facing the laggard conditions after the founding of the People's Republic of China, scientists such as Hua Luogeng and Qian Xuesen, bearing passionate love for the socialist motherland, rejected generous treatment in foreign countries, devoted themselves into China's scientific cause, conquered various difficulties, contributed whole-heartedly to the development of China, made groundbreaking achievements for China's scientific development, and finally became national heroes in this socialist era.

In the mid and late 1950s, relations between China and Soviet Union deteriorated due to ideological divergences, leading to the halt of many constructions in China and serious damages to China's economic development. Facing the difficulties, Mao Tse-tung again pointed out that China's revolution and construction were both depending mainly on the strength of the Chinese people, and foreign support was nothing but auxiliary. During that period, the construction of Nanjing Yangtze River Bridge opened a new era for China's independent building of large bridges. This double-decked bridge for both trains and cars, with its construction started on January 18th, 1960 and completed on December 29th, 1968, was the first

large-scale bridge designed and built independently by the Chinese. When concluding the history of that period, Deng Xiaoping remarked that: “China’s primary experience is simply self-reliance. From mid 1950s to 1970s, we basically had no foreign aid, but mainly survived on self-reliance. Since there was no foreign aid, we were encouraged to try harder. Inspired by such a spirit, we succeeded in making atomic bombs, hydrogen bomb, missiles, and satellites in that period.”³⁴

Starting from the year of 1964, a large-scale movement of socialist construction “learning from Daqing in industry and learning from Dazhai in agriculture” was initiated across the country. Daqing and Dazhai, the models for industrial and agricultural development, became the symbols of self-reliance and pioneering spirit in the period of socialist construction. In the early stage after the founding of the People’s Republic of China, oil had been a constant constraint for China’s economic development. Facing those extremely harsh conditions, weak industrial basis, and serious shortage of technical strength, Chinese oil workers and technicians, with “iron man” Wang Jinxi as the prominent representative, promoted the self-reliance spirit and succeeded in Daqing Oilfield in helping China’s economy out of the difficulties. Thereafter, the Daqing Spirit and the Iron Man Spirit became models for industrial construction in China. In 1990, Jiang Zemin concisely summarized the Daqing Spirit as: the patriotic spirit of winning honor for the nation; the spirit of being pioneering, independent and self-reliant; the spirit of seeking truth from facts, bearing scientific attitude, being honest in the cause and strict in the work; and the spirit of being devoted to the overall nation. In that stage, the Daqing Spirit, “patriotism, pioneering, truth-seeking, and devotion”, gave off new glory in the new period.

Dazhai, an ordinary village in the region of Taihang Mountains, had 200 households, with a population of over 500. Though the natural environment there was harsh, yet the hardworking and brave people in Dazhai depended on no one but themselves. They obtained agricultural machinery, built irrigation networks, and became the model of struggling against harsh natural environment in that period. More importantly, as the people in Dazhai had their own living improved, they didn’t forget the nation. During that difficult period when grain output was generally low, Dazhai provided 875,000 kg of grain to the government for ten successive years. The pioneering and sacrificing spirit of Dazhai people significantly stimulated a nation-wide morale of striving for prosperity. The Dazhai Spirit became a valuable cultural-ethical wealth for Chinese peasants to solve the problem of food and clothing against harsh natural conditions during this difficult period.

In the 1980s, when facing a new situation of the world, the CPC adhered to the fundamental objective of “one center and two basic points” with economic development being the center and adhering to the four basic principles and adhering to reform and opening-up being the two basic points. On the relation between opening-up and independence, the CPC clearly stated that independence is not to seclude the country from the outside world, and self-reliance is not to blindly

³⁴C.F. *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping* (vol. 2), People’s Publishing House, 1994: 406.

oppose everything foreign. Adhering to independence and self-reliance is not closing our doors to seek domestic development, but to uplift the reform and opening-up to a higher level. Opening-up is the representation and creative development of the self-strengthening and pioneering efforts in Chinese nation's spirit. Self-reliance during the opening-up period endowed the traditional self-strengthening spirit of the Chinese nation with new content.

After entering the 21st century, China encountered a sudden disaster, and once again the whole world witnessed the power of its socialist spirit. In May 2008, a huge earthquake attacked Wenchuan in Sichuan Province. Facing this most destructive disaster in the history of the People's Republic of China, the Chinese nation got united, solidified, and braved the difficulties. Numerous heroic figures and touching stories have been recorded in this fight. They were the inheritors of the national spirit during the socialist period and demonstrated a great spirit in their relief work after the disaster.

2.4.2 Serving People with Heart and Soul

“Serving the people” is a magic key to the revolutionary victory led by the CPC. During the period of the New Democratic Revolution, Chinese communists always attached importance to the role of the people, and regarded it as the fundamental guarantee for obtaining success. Mao Tse-tung believed that, on the historical stage of China's democratic revolution, the revolutionary body advancing social and historical development are those thousands of millions of hardworking people. “Revolutionary impetus came from the proletariats, the peasants, and other social classes who are willing to fight against the imperialism and feudalism. All those are the revolutionary forces. Yet, among those people, the fundamental force and the revolutionary backbone are the workers and peasants who account for ninety percent of the nation.”³⁵ It is simply by depending on the power of the people that the CPC defeated the imperialist Japan, overthrew the regime of Kuomintang and founded socialist China.

Serving the people is also the tenet of the CPC. The outstanding article *Serving the People* by Mao Tse-tung was a speech made in memorial of Comrade Zhang Side. Mao Tse-tung attended in person the memorial service for a common soldier and called upon all the people to learn his spirit of serving the people. To learn from Zhang Side Spirit means to learn his spirit of obeying the needs of working without complaint, to learn his spirit of conducting well the job for the “interests of the people” in spite of “self-sacrifices”, and to learn his spirit of being honest, kind, and helpful to other people. How to win the support of the people? The only method is to be sincere in pursuing interests for the people, put the interests of the people at the top agenda, and serve the people with heart and soul. “Every member of the

³⁵C.F. *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung* (vol. 2), People's Publishing House, 1991: 562.

CPC should take serving the people with heart and soul as his or her responsibility all through their lives. All words and deeds by the members of the CPC must proceed in accordance with the best interest of the vast majority of the people, and with winning support of the vast majority of the people as the ultimate standard.”³⁶

Since the founding of the People’s Republic of China, numerous models and examples emerged. There were the vigorous heroes in the battlefields, and countless model laborers working at ordinary posts to “serve the people with heart and soul”. In 1960s, the lyrics of “learning from the model Lei Feng, and being loyal to the revolution and the Party” became popular among people, young and old, and spread across the whole country. In China, the name Lei Feng is closely related with “good deeds and good people”. Throughout his short life, Lei Feng extended his selfishness to numerous people and demonstrated a greatness in common deeds. After Lei Feng passed away, Chairman Mao Tse-tung issued an order “to learn from Comrade Lei Feng” on March 5th, 1963, and the date of March 5th was authorized as the annual Memorial Day for learning from Lei Feng. Lei Feng’s spirit of serving the people with heart and soul and being a permanently tireless servant of the people inspired the army, students, urban citizens and farmers one generation after another. Lei Feng Spirit, as a strong cultural-ethical force and a moral virtue, became an indispensable and important part of the socialist values.

Serving the people with heart and soul is the tenet of the CPC. Since the founding of the People’s Republic of China, numerous of excellent Party members and cadres such as Jiao Yulu and Kong Fansen emerged. They felt attached to the people, made sacrifices for the public, served the government for the people, sincerely implemented the CPC’s tenet of serving the people with heart and soul, and established glorious models for all cadres and people. After serving as the Secretary of the Party Committee of Lankao County, Henan Province in December 1962, Jiao Yulu, to change the poor and laggard situation in Lankao, organized and led all cadres and people by inheriting the excellent tradition of self-strengthening and self-reliance, struggled against natural disasters, addressed poverty and suffering of the people, and finally received such honors as “the Party’s Good Cadre” and “the People’s Good Servant”. Kong Fansen was the inheritor and promoter of the Jiao Yulu Spirit. Throughout his life, despite difficulties in his family, he served in Tibet twice. To improve the living of the Tibetan people and advance the economic development in Tibet, he stayed in the grassroots, carried out field surveys, explored ways to enrich the local people, contributed all his strength, and spent his life in implementing the selfless spirit that “the ultimate goal of a CPC member is loving the people”.

In the new period, excellent cadres who have been taking Jiao Yulu and Kong Fansen as their models emerged continuously. They kept in mind that “the power should be used for the people, the heart should be attached to the people, and the benefit should be earned for the people”. They honestly performed the tenet of serving the people with heart and soul and became symbols and marks of the

³⁶C.F. *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung* (vol. 3), People’s Publishing House, 1991: 1096.

socialist spirit in this new era. These heroic models and their glorious tales constitute the backbone of our times. The spirit of the era they lived in was converted into the strong force for national development, deeply nourished and shaped the minds of the Chinese nation, internalized into a part of China's national spirit, and finally became the cultural-ethical consensus of the Chinese.

2.4.3 Striving for National Rejuvenation

Since the founding of the People's Republic of China, the society in China has experienced two major changes. One is the establishment of the basic socialist system through creative socialist reconstruction by all peoples in China under the leadership of the first generation of the central collective leadership of the CPC with Mao Tse-tung as the core. The other is the opening of the socialist road with Chinese characteristics under the historical decision of reform and opening-up made by the CPC after the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the CPC. It has been verified that this road is one towards a socialist modern nation that is prosperous, strong, democratic, and culturally advanced, and one towards the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation.

The reform and opening-up is another great awakening of the CPC in history, which gave birth to the great creation from theory to practice in this new era. In the late 1978, the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the CPC was convened. During the session, mistakes in the so-called "Cultural Revolution" and "Left-Leaning" were completely corrected, the working focus of the Party and the government was shifted from class struggle to socialist construction, and the significant decision of implementing the reform and opening-up was made. Deng Xiaoping, the general architect of China's reform and opening-up, after examining the fundamental issue that "what socialism is and how socialist construction should proceed", pointed out that "reform is the second revolution". He answered those major questions concerning the Chinese nation's future and destiny such as how to build socialism, how to develop and solidify socialism in China, a country where economy and culture were relatively underdeveloped, in a quite systemic and scientific way for the first time. It is he who initiated the new historical era for building the socialism with Chinese characteristics.

The socialism with Chinese characteristics reflects the dialectic unity between the theoretical logic of scientific socialism and the historical logic of China's social development. The reason why the CPC and the Chinese people chose Marxism and socialism rests with the fact that: it is rooted in the realities of China; it reflects the Chinese people's will and value pursuit; it meets the needs of China's further development in the new era. As for what doctrine a nation implements, the key lies with whether the doctrine can address the historical issues the nation faces. In 1840, imperialist powers opened the gate of ancient China with artillery, and the isolated nation with the oriental civilization stepped over the modern threshold. However, at the same time, China also fell into a perishing crisis thereafter. During that period

when China was poor, weak and suffering from the invasion of foreign powers, various doctrines and thoughts were tried, but none of them saved China from the crisis, and none of them solved the issues concerning China's future and destiny. What kind of doctrine can save China? Where is the way-out for China? Chinese pioneering intellectuals found the way-out for China from the victory of the October Revolution in Russia, employed Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung Thought to lead the Chinese nation out of the long, dark era, and finally founded the People's Republic of China.

If it can be said that the first revolution under the CPC leadership saved the Chinese people from the fate of being slaved, oppressed, and exploited, and it realized the political "liberation", then, it is the reform as the "second revolution" that aimed to make the Chinese nation free from constraints of the old and rigid system and achieved complete "liberation" both economically and culturally. During these more than 60 years after the founding of New China, especially during these more than 30 years after the reform and opening-up, the Chinese people, following the reform and opening-up and the socialist road with Chinese characteristics, have carried out a great practice of rejuvenating the Chinese nation, and have obtained remarkable achievements, including significant uplift in economic and national strength, significant improvement to people's living standard, and unprecedented promotion of international status. History and practice both verified that reform and opening-up is the most vivid feature of modern China, and is also the most resourceful power of the CPC. The Chinese nation's great rejuvenation is closely related with the political destiny of China's socialism with Chinese characteristics, and adhering to building the socialism with Chinese characteristics is exclusively the right way towards the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation.

The socialism with Chinese characteristics embodies the compact trio integration of the road, the theory, and the system. The socialist road with Chinese characteristics is the inevitable road to realize socialist modernization of China and create a decent life for the people. The socialist theory with Chinese characteristics is the latest achievement of localizing Marxism in China, and is consistent with development, inheritance, and innovation of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung Thought. The socialist system with Chinese characteristics, both adhering consistently to the intrinsic quality of socialism and introducing experience from the history and the rest of the world, is the fundamental guarantee for China's social progress.

For such a densely populated nation, its most glorious and meaningful life lies in being devoted to the great efforts of building the socialism with Chinese characteristics. In China, the individuals' life path is closely related with the development of the nation, and there is a close relationship between the "basic conclusion" of building the socialism with Chinese characteristics and the "highest glory" of achieving the value of life. Building the socialism with Chinese characteristics and making China become a socialist modern nation with advanced culture and high-level democracy is the shared vision of all peoples in China in the current stage. This shared vision reflects the practical conditions and the needs of China's

society to seek development, shows the eagerness and fundamental interests of the Chinese people, and is concerned with the international status and destiny of China.

2.4.4 Establishing a Shared Understanding with Core Socialist Values

During the development and construction over the past 60 years, socialist China has solved the issues of providing clothing and food for 1.3 billion people, and the living standard of the general nation has reached a well-off level. In fields such as industry, agriculture, national defense, science and technology, China has stepped into a leading position in the world in multiple indexes. From 1997 to 2012, annual average of China's GDP growth reached 9.8%, uplifting China's total economy to the second largest in the world. China transformed from a low-income country to an upper mid-level income one.

In the political field, continuous improvement has been made to the system of People's Congress, the system of multi-party cooperation and political consultation under the CPC leadership, the system of regional autonomy of ethnic minorities, and the system of autonomy of local people. Socialist democracy, rule of law and the reform of political system have all been continuously advanced. Since the reform and opening-up, the CPC, by uniting and leading the Chinese people, has made significant progresses in developing and building socialist democratic politics. It adhered to the organic integration of the CPC being the leadership, the people being the masters of the country, and the governance being the rule of law, and successfully opened and carried forward the development path of the socialist politics with Chinese characteristics.

In the cultural field, the development path of the socialist culture with Chinese characteristics insisted on promoting the socialist culture, advancing its prosperity, enriching people's cultural-ethical life, strengthening their cultural-ethical energy, and building the socialist country into one with a strong culture. Since the 18th National Congress of CPC, the Central Committee has adhered to the governance concept of being people-oriented and human-centered, making the work of people's livelihood and the social governance as the fundamental missions for social development, and extending the fruits of reform and development to reach all people in a more equal way. At the same time, by following the concepts of respecting, conforming to and protecting the nature, China has launched the basic national policy of saving resources and prospecting the environment, incorporating ecological civilization into various aspects and processes of economic development, political construction, cultural building, and social development to build a beautiful China by enforcing the socialist construction of ecological civilization.

Facing the significant and remarkable changes since the reform and opening-up, Xi Jinping, the General Secretary of the CPC, pointed out that "there is a world of differences between new China and the one before 1949, and the one before the

Opium War.” At the same time, we are also aware that building the socialism with Chinese characteristics is an unprecedentedly cause, and it is impossible that the road ahead will be smooth. China’s socialism now is still in the primary stage, there are many confusing issues and difficulties to be addressed, and apprehension and treatment of many major issues are still in a continuously deepening process. As for the issue of social values, the reform of the economic system has also produced changes to aspects such as politics, culture, and society. During the developing process of the socialist market economy, people’s values are also evolving, and correspondingly, these social values are presenting a diversifying trend. In daily life, reasonable pursuit of wealth is no longer a subject being denounced. In production, what people pursue is generally the “maximum benefit”. Against this backdrop of the times, the Chinese people’s values and concepts are mostly oriented to personal interests, and the issue of how to actualize the ideals of their life and obtain happiness in their daily life. As values and concepts such as competition and efficiency are obtaining strengthening in the market economy, problems such as venality, hedonism, and money worship also begin to appear. Some people worship money in the defiance of conscience, responsibility, the law, and moral ethics, and thus bring about undesirable erosions to the society though the number of them is very small. For this phenomenon, Deng Xiaoping once argued that special attention should be paid to preventing a devastating tendency of caring only for local and individual interests rather than the interests of the nation and the people, to criticizing the decadent ideas such as harming others to benefit oneself and putting money above everything else, and to objecting anarchy and extreme individualism.

To answer the question of how to make true one’s life goals and live happily, we must realize that social issues such as favoritism, corruption and degeneration are still quite common. How to address the evolving values of the people is also an issue that we must face up to in the new historical period. From the perspective of history, the change of people’s values from being identical to being diversified is a destined progress. Since the change of the values expands the space for activities of the people, it provides multiple paths for them to realize their values of life. However, when a society presents a conflicting situation with diversified values, and different interest entities have varied value orientations, the social values would be in disorder or even conflicting, and the people would inevitably become confused and get lost among these diversified values. Such a situation indicates that China’s society in contemporary times requires a “banner” to form a consensus and to establish a system of core socialist values.

Nowadays, cultural exchanges among countries in the world are further expanding and strengthening, resulting in a situation that diversified cultures can coexist, and interact unprecedentedly. Facing globalization in economy and politics, multi-polarization, cultural diversity, and the continuously deepening of China’s reform and opening-up, and socialist market economy, the CPC timely launched the construction of the core socialist values to lead social thoughts with respect to differences and an inclusive attitude towards diversity, thus form the consensus on social thoughts to the maximum extent. The core socialist values are of a strong inspiring role in guiding the diversified social values to advance in the right

direction. As the guide for moral ethics, they are of a uniquely intrinsic appeal to and an external constrain on the public, being able to guide the people among the complex and conflicting values, to help them making wise decisions, to make proper value choices, and to establish and follow the common social virtues.

Every society entails its own corresponding type of values. The development of the socialist cause with Chinese characteristics requires the companion and support of core socialist values. These values that China is promoting include not only the national-level values of prosperity, democracy, civility and harmony that address the issues concerning what kind of a country should be built, but also the social-level values of freedom, equality, justice and rule of law that address the issues about what kind of society should be built, and also the individual-level values of patriotism, dedication, integrity, and friendship that address the issues related to civil moral ethics. The core socialist values at the national and social levels are not only the reflection of the quality of the socialist path with Chinese characteristics, but also are the commitment that China's socialist system makes to its people, the comprehension of human's destiny in the future, and the positioning of the developing direction of its history. Whereas, the core socialist values at the individual level for civil moral ethics are the ones for people's life, and for adjusting the person-to-person relationship and the relationship between individual and the society. These three parts are an inseparable unity to each other, and have different orientations in terms of nature and function. They, when combined together, constitute the backbone of China's national values in contemporary times.

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Chapter 3

The Values of National Development in Contemporary China



Prosperity, democracy, civility and harmony are, among all the core socialist values advocated in contemporary China, values proposed from a national perspective. Having experienced convulsions in history, China has embarked on an unprecedented period of development. The upholding of these values significantly demonstrates the will of the state, and presents the common conviction and aspiration of the Chinese people. Therefore, to put these values in practice, China will definitely pool together all the strength of its people, form a strong synergy to transform China into a place where all peoples live happily, and contribute to the development of the world.

3.1 Prosperity

3.1.1 *National Prosperity: A Dream Pursued for Over a Century*

Prosperity, to put it in a simpler way, refers to enriching the people and strengthening the country. Ancient China once formed two different ideals: one gave the top priority to developing the nation, which was advocated by the Legal School during the Spring and Autumn Period, and the Warring States Period (770–221 B.C.), when dukes waged wars to grapple for supremacy. As Guan Zhong, a well-known philosopher, politician and strategist during the Spring and Autumn Period, put it that:

“The greatest feat of an emperor is making a strong and powerful country. Only when their country is rich and their military is powerful, can the feudal dukes subject themselves to the reign of the emperor and the neighboring enemies are in awe of the authority of the emperor without any schemes of rebellion.”

While the other ideal deems that the richness of people should be the top priority because the concept of nation-centeredness put forward by the Legalists, though delivering results quickly, might rush to seek immediate benefits and fail to bring forth lasting prosperity. Therefore, it advocated that kings govern the nation in accordance with benevolence and integrity, put emphasis on righteousness, inspect on individual interests, and enrich the people. This ideal is a reminder of the political ideology of Confucianism, which had been regarded as the mainstream thought since the Han Dynasty (202–220 B.C.). As a result, sage emperors of all the ensuing dynasties took providing people a decent life as an over-riding task.

Guided by the idea of enriching the people first, ancient China was known as the strongest and the most prosperous country in the world. Historically, the aggregate economic volume of ancient China ever accounted for more than half of the global total and had had the biggest economic scale till the end of the 18th century. It is recorded that China's economy ascended to a considerably booming period during the Sui and Tang Dynasty (A.D. 581–907). For example, the West Market, which was located in the Daxing City of the Sui Dynasty, and in the Chang'an City of the Tang Dynasty, used to be the most famous global trade center back to that time. This market, built in the Sui Dynasty and thrived in the Tang Dynasty, covered around 107 ha (over one million square meters). It was thronged with merchants of over 220 industries, thus it was known as "the Golden City", the biggest and the most thriving business center, the most important global market and recreational center in the world at that time. Later, the West Market was in full flourish and even became the starting point of the Silk Road. It was therefore considered the earliest practice of international trade business. As time passed by, Bianjing, the capital city of the Northern Song Dynasty (A.D. 960–1127), with over one million population and rivers surrounding and outside the city, and land intersecting every direction, was not only the center of waterway and land transportation, but also of business and trade. The Scenery along the River During the Qingming Festival, drawn by the famous painter Zhang Zeduan of the Northern Song Dynasty, vividly unveiling the prosperity of Bianjing at that time. It was also at that time, the late 10th century, when ordinary Chinese people started to use Jiaozi, the earliest banknote. Therefore, China was the very first country that used paper money in trade. After the founding of the Yuan Dynasty (A.D. 1271–1368), the then government issued Regulations on Zhi Yuan Banknote, which was the earliest relatively complete regulation on currency in the world. During the 16th century and the 18th century, China was the largest exporter of commodities in the world, and the total volume of tea that China sold to British even outweighed the overall trade value of British to China. Among the top ten biggest cities that had a population of over 500 thousand throughout the world, six of them were in China. At the end of the Ming Dynasty (A.D. 1368–1644), Matteo Ricci (A.D. 1552–1610), a famous missionary from Italy described China in his book *China in the 16th Century: The Journals of Matthew Ricci* that "the material productions here are plentiful. The sugar is whiter and the cloth is more exquisite than those in Europe. People are graceful with delicate clothes, live a happy life, and are courteous in acts and elegant in speeches."

As for science and technology, ancient China made significant scientific and technological inventions, considerably impacting the production and life of people all over the world. Joseph Terence Montgomery Needham, a renowned expert of science history, wrote in the preface of his book *Science and Civilization in China* that “no civilization before the modern times can be more advanced and progressive than the Chinese one.”

The Main Scientific and Technological Inventions in Ancient China

Inventions	Inventors/origins	Time
The decimal system	Oracle Bones	1300 B.C.
Iron making	Unknown	513 B.C.
Hydraulic blast apparatus	Du Shi	A.D. 31
Paper making	Cai Lun	circa A.D. 105
Armillary sphere	Zhang Hen	early A.D. 200
Circumference ratio	Zu Chongzhi	A.D. 500–600
<i>An agricultural encyclopedia of the Qi country</i>	Jia Sixie	A.D. 533–544
Gun powder	<i>The Dream Rivulet Diary</i> by Shen Kuo	A.D. 700
The compass	<i>The Dream Rivulet Diary</i> by Slien Kuo	The 4th Century B.C.
Typography	Bi Sheng	Circa A.D. 1041–1048

Emperors of ancient China were very mindful of warding off the invasion of neighboring countries, with the purpose of ensuring the stability of the country and the security of their people. Ancient China’s national defense concept could be expostulated in a report submitted to an emperor by a general in the Western Han Dynasty (202 B.C.–A.D. 8) that “Those who intrude the Han Dynasty must be executed no matter how far away they are from”. However, people who are familiar with Chinese history will know that ancient China’s strategy of fighting foreign invasion can be summarized as: counterattacking intensely while expanding within a limited range, which means fighting back resolutely when in face of strong enemies, but ceasing fights after they retreat. On the whole, the ancient Chinese nation never found itself in the explosive expansion adopted by the western empires or Genghis Khan (1162–1267) after the conquering of major crises; instead it restricted its victory within an appropriate range. Therefore, the moderate attitude of the Chinese nation towards war deeply showcases its profound strategic perception and thoughtful view. *The Art of War*, China’s earliest and most well-known bible on military strategies and tactics, started with the idea that “the military issue is an overridingly important issue that closely affects the survival or downfall of the country, so it should not be overlooked”. Another book on war, the *Methods of Sima*, also stated that “even the strongest country will be toppled if it indulges itself

in wars; even people in the peaceful time will be in peril if they ignore the salient risks of wars". These are the best proofs that China has always had a sober attitude towards war and embraced peace.

Different from Europe, a mixed living area consists of countries with similar cultures throughout history, China is a big family with a common and stable civilization, which pursues that different cultures live in harmony while maintaining their own diversities, and cultural clashes should be treated in a benevolent way. Specifically, it objects to plunder the lands, customs and lives of the defeated. During the reign of King Zhao of the Qin in the Warring States Period, Bai Qi, an outstanding general, could conquer ten cities from the enemy in one single war, and finally forced the other six states to surrender. In the Battle of Changping, as the secret commander, Bai Qi led his army to kill 500,000 foes, creating a miracle of defeating the enemy when outnumbered in Chinese military history, and thus earning himself the title-the Master of War. However, due to his cruel and horrible deed of burying alive 400,000 defeated soldiers of the state of Zhao, he was condemned by orthodox historians and was erased from the list of honored generals. Those examples are very common in Chinese history. China's attitudes towards enemies in battles against foreign invasions, such as Yidi in the Spring and Autumn Period, Xiongnu in the Qin and Han Dynasty, Hunni in the Sui and Tang Dynasty, Mongolia in the Ming Dynasty, Manchu in the Republic of China, Japanese prisoners of war in the World War II, and American prisoners of war in the Korean War, and so on, all indicates that the humanitarian aura, a reflection of the Chinese civilization, should be advocated and remain as a gleaming torch in the world history. There might be some other voices saying that war is supposed to be cruel. But adhering to the humanity-oriented conviction, China will shun itself from falling into the hell of wars along with foes; instead it will steadfastly uphold civility and justice, so as to fight against formidable enemies bravely and dauntlessly at its perilous junctures. In contrast, Yasukuni Shrine in Japan defiantly honors the so-called heroes who are actually notorious human-slaughters in World War II, which reveals two totally different value systems in China and Japan.

At the end of the feudal society, China's conception about prosperity as reflected in "the pursuit of virtues should be prioritized, while wealth, despised" in Confucianism and "rank and riches are determined by the heaven", was no longer applicable to the then world. When industrial revolution emerged in British and western countries shifted from agricultural civilization to industrial civilization in succession, China was still immersed in the flourish of the bygone days and wrongly carried out the closed-door policy, leading to isolating itself from the increasingly advanced world. Since the Opium War in 1840, China had been gradually reduced to a semi-colonial and semi-feudal society. Ancient China, once witnessing its glorious day and self-styling as the Middle Kingdom, surrendered to the foreign invaders by ceding its territories and paying indemnities. For example, the Qing court paid 1 billion silvers to eight counties after it was defeated in the Siege of the International Legations in 1900-1901. Therefore, the complacency and pride deep in the heart of Chinese people were twisted as self-abasement and humiliation, which have been engraved on the mind of Chinese people and still impact them till now.

In face of the disasters never seen before, progressive Chinese intellectuals were awakened to learn from foreign countries and blazed trails to achieve national prosperity and strengthening. Wei Yuan, a politician and literati in the Qing Dynasty, was the first to advocate “resisting the west by learning from its technologies”. The then government officials, represented by Zhang Zhidong, Li Hongzhang and some other high-rank officials, centering on the basis of “taking traditional Chinese social systems as the foundation while the modern Western technologies as an approach”, launched Westernization Movement (1860s–1890s), which included starting a series of military and civil enterprise, setting up the navy, opening new types of schools providing western knowledge education, and sending students abroad. With these self-strengthening methods, China’s national industries witnessed a moderate development and its modernization stepped up. After the crushing defeat of the Qing government in the Sino-Japanese War of 1894–1895, bourgeois reformists, with Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao at its core members, started to popularize the new thoughts of reformation, proposing to learn from Japan to conduct reform and shift to adopt constitutional monarchy system. In 1894, the Qing court signed the unfair Treaty of Shimonoseki with the Japanese counterpart, compelling China to the edge of extinction. To retrieve the nation from perils, the then puppet emperor Guangxu, having drawing the suggestion of these reformists, launched the Hundred Days’ Reform in 1898, which asked for soliciting public opinions on public and adjusting government departments, encouraged ordinary people to start private business and to drive the growth of capitalism, and recommended to learn from the west. However, the short-lived reform, which only lasted 103 days, was dismantled under the subjugation of the real whip-hand the Empress Dowager Cixi, and was ended with the consequences that Emperor Guangxu was confined, Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao went in exile and people involved in this movement were either decapitated or prosecuted. The failure reveals that it’s in vain to initiate a reform only through learning superficial knowledge of advanced technologies and political system of the west rather than shattering the root of feudal system. China couldn’t possibly embrace a prosperous prospect like that.

The year of 1911 was an unusual and impressive time when revolutionaries launched Xinhai Revolution, bringing the over 2000 years of feudal absolute monarchy to an end, and the Republic of China was founded. Under the leadership of Sun Yat-sen, bourgeois revolutionaries hoped that “driving by industrial and commercial sectors, China will usher in a new stage”. So, they put forward China’s independent national capitalism through developing industry and commerce so as to it can seek national independence and prosperity. However, this way of self-saving was doomed to fail, for although it notably enhanced China’s economic and social growth and promoted national strength, yet this attempt did not eradicate the dominant feudal economy, politics and culture. After the Revolution, China sunk into chaos when the country was war-torn. Warlords fought against each other, and people suffered from persecution and lived amidst the most incredible savageries and miseries. During this period, Mao Tse-tung once remarked that “In a semi-colonial, semi-feudal and split country, a lot of people had in years dreamed to

develop industry, strengthen national defense, increase people's living standards, and enrich the country. The dreams, however, have never come true."¹

3.1.2 New China's Efforts to Enrich the Country

On October 1st, 1949, the People's Republic of China declared its founding. At the initial stage, China was confronted with economic collapses. Due to the long-time excessive issuing banknotes by Kuomintang, China found itself in a gravely colossal financial deficit, severe inflation and extremely chaotic market. Given all these factors, China faced multiple difficulties: the total industrial and agricultural production volume in 1949 was as low as 46.6 billion RMB, and the yield of major products all fell below the highest level of previous years; compared with the highest 900,000 metric tons steel output and 11.37 billion kilograms grain output per year before the founding of New China, the then production of steel and grain were only 158,000 metric tons and 10.81 billion kilograms respectively. In face of these grave challenges, the CPC formulated the general line at the transitional period, which meant China should achieve socialist industrialization step by step in a rather long time, and gradually attain the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicraft industry, industry and commerce. It was projected to spend 18 years to fulfill these tasks, but amazingly, China's economy recovered in 1952 to the same highest level before the founding of the New China. The four years from 1952 to 1956 witnessed a fast growth of Chinese economy, booming market, stable price and a marked increase of people's living standards. We owed these achievements over those four years to the assistance from the Soviet Union, and more to the "Three Transformations", for it motivated people to actively participate in production, and it met the requirement of production. Therefore, these transformations enabled China to complete a historical shift from a new-democratic country to a socialist country, to achieve the most profound and impressive social revolution, thus paving a solid way for the development of contemporary China.

In 1978, the CPC held a historical meeting, the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, making a great decision to shift the focus to developing economy, and to introducing the policy of reform and opening up, thus China ascended on a new stage of reform and opening up. It was at the 14th National Party Congress that China decided to turn the highly concentrated planned economic system into a dynamic socialist market economy, and to expand the closed and half-closed opening pattern to an all-round opening pattern. Thanks to the unremitting efforts over the past three decades, Chinese economy has registered an annual growth rate of 9.7%, its GDP has increased from 36.45 billion RMB in 1978 to 47.6 trillion in 2011, its per capita GDP has been on the rise from below 100 US dollars in 1978 to 4930 US dollars in 2011, and people have experienced notable

¹C.F. *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung* (vol. 3), People's Publishing House, 1994: 1080.

improvements in their livelihood from insufficiency to a moderately prosperous life. Currently, China has become the second largest economy, the biggest trader and the largest foreign exchange reserve holder, and the overall national strength has been raised by a big margin. Meanwhile, China contributes more than 20% against global economic growth, and is considered as an important engine and driving force to the global economy. All in all, China has experienced earth-shaking changes in all respects.

Percy Musca, the representative of Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations in China, mentioned that according to the report of FAO, from 1990s onwards, the number of people suffering from long-term malnutrition was reduced by 209 million, among which 138 million were Chinese, a rate that surpassed any other countries. Since 2004, China has seen the growth of grain output for the 10th consecutive year. At present, China maintains a stable and safe grain output no matter seem from its sufficient reserves or its consumptions, which is critical for the development of China and the stability of the global grain market. Actually, there are inadequate or inaccurate reports about China's impressive economic achievements and distinctive model of grain safety.

The enviable achievements made in China since the launching of its reform and opening up has intrigued many people to explore China's way of fast rising. China, in its endeavor to modernization, rejected the way of plundering global resources, gorily trading slaves and invading foreign countries, but chose to root in its own land. Therefore, it is the best way to promote its growth and maintain its stability and peace.

Although China has risen to the second largest economy in the aggregate economic volume, yet for a country with over 1.3 billion population, its per capita total volume is still very small. China's per capita GDP only ranks the 80th globally, and there are still 200 million Chinese people living in poverty according to the global standard. After more than 30 years' poverty alleviation and development, China is still faced with many tough problems: there are still difficulties such as drinking water, traffic, electricity, education, medical care, income increase and money-lending; it is harder to conduct poverty relief in poor areas due to their weak ecosystems and harsh environments; new problems surface in the process of development and must be solved through a faster development. Therefore, the 18th National Party Congress raised up new a requirement to completely building up a moderately prosperous society, that being: maintaining sustainable and healthy economic development; making breakthroughs in shifting the ways of economic development; on the basis of a more balanced, coordinated and sustainable development, China's GDP and the per capita income of urban and rural residents having doubled than that of 2010 by the end of 2020; China rising to an innovative country with science and technology considerably contributing to its economic growth; China achieving basic industrialization, making impressive progress in informatization, urbanization, modernizing agriculture, and constructing new socialist countryside, and building up a regional coordinate development mechanism; China being more open to the outside world and markedly strengthening its global competitiveness.

3.1.3 *Building a Strong Modern Country of Common Prosperity*

As Engels pointed out that when the whole society possesses means of production in the socialist country, “according to social production, we can not only ensure that every citizen live a better-off and more prosperous life, but also ensure that their physical strength and wisdom will be substantially and freely developed and employed.”²

Firstly, prosperity calls for emancipating and developing productivity. Socialism never means poverty but more production than that made by capitalism, and more affluent material and intellectual wealth for people. Deng Xiaoping, China’s the main architect of the reform and opening up, said that “from the perspective of historical materialism, a government cannot claim a correct political leadership without bringing about the development of social productivity and the improvement of people’s life. Socialism will lose its advantages if its productivity growth is slower than that of the capitalism in a long period.”³ Consequently, the CPC and the Chinese government bears in mind the conception of “poverty is not socialism and socialism needs to eradicate poverty”,⁴ shaking up some inherent obstacles that hinder people’s mind, giving top priority to developing productivity, hence increasing wealth and people’s living standards on yearly bases. Reform and opening up, as the only way to build socialism with Chinese characteristics and a strong, wealthy country, has delivered outstanding results in China: the annual economic growth has kept roughly a 10% rate for three decades in a row; incomes of urban and rural residents has increased by 30 times; while making progress in economic development, China only spent one decade in setting up the basic security system while western countries had spent nearly one century to do so; China has shared 70% of the global poverty relief within less than two decades. The amazing economic growth of China showcases the superiority of socialism with Chinese characteristics.

Currently, China is still confronted with a series of acute challenges: with its development being unbalanced, uncoordinated and unsustainable, its scientific and technological innovation being still weak, its industrial structure being flawed, and its economy developing being inefficient, its development in rural and urban areas being unbalanced, its income distribution gap between urban and rural residents still remaining large, and its social problems increasing apparently. To tackle these problems, the key is to deepen reform and opening up, further releasing and developing productivity and making greater achievements.

Secondly, to build a strong and prosperous country calls for common prosperity. Although liberating and developing productive forces hold the key to achieving

²C.F. *An anthology of Marx and Engels* (vol. 3), People’s Publishing House, 1995: 633.

³C.F. *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping* (vol. 2), People’s Publishing House, 1994: 128.

⁴C.F. *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping* (vol. 3), People’s Publishing House, 1993: 116.

socialism, productivity-oriented vision should be abandoned. Because socialism not only means the development of social productivity, but also means people should be in possession of the productivity and national wealth. During the course of development, China indeed has witnessed a widening gap between the rich and the poor. However, the CPC and the Chinese government stand firmly in believing that polarization is not socialism and the fundamental object of socialism is to achieve common prosperity for all people. Deng Xiaoping reiterated that “socialism is not featured with poverty but with prosperity, and socialism prosperity refers to common prosperity”,⁵ “socialism never means that a few get rich while the majority remains poor. The biggest advantage of socialism is common prosperity, which entails its essence”.⁶ The launching of reform and opening up aimed at enabling some regions and some people get rich first so that they can take the lead and help enrich others, and they finally realize the dream of common prosperity.

Common prosperity represents the aspiration of striking a balance between improving efficiency and upholding equity. Prosperity is the material basis of common prosperity, so it requires China to attach equal importance to efficiency and justice, and integrate the two in a better way. Giving top priority to efficiency can lay a solid material foundation and improve social productive forces; similarly, equity can keep us from falling into the extremely wide gap between the rich and the poor, and make the target of common prosperity come true. As a result, in the process of developing socialist economy, China must give particular attention to the balance of efficiency and equality and ensure the two can reinforce each other. At the 5th Plenary Session of the 18th CPC National Committee, the Party put forward a people-centered development vision, charting the course of pursuing an economic model featuring creativity, coordination, environment-friendly, opening and sharing.

Thirdly, prosperity demands building a community of shared future and shared benefits. In President Xi Jinping’s words, “Chinese Dream is a dream of high-lighting peace, development, cooperation and win-win outcome. It benefits both Chinese people and people around the world”. In the past, China suffered from repeated inroads and devastations, but Chinese people never stopped cherishing peace. As China has risen to prominence in the global arena since the launching of reform and opening up, Chinese people, having gone through turmoil and fighting, humiliation and protesting, now have a better understanding of peaceful development and win-win cooperation. Following ancient China’s development conceptions that “Being rich but showing arrogance; being powerful but not seeking hegemony” and “Do not impose upon others what you do not want to be done to yourself”, China now strives to build a shared community in which it can move forward together with other countries. As Deng Xiaoping said “China is not and will never be a super power.

⁵C.F. *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping* (vol. 3), People’s Publishing House, 1993: 265.

⁶*Ibid.*, 364.

“If China sometime becomes a super power and pursues big country chauvinism, invades and exploits other countries, it will be reasonable for other countries to claim China a socialist country in the character of imperialism, and expose, oppose and topple China along with Chinese people”.⁷

China has been working to build a community of shared destiny since the conception was firstly introduced by President Xi Jinping when he made a speech at the MGIMO in Russia. He repeatedly stressed that “We should get united as one”, and “We shouldn’t counteract each other but cooperate with each other”. China is building a community of shared destiny with some Asian and African countries. In 2014, China invested 40 billion US dollars to set up the Silk Road Fund, and before then, China had advocated to build Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank, which together manifests China’s global image as a responsible developing country. Rejecting the old path of being a colonialist country to accumulate wealth by plundering colonies, China, instead, chose the way of building a community with common future and benefits, and of adopting a diplomatic policy concerning neighboring countries that China should live in harmony with its neighboring countries, enrich them and stabilize them. By making use of the Silk Road Fund, China continues to advance the development of its neighboring countries by strengthening connections with them. In addition, China actively participates in the regional building with its capitals, technologies and capacities to enable its neighbors to share in the fruits of development and to realize common prosperity.

3.2 Democracy

Democracy is the consequence of political civilization, and the pursuit of all people. In pre-modern times, Chinese people strived to pursue democracy, constitutional monarchy system, parliamentary system and multi-party system, but failed eventually. Finally, they blazed a trail of pursuing democratic politics with Chinese characteristics. It is this path that gained extensive support from people, guided people to national independence and liberation, united Chinese people as one in its reform and opening up initiative, and helped to make economic and social progress.

3.2.1 *Democracy: The Choice of People and History*

Democracy, originally meaning “the rule of all people” in Greek, refers to a constitutional system where the majority of people are the masters of the country, which is opposite to monarchy, oligarchy and autocracy. The democratic paths and models take different features in light of different historic traditions, national

⁷C.F. *An Anthology of Deng Xiaoping* (vol. 3), People’s Publishing House, 2014: 355.

conditions and development phases. For example, British built constitutional monarchy system through reform on the basis of monarchy system; America set up federal presidential republic through revolution on the basis of immigrant culture; France developed a mixed system with both parliamentary and presidential features after revolution and repeatedly restorations. Therefore, it is safe to conclude that as an ideological concept or an institutional pattern, democracy is never abstract, absolute or stationary but concrete, relative and developing. The forms of democracy are closely linked to the social and historical conditions in which they are born, and deeply rooted in the soil of economic bases, historical traditions and national characters of the countries and societies.

At the end of the 19th century, western democratic thoughts were widely spread among enlightened Chinese intellectuals, and some ardent patriots pinned their hope on repealing the outdated social system through learning from advanced western technologies and political systems, but they failed to meet the projected targets in the end. Before the Opium War, Lin Zexu, a high-rank official of the Qing Dynasty, had started to organize people to translate and compile *A Record of Four Continents*, beginning to understand and study the western capitalist countries. During the Taiping Movement, a famous failed peasant rebelling against the Qing Dynasty and foreign invasions in the middle of 19th century, its leader Hong Xiuquan founded the Society of God Worshipers to preach doctrines of Christianity such as equality and mutual-assistance. In 1898, the crushed defeat of the Hundred Days' Reform compelled Chinese intellectuals to give up constitutional monarchy system and build an American-style republic state by revolution. Later on, Sun Yat-sen, the democratic revolution pioneer, drew for the first time a relatively complete capitalist republic blueprint, that being his "Three People's Principles"—nationalism, democracy, and the people's livelihood. To put it in a simpler way, nationalism means toppling the Qing court and founding an independent country through revolution; democracy refers to overthrowing the autocratic monarchy system and building a capitalist republic; people's livelihood is the equalization of landownership. The Revolution of 1911 subverted the reign of the Qing Dynasty and introduced some democratic rights in accordance with a series of decrees. Disappointingly, though the revolutionists overthrown the feudal emperor, they made concession with those feudal landlords and bureaucrats, which led to the northern warlords, Yuan Shikai easily stole the fruits of the revolution, and Zhang Xun, another warlord restored the monarchy system before he was exterminated. China was once again sunken into the chaos of separated regimes by the warlords. Liang Ji, the father of China's famous thinker Liang Shuming, and an official of the late Qing Dynasty, once placed high hopes on the democratic republic system but his hope was crushed by the relentless reality. He wrote that:

“During the congressional meeting, as long as congressmen from different provinces boarded the train, they were greeted by officers of different parties who waited at the exit of the train station with the signboards of their parties, and were hustled by those officers to accommodate them in their hotels. These congressmen, accompanied by those officers, firstly lived in the hotel of a party, promised to vote for the party with guaranteed benefits

and money, and then lived in another hotel of another party and consented to vote for this party if they had the same benefits. Consequently, these congressmen, after gaining all the benefits, voted for themselves instead.”⁸

As a result, democratic republic was just a flash in the pan in China.

From the above brief review of China's efforts to democracy, Chinese people studied the western progressive system ardently, assiduously and piously at that time, but the defeat of reformists and revolutionists also demonstrated that the then China was totally different from the pre-reformed British, Japan and America. As China's feudal system lasted for more than 2000 years and became so sophisticated and completed, the change of it must unavoidably be interfered with many interwoven interests. And the more stubborn the feudal power was, the more resistance the reform would encounter. Under the dual pressures of feudal regime and colonial invasion, China's national bourgeoisies, being weak in mind and not thorough in revolution, without the extensive support of the majority of people, could not save China.

The October Revolution in Russia brought about new hopes for Chinese people who were striving to make progress. In 1921, the CPC, China's Marxist political party was founded, which pushed forward a guiding principle to build a democratic government—an unbridled general voting system that ensures people's freedom rights to assembly, association, speech and press, and repeals security police acts and laws suppressing strikes. Moreover, to realize the democratic revolution and the objective of domestic peace and national independence, the CPC proposed to establish a united democratic front. It also implemented laws in safeguarding the rights and interests of workers, improving the conditions of farmers and promoting gender equality. In December of 1931, the CPC established the Interim Central Government of the Chinese Soviet Republic, enacting and promulgating the outline of constitution, land law and labor law and so on. It was the first attempt that put people's democratic theories and thoughts into revolution, and people were entitled with the democratic rights to assembly, association, speech and press, and had the power of discussing and deciding the political affairs of the state and locals for the first time.

In 1937, Japan launched an all-round war to invade China. In the face of this complex and serious situation, the CPC claimed to start a new democratic revolution in the purpose of forming a more extensive anti-Japanese nationally united front to ward off the invasion of Japan. At this time, Chairman Mao proposed that China must initiate democratic reform in two respects.

“On the one hand, the reactionary dictatorship regime manipulated by one party and one class of Kuomingtang must be replaced by the democratic system highlighting multi-party and multi-class cooperation. On the other hand, people's freedom of speech, assembly and association must be guaranteed. Without this freedom, the democratic reform in political

⁸C.F. *Book Series on the Historical Materials of Modern China* (vol. 34), Wen Hai Press, 1966: 354.

system will be doomed to fail. The democratic reform and people's right to freedom are essential to the nationally united front of resisting the aggression of Japan."⁹

Therefore, the anti-Japanese bases issued and implemented constitutional documents, ensuring diverse democratic rights of people. It also introduced the "three-three" system on the staff distribution of democratic departments, which meant that the communist members, the left progressives without party affiliation and the centrists all respectively accounted for 1/3 of the total population. As a result, party members and public figures without party affiliation could participate in the activities of people's representative bodies in outlying areas and the administration of these areas. The CPC also adopted different methods to vote in the reactionary bases: the literate electorates voted by ballot, those who were less literate voted by drawing circles and lines, and those who were totally illiterate by casting peas. Through these methods, people attained democracy never seen before in history. The democratic political reform carried out by the CPC enabled it to have rallied all forces that could be rallied and to have won wide concerns, supports and praises at home and abroad.

Democracy is the fundamental requirement of socialism, people's democracy is the lifeblood of socialism, and ensuring people to be the masters of the country remains as the essence and core of socialist democratic politics. In September of 1949, the First Session of Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference was convened in Beiping (now called Beijing), which promulgated the Common Program of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, in the character of an interim constitution, which was the first time to empower people legally to be the masters of the country. At the beginning of 1950s, local people's democratic government organs at all levels were established step by step, and the democratic reform of management systems was moved forward in an orderly way. In 1954, the first constitution of New China was promulgated, representing the establishment of People's Congress System across the board. From then on, especially since the reform and opening up, the CPC, upholding the positive experiences and drawing lessons from setbacks, guided Chinese people to pursue socialist democracy, which in turn enabled socialist democracy to be developed with great vitality.

The efforts to build a democratic system made by China in the modern times shows that the choice of democratic system must take the true conditions of the country into consideration, and rigidly imitating systems of other countries goes nowhere. The socialist democracy, being practical, vibrant and effective, rests upon that it has rooted in the soil of Chinese society and has experienced reviews and evaluations in reality. In a sense, the victory of Chinese revolution is equivalent to the victory of socialist democracy; socialist democracy is the source of power for China's development. All in all, socialist democracy is an inevitable choice of the Chinese history.

⁹C.F. *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung* (vol. 1), People's Publishing House, 1991: 256–257.

3.2.2 Extensive and Genuine Democracy

What's manifested externally should not be the only yardstick to judge whether a political system is genuinely democratic. A regime cannot claim that it is democratic simply because it implements the separation of legislation, jurisdiction and administration, the parliamentary system, the multi-party system and general election. In fact, it is easily manipulated by the rich and the plutocrats, leading to the scandals like the Guantanamo Prison, the wiretap of domestic and foreign intelligences disclosed by Snowden and so on. On the impending victory of the Anti-Japanese War, democrats like Huang Yanpei came to visit Yan'an, the central revolutionary base of China. Huang Yanpei asked Chairman Mao straightforwardly that "I am over sixty years old. What I have heard and seen cannot escape the historical periodic law that 'the thriving of the regime is swift and the downfall of it is prompt as well'. No individuals, families, groups, communities and even states can get out of the control of this law. At the beginning, everyone is on high alert and dedicated to everything. As things get better, people tend to slack themselves off, which may result from the tiredness of work over the long-hauling period. But if this lazy and neglectful atmosphere spreads out till it takes shape steadily, even the powerful force can hardly reverse and correct it." Chairman Mao replied seriously:

"we have found the path to hop out of the periodic law. The new path is democracy. Only when the government is supervised by the people, can it not be lax and slack. Only when everyone shoulders their responsibility, can we shun away national extinction."

Therefore, true democracy lies in the adequate reflection of the willingness of the people, the full accomplishment of managing the state and the complete safeguarding of legitimate rights. After taking power, the CPC set up the basic system of socialist politics, with both substantial contents and effective forms to guarantee democracy and to integrate the democratic principles with the realities of China.

3.2.2.1 The People's Congress System

Since the beginning of the New Democratic Revolution, the CPC had started to explore government systems in theories and practices. During the Agrarian Revolutionary War, we set up the Soviet congress system in all revolutionary bases; during the War against Japanese Invasions, we adopted the council system (such as county-level council and villager congress system); in the Civil War, administrative divisions adopted the people's congress system one after another. In 1953, China started to implement general election at community-level, and those deputies elected will participate in People's Congress grade by grade. In September 1954, the First Session of the First National People's Congress was formally held with 1226 people elected from provinces and groups participated in. This conference formulated and issued the first socialist constitution, the Constitution of the People's Republic of China. During its drafting and discussion for two months, 150 million people discussed and voiced their opinions. The Constitution, in the form of

the fundamental law of the country, stipulates that the People's Congress System is the form of our governance.

Implementing the People's Congress System is the most distinctive feature of China's socialist democracy. People's Congress, as the highest organ of power, exercises the state power, and applies the principle of democratic centralism that people all have the right to exercise powers and to address national affairs; all administrative, judicial and procuratorial organs of the state are created by the people's congresses for which they are responsible and by which they are supervised. These organs assume their duties and cooperate with each other, so they ensure that the country can manage all affairs well and effectively, and all powers belong to the people.

Over the past six decades, the People's Congress System has been consolidated and developed, forming the political system with unique Chinese characteristics, which ensures people's rights and freedom, effectively adjusts political relations, enables the government to pool strength for large undertakings, and safeguards national independence. It's been proven by the fact that this system that is in line with China's conditions is efficient. It demonstrates the nature of socialist country, ensures people to be the masters of the country, and helps to achieve the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation.

3.2.2.2 The Multi-party Cooperation and Political Consultation Under the Leadership of the CPC

During the Anti-Japanese War, the Kuomintang exercised its fascist-style one-party dictatorship. In face of the strained confrontation between the two political and military powers, to resist the dictatorship of Kuomintang, the democratic parties cooperated with the CPC, thus the multi-party cooperation and political consultation under the leadership of the CPC gradually started to take shape. When the CPC was ready to claim the victory of the Civil War, it called for the democratic parties, the people's organizations, and the elites from all walks of life to attend a political consultative conference, discussing and organizing a people's congress, and to establish a democratic coalition government, and this instantly got overwhelming support from them. The convening of the First Session of Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference in 1949 marked that a new type of party system featured with multi-party and political consultation under the leadership of the CPC was founded in China.

Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC), under the leadership of the CPC, with a broad social basis, is composed of the CPC, the eight democratic parties, personages without party affiliation, the people's organizations, the ethnic groups, the representative public personages from all walks of life and the representatives of compatriots of Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao as well as of those returned overseas Chinese and other members specially invited. There are the National Committee and local committees in the CPPCC. The National Committee serves for a term of five years and holds a plenary session every year.

The system of multi-party cooperation and political consultation under the leadership of the CPC is jointly created and developed by the CPC and other democratic parties in the long-standing process of China's revolution, construction and reform. It is attributable to the unremitting efforts and cooperation of the CPC and the other parties, and is a distinct and unique democratic form in Chinese democratic politics and has its special advantages in contrast with two-party system and multi-party system. The evident features are as follows: The CPC acts as the ruling party while, under its leadership, other parties participate in the discussion and management of state affairs, in cooperation with the CPC. Cooperative relations between the CPC and other parties are based on the principle of "long-term coexistence and mutual supervision, treating each other with full sincerity and sharing weal or woe." Second, the CPC and other parties share the same interests and objectives and are all devoted to the cause of building the socialism with Chinese characteristics. Third, the democratic parties take part in state administration, in consultations of the country's basic policies and guidelines and candidates for state leadership, and in formulation and implementation of state guidelines, policies, laws and regulations. Fourth, the Constitution of the PRC is the basic codes of conduct for the CPC and other parties. Within the scope of constitutional rights and obligations, these parties enjoy political freedom, organizational independence and equal legal status.

Democracy should not be a fictitious ornament, but should deal with problems people want to resolve. The system, with extensive democratic participation, pools the wisdom of democratic parties and public figures without party affiliation, helps the CPC and governments at all levels make decisions in a scientific and democratic way, and also balances the interests of all parties. It can also avoid the drawbacks caused by one-party ruling without adequate supervision, political chaos and social instability caused by multi-party grappling each other for power. The successful implementation of consultative democracy enriches the forms of democracy, expands the channels of democracy and deepens the connotations of democracy, making contributions to the development of human civilization.

3.2.2.3 China's Regional Autonomy of Ethnic Groups

There are many systems for multi-national countries dealing with ethnic affairs, such as the federal system, the confederation system and the democratic autonomy. As a nation with dozens of ethnic groups, China chose to adopt a regional autonomy of them. As Deng Xiaoping maintained, "To address ethnic issues, China implements the system of regional autonomy of ethnic groups rather than the federal system of democratic republic. We trust that our system is better and it is in tune with China's conditions."¹⁰

¹⁰C.F. *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping* (vol. 3), People's Publishing House, 1993: 257.

Up to now, 155 regional autonomy areas of ethnic groups have been established in China, consisting of five autonomous regions, 30 autonomous prefectures, 120 autonomous counties (banners). Ever since the founding of the five autonomous regions, sea changes have taken on in these regions. The GDP of the five regions created in 2013 increased markedly compared with that made in the year when they were established. For example, the Inner-Mongolia Region saw an increase from 530 million RMB in 1947 to 1691.65 billion RMB; the Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region from 329 million RMB in 1958 to 257.757 billion RMB; Tibetan Autonomous Region from 327 million RMB to 81.567 billion RMB; the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region from 1.2 billion RMB in 1955 to 844.383 billion RMB; the Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region from 14.6 billion RMB to 1444.99 billion RMB.

The following three reasons help explain why China had to take the system of regional autonomy for ethnic minorities: first, it conforms to the conditions and historical traditions of China, a centralized and united country over a long period of time; second, the patriotic spirit formed in the struggling against foreign invasions has laid the political foundation for this system; third, it is the reality their distribution pattern—some ethnic groups are spread nationwide, while some live in a concentrated communities—together with the disparities of sources and development between these regions make it possible for China to adopt this system.

Over the past six decades since the founding of New China, the system of regional autonomy of ethnic groups has played an essential role to the common development of all ethnic groups that minority regions have undergone tremendous changes and have registered significant progress in economy, politics, society, education, culture and health care. It has been proven true that China's system of regional autonomy of ethnic groups has accomplished its system construction in light of guaranteeing the diversity of ethnic cultures, the independence of national development and the unification of politic structure. As the system embodies the "integration of nations and regions, politics and economy, systems and laws, history and reality", so the system, on the one hand, upholds the cultural and historical traditions of China's national structure through exercising unitary system to reflect, consolidate and develop the national unification. On the other hand, it respects the diversity of our ethnic diversity and will advance the integration and development of all ethnic groups under the unified political circumstances in socialist China.

3.2.2.4 Basic-Level Democratic Self-government System in Urban and Rural Areas

Currently, China has established a basic-level democratic self-governance system, which includes the villagers' committee in the rural areas, the urban neighborhood committee in cities and the staff conference in enterprises, representing the most direct and broadest democracy practice.

Among China's 1.3 billion people, over half of them are rural residents. So, it is of great importance for China to build a political democracy to expand and develop

grassroots democracy in villages, so that the farmers can fully enjoy their democratic rights as real masters in their own villages. Self-governance by villagers has the following features. First, there is democratic election. Villagers can directly elect or dismiss members of the villagers' committees; second, there is democratic decision-making. All important matters concerning the villagers' interests are to be discussed at meetings of villagers or their representatives, and decisions are to be made according to the opinions of the majority; third, there is democratic management. In accordance with the rules of self-governance, which are vividly called the "minor constitution", the villagers' committees and villagers practice self-management, self-education and self-service. Fourth, there is democratic supervision. The villagers supervise the committee's work and the conducts of the village cadres through increasing transparency, democratic evaluation of village cadres, regular work reports by the villagers' committee, and the system of auditing the financial history of the retiring village cadres. The promotion of villagers' self-governance have greatly aroused the enthusiasm, creativity and sense of responsibility of the broad masses in rural areas to act as the masters of their own affairs, thus opening up a new chapter in the building of political democracy in China's villages.

The urban neighborhood committee is a mass self-governance organization of urban residents in the management of public affairs in neighborhood. In terms of democratic election, it breaks down the limitations on regions and social identity, continuously enhancing the extent of democracy. In terms of decision-making, the residents of a community, as the mainstay in this respect, exercise their decision-making power by holding residents' meetings, consultative conference and hearings, and through other effective forms and channels. In the aspect of democratic management, the neighborhood committee works in line with the community residents' regulations of self-governance. In the aspect of democratic supervision, all issues of public concern, difficult problems, and important matters concerning the residents' immediate interests should be made public to the residents in a timely way. The system of conference of workers and staff is a basic system protecting the democratic rights of people in work. The system was widely promoted in the whole country after 1957. By September 2011, 2.781 million enterprises and public institutions have established the staff conferences, and this system plays an irreplaceable role in exercising democratic management, coordinating labor relationships, guaranteeing the legitimate rights and interests of employees and promoting reform, development and stability in enterprises and public institutions.

From the above introductions and analyses of China's democratic system, we can say that in China, enabling people to be the masters of the country is never empty talks, but gives them genuine rights. Enjoying democratic rights not only means that people have the right of voting, but also means that they can consistently participate in political life. China's democracy system guarantees that people can participate in democracy, enjoy wide and real democratic rights, forms a mechanism that people can play a part in state management and governance at all levels, and pools wisdoms and powers that drive forward social progress. As Deng Xiaoping said,

“There are three preconditions that can tell if a country’s political system, structures and policies are rightly established: if the political situation remains stable; if it can increase the unity of people and improve people’s life; if its productivity develops sustainably.”¹¹

According to these three criteria, China’s democratic political system is successful and conforms to China’s conditions and people’s interests, for it ensures the social and political stability, regards people as the masters of China and injects endless dynamism and vitality for the rejuvenation of the Chinese nation.

3.2.3 People Are Allowed to Enjoy Democracy in a Wider Scope

A constantly developing society should be increasingly democratic, which meets the demands of national development and lives up to people’s expectation. As China is striving to explore and make innovations in democracy, we ensure that more and more people are able to participate in social management and can decide the progress of social development through continuously reforming the political system.

3.2.3.1 To Improve and Develop Socialist Democracy, We Need to Uphold the Leadership of the CPC

As a country with a vast territory and a population of 1.3 billion that consists of 56 ethnic groups and speak over 80 languages, China’s national conditions are complicated. Since it is difficult to ensure people’s interests broadly, it is essential to require a strong political core that represents the fundamental interests of the most majority of them to extensively motivate, lead and organize people, to control national power, to manage national and social issues and other undertakings well. The leadership of the CPC is of paramount importance to achieve socialist democracy, because in such a large country, without its leadership, it seems impossible to either unite the whole nation or develop democracy.

After achieving national independence and the launching of reform and opening up, the CPC has never failed to live up to Chinese people’s expectations, and never stopped pushing ahead. In the new period, in face of existing achievements and inadequacies, the CPC, rather than being arrogant in prosperity or being downcast in adversity, remains its political determination and insightfulness, strengthening and correcting its self-construction, doing its utmost to combat corruption, remaining committed to take its own path, decidedly improving and developing the socialist system with Chinese characteristics, and advancing the modernization of national management system and national capacity. As president Xi Jinping pointed

¹¹C.F. *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping* (vol. 3), People’s Publishing House, 1993: 213.

out: “we need to improve China’s national management system, and we must have solutions and resolutions concerning how to improve it. Under the leadership of the CPC, Chinese people will be confident to embrace the future, and the cause of reform must be steadily pushed forward.”

3.2.3.2 Adhering to and Improving All Democratic Systems so that People Can Live a Dignified Life

The guidance of theories is essential for a country to become the front runner of the times, and the explorations and practices are critical for a party to innovate its theories. Nowadays, China’s reform is in full swing, injecting momentum to the development of China and helping people to realize their dreams. The CPC and the government strive to expand people’s democracy, improve democratic systems, enrich democratic forms and widen democratic channels and help people orderly participate in politics at different levels and areas. Efforts are made to make decisions in a scientific and democratic manner, to ensure people have the rights of democratic vote, decision-making, management and supervision, and to further protect their rights to know, participation, expression and oversight. They also respect and safeguard human rights, ensure all citizens can equally participate in and prosper in accordance with law. Furthermore, the Party and government take solid steps to solve the most practical problems of the utmost and immediate concern to people, and spare no effort to ensure that all the people enjoy their rights to education, employment, health care, elderly care, and housing so that they will live a better and more dignified life.

China will take further steps to stick to and improve the people’s democratic system and the people’s representative system, better represent people’s determination and preserve their interests through performing their duties in legislation, decision-making, implementation and supervision works. We will also promote socialist consultative democracy system, improve its institutions and work mechanisms and promote its extensive, multilevel, and institutionalized development, uphold and improve the multi-party cooperation and political consultation under the leadership of the CPC, consolidate and develop the broadest possible patriotic united front. We should improve the system of regional autonomy of ethnic groups, sustain the goal of all ethnic groups working together for common prosperity and development, speed up the development of ethnic minority areas, and consolidate and develop socialist relations of equality, unity, mutual assistance and harmony. We should improve community-level democracy, focus on expanding orderly participation, promote transparency in public information, improve deliberation and consultation on public affairs, strengthen oversight of the exercise of power, broaden the scope and channels of self-governance, enrich its contents and forms, so that we can make sure people have greater and more tangible democratic rights.

3.2.3.3 Rule of Law Is Regulating Chinese Society in an Imperceptible Manner

Law-based governance is of overriding importance to the development of socialist democratic politics with Chinese characteristics.

“To develop people’s democracy, we must adhere to rule of law, uphold the authority of the Constitution and other laws, institutionalize and legalize democracy, and make sure the systems and laws will not be changed by the change of leading officials and the change of the views and attentions of these leaders”, said Xi Jinping in his *Speech at the Celebrations for the 60th Anniversary of the Founding of the National People’s Congress*.

In 2014, the importance of rule of law was highlighted by the Fourth Session of the 18th CPC Central Committee, which was the first CPC Central Committee with the theme of rule of law. It means that the construction of law-based governance is marching ahead and stepping into a higher level after 18 years when this basic concept of running the country was proposed.

Socialist laws reflect the interest and the will of the people. They are defined and confirmed through certain procedures by the people, and will not be changed by the wills of the minority. We need to make laws in a scientific way, enforce laws strictly, administer justice impartially, and ensure that everyone abides by the law. We must make sure that there are laws to abide by, all are equal before the law and that laws are observed and strictly enforced and lawbreakers are prosecuted. No organization or individual has the privilege of overstepping the Constitution and other laws, and no one in a position of power is allowed in any way to take one’s own words as the law, place one’s own authority above the law or abuse the law. Since the 18th CPC National Congress, we take a series of major measures, such as “putting the power into the cage of regulation”, “legislating in a more scientific and democratic way”, “ensuring every major reform is carried out in accordance with the law”, “enabling every people is treated equally and justifiably in every judicial case”. These measures inherited the philosophy of running the country by the CPC, and also are the innovative developments in the face of new situations, challenges and tasks. We abide by the two engines—“rule of law” and “reform” that drive forward the development of China. We tend to reform to break down the fence of interests, defuse conflicts and frictions, stabilize the society through rule of law, and mitigate the pain brought by transformation and update. According to these, we can fundamentally get adapted to the new normal and push forward the modernization of China. We will jointly promote the law-based government, run the state and exercise government administration in accordance with the law. We will advance the integrative building of law-based country, government and society. At present, rule of law is becoming a bound tying the social communities, standardizing the conducts of people, consolidating the core socialist values and safeguarding national safety and social stability.

3.2.3.4 Changing the Functions of the Government and Improving the Mechanism of Supervising the Exercise of Power

To take the path of socialist democratic politics with Chinese characteristics, we need to stick to the basic socialist political system and reform the leadership and management systems. During the process of social development, certain political systems may tend to be incompatible with the fundamental political system, and this entails us to adjust and reform them in light of realities. Pursuing the basic socialist political system, the CPC confronted challenges, and took the initiative to reform its political systems. Since the reform and opening up, Chinese government bodies have conducted seven major reforms in 1982, 1988, 1993, 1998, 2003, 2008 and 2013. The departments of the State Council have been reduced to 18 from 100 in 1981, and the framework of government bodies consisting of macro regulations, social services and management of socialist market economy has been built up, thus the problem of government departments with overlapping functions has been solved. After these adjustments and reforms, the government has strengthened its basic role of distributing resources in the market and it therefore has more time and energy to perform the duties of social management and public service.

While reforming the functions of the government, strengthening the mechanism for conducting checks and oversight over the exercise of power meets the demands for deepening the reform of political system and developing socialist democratic politics. It is important for the exercise of powers to protect people's right to stay informed of, participate in, express and as well as the rights to oversight. We must solicit people's views whenever we make a decision involving the immediate interests of them. We must not do anything that may harm the interests of people, and must correct our action that causes damages to their interests. China is proactively building and improving the structure of power and its exercising a mechanism that the right to decision-making, execution and oversight are mutually supervised and mutually coordinated. We will make the exercise of power more transparent and standardized, and increase transparency of the Party, the government and the judicial operations and official operations in other fields. We will improve the systems of inquiry, accountability, economic responsibility auditing, resignation and dismissal. We will tighten internal-Party, democratic and legal oversight, and the oversight through public opinion to ensure that people oversee the exercise of power and that power is exercised in a transparent manner.

3.3 Civility

Civility is an important symbol of social progress and an important feature of socialist modernized country. Human civility is diversified, and different civilities have their own shining points, and will become more diverse through exchanges and communications.

3.3.1 Civility: A Significant Symbol of Social Progress

Ever since human beings went through the anthropoid period and started the slash-and-burn cultivation, the seed of civility has begun to sprout and grow on the earth. With the elapse of time, people are changing their mindsets in a subtle way during the process of remolding the nature. These changes, just like the growth rings of global development, have been recording the profound developments brought about by civility.

3.3.1.1 The Progress of Material Civilization Is Reflected by Numerous People and Plentiful Products

“Only those who have full barns will learn about manners, and only those who are well fed will have a sense of dignity.” It is true that only with abundant material civilization, can the cultural-ethical standards and the society go through a thorough change. Living in comfort is an ideal pursued by people, and devoting to the development of material civilization is the way turning this ideal into reality. Throughout human history, it is obvious that the change of social forms is in step with the advancement of material civilization.

As for material civilization, we had blooming periods but also went through famines to the point that “skeletons are exposed in the wild and the sound of birds is never heard within thousands of miles”. At the age of material deprivation, people could do nothing but moan desperately that “it is better to be a dog in peace than a man in turbulence”. From the flourish of “Zhenguan Period” and “Kaiyuan Period” in the prosperous Tang Dynasty, the thriving Capital Bian Liang depicted in *The Scenery along the River During the Qingming Festival*, and the development of the “Golden Ages of the Qing Dynasty in the Reigns of Kang Xi and Qian Long”, we can see that the development of material civilization can make profound changes of the society and feel the cultural-ethical situation of the period with numerous people and abundant products. Since the reform and opening up, we have been aware of the importance of material civilization for social development, hence we put forward the “economy-oriented” development philosophy, and remain committed to the overall development of national economy and the continual improvement of people’s livelihood. In 2015, the GDP rose to 67.7 trillion yuan, representing an increase of 6.9%, grain output increased for 12 consecutive years, and per capita disposable income increased by 7.4% in real terms. These achievements are the results of the efforts of our people and reflect that we are moving on to achieving the prosperity of our country. On the basis of material progress, China is undergoing profound changes.

3.3.1.2 Cultural-Ethical Progress Helps People Foster a Sense of Belonging

Material progress is to resolve problems of subsistence concern, and social development relies on cultural and ethical progress. Therefore, the development of society is closely related to cultural-ethical progress. Facts in the west and China can prove this. The prosperity of the Ancient Greece and Rome, the darkness of the Middle Ages, and the thriving of the Renaissance demonstrate that the western cultural-ethical progress impact material development in a lumpy way, and they also provide facts that help us thoroughly understand the western society. While in China, the social phenomenon of “hundred schools of thoughts contend” in the Spring and Autumn Period and the Warring States Period, the tyranny of “burning Confucian classics and burying Confucian scholars” in the Qin Dynasty, and the booming of the Tang and Song Poetry depict us the tortuous development of Chinese civilization, and help us deepen the understanding for its development. In a word, advanced culture and ethnics is the yardstick of social development that marks the degree and quality of social development.

Pushing forward cultural-ethical progress is very important for the building of a moderately prosperous society in all respects. Promoting socialist cultural-ethical progress not only raises the scientific and cultural standards of the people, supports material development and modernization drive with science and intelligence, but also improves the ethical and moral standards of people, guides people to accept the basic national economic systems and political systems and to foster a correct worldview, outlook on life and sense of values, giving the people a sense of belonging. To this end, the Chinese government has ramped up investments to improve the ability of scientific research and capacity of ideological innovation. It has also carried out various public activities to enrich people’s cultural life and to enhance their mental cultivation. The vigorous conduct of public activities to promote cultural-ethical progress, such as the building of civilized cities, towns, sectors and units, helps transform cultural-ethical progress into real social activities that people can feel and participate in.

3.3.1.3 The All-Round Material Development and Cultural and Ethical Progress Constitute Important Parts of a New Social Development

Material progress and cultural-ethical progress reinforce each other, meaning that their development never conflict. The new material progress we expect to achieve is not a lop-sided development that “fishing for money at the expense of environment damages” but “striking a balance between economic development and environmental protection”; the new cultural-ethical progress we expect to achieve will not be done in a cramming method which upholds “emphasizing attitude rather than rationality”, but a kind of generative development featuring “encouraging competition and innovation”. Only by pursuing material progress and cultural-ethical

progress simultaneously, can the social state of China be changed, and can China do its own part to the advance of the global civilization.

To avoid problems brought by lop-sided development, China has implemented the overall plan for promoting economic, political, cultural, social and ecological progress, integrated material, cultural-ethnic, political, social and ecological progress and redoubled its efforts to develop a new philosophy of development focusing on innovation, balance, environment-friendliness, opening and sharing, changing in an all-round way the social state of China. Only by pursuing this kind of new development which is full of vigor, can we build a real harmonious society, correctly handle the problems faced in the process of modernization drive, and ensure that China is taking on the path of development that leads to increased production, prosperity and a good ecosystem.

3.3.2 Passing the Torch of Chinese Civilization

With a long history and a splendid culture, China urgently needs and aspires to strengthen its socialist civilization building.

3.3.2.1 The Cultural Achievements in Chinese History Has Laid a Solid Foundation for China's Social Development

Looking back on history, we can see that the cultural creations and achievements of the Chinese nation has not only demonstrated China's social development, but also exerted significant impact on the development of world civilization.

These excellent cultures of China have bred excellent ideological concepts and cultural-ethical creations for the whole world. Traditional Chinese culture, especially the formation and development of its core thoughts, have gone through several different periods ranging from the contending of various schools of thoughts in the Pre-Qin Dynasty, the prevailing of classical studies in the Han Dynasty, the popularity of metaphysics in the Wei, Jin, Northern, and Southern Dynasties, the co-existence and development of Confucianism, Daoism and Buddhism in the Sui and Tang Dynasty, to the development of idealistic Confucian philosophy in the Song and Ming Dynasties. Therefore, there are several schools of thought, with Confucian, Daoist, Legal, Mohist, Militarist, Logician, and Yin-Yang schools as their representatives. Each school, in its own way, draws the blueprint for the development of Chinese culture. Some thoughts, like Confucius' "the benevolent love others", Lao Zi's "the Dao follows natural laws", Xun Zi's "rule by virtue", have deeply influenced the later generations. Of particular ones, the thought of "abolishing all schools of thoughts while revering Confucianism" proposed by Dong Zhongshu in the Han Dynasty, defines the direction of Chinese culture. The contributions of Chinese culture have also earned the approval of the whole world. That's why the statues of Lao Zi, Confucius and Huineng are among those top ten

thinkers of the world standing on the square of the British Library. And Confucius tops the list of those top ten thinkers ranked by America's Dictionary of World Celebrities and Britain's the People's Almanac. These mean that Chinese culture has deeply influenced the ideological and cultural development of the whole world.

There are a number of outstanding literature classics in the traditional Chinese culture. Chinese nation is usually depicted as being poetic, the representative image of which is that a man wearing a high hat and broad girdles with his clothes floating, sings songs while plays the zither, or roves all over the world with a sword. Both the power-house voice of labor chanting and the shallow and low chanting of poets become fertile soil for Chinese culture to take roots and sprout. It is recorded in The Book of Songs the regional folk songs and imperial music in the categories of Feng (Regional Songs), Ya (Odes) and Song (Hymns). To create these excellent poems in the Book of Songs, three artistic methods, Fu (Narration), Bi (Comparison) and Xing (Association) play an important role, which pioneers the development of poems. Besides, the magnificent Han Dynasty Ode, sublime the Tang Poetry and the Song Ci, the sarcastic Yuan Qu, and the novels in the Ming and Qing dynasties that reveal the reality of the then society, are all very important works in Chinese culture. These works, far from fading away with the elapse of time, rather they, like brilliant pearls, are dazzling in the development of history. Therefore, the creation and spread of these cultures become an eye-catching sight of Chinese culture.

Traditional Chinese culture has not only contributed in terms of great inventions and creations to the world, but also witnessed the development of the world itself. Although Chinese culture champions for ideological development and cultivation of nobility, yet it never means we don't have scientific and technological development and contributions. "The Four Great Inventions" (papermaking, printing, gunpowder and the compass), the calculation of Pi, the invention of seismograph, the discover of obliquity of the ecliptic, the Dujiangyan Irrigation System, and the Zhaozhou Bridge, are all outstanding achievements of Chinese culture that have helped advancing scientific development in the globe. The Qin bricks and Han tiles, the tri-colored glazed pottery of the Tang Dynasty, the Mogao Caves, the Palace Museum, and the Scenery along the River During the Qingming Festival all represent traditional Chinese culture and have been capturing the attention of people in the whole world. When foreigners come to China for the first time, most of them will visit the Palace Museum and the Great Wall, feeling the mystery of the erstwhile Forbidden City, and sensing the proudness of climbing up the Wall. These constitute indispensable parts of global culture and Chinese people take pride in them.

3.3.2.2 Contemporary China's Efforts to the Cultural-Ethnical Progress Promote the Continual Development of Chinese Society

As a country with a long history and full of dynamism, China's traditional culture is still vigorous at present. Since the founding of New China, especially the reform and opening up, China assumes its dual tasks and missions in the process of civilization development. While registering economic development by a wide margin, achieving the great mission of national renewal, China needs to reach a new stage in fostering stronger observance of socialist cultural and ethical standards, establishing the development direction of cultural-ethnical progress at the age of diverse symbiosis.

China's fine traditional culture has been passed on from generation to generation, and is bestowed new dynamism by the encouragement of good family traditions. Against the backdrop of globalization, it is the best way to the heritage of traditional Chinese culture and the best answer to the problems of the times according to combining the essences that have ever exerted positive and profound influence on the development of Chinese culture with fashionable elements so that they can influence social development in a positive way. No matter how big or small the good deeds are, we can still feel what "standard" is through the rich connotations behind them, and feel closer and more pride to the conducts our ancestors once abided by. This is what we need to do for promoting China's cultural-ethnical development.

The improvement of social civic morality markedly demonstrates the progress we have made in strengthening socialist values. More people are coming to realize the benefits that "order" brings to us after the "Queuing Day" was established; people have got used to regard "respecting others" as their code of conducts with the constraint of the "one-meter line" in queuing. When more and more people know and willingly quit littering and making noises in public places, offer help to the disadvantaged, promote the trending thought that "when disasters strike, helps come from all around the country", and denounce bullies and mistreats, we can be so proud of the society we live in.

3.3.2.3 To Further Foster Stronger Observance of Socialist Cultural and Ethical Standards Is Critical to the Further Development of Chinese Society

China was bred in the development of its civilization, and its further development needs the push from its civilization. In Ten Points of Deliberation Recommended to Emperor Taizong wrote by Wei Zheng in the Tang Dynasty, there is one that says "A tree has to strike a firm root before it can flourish; a river has to have a fully dredged source before it can flow unceasingly far; a country has to encourage morality and integrity before it enjoys peace and stability". This saying is also helpful for us to seek cultural-ethnical progress. Poverty is not socialism and

pursuing material development but forgoing intellectual-cultural pursuit is not socialism too. Currently, it is more urgent for China to pursue cultural-ethnic development.

Making continual efforts to promote cultural-ethnic progress is critical for the renewal of the Chinese nation. To realize the dream of national renewal, we need to build China into a civilized country, implement a host of tasks of cultural-ethnic progress, and redouble efforts to the flourish and development of culture. Only by doing so, can Chinese civilization exert its positive impact on global civilization.

Making continual efforts to promote cultural-ethnic progress is central to update the image of China too. As notable progress has been made in China, more and more Chinese people have the opportunities to go abroad, and the images of Chinese people are also elevated with the promotion of socialist culture and ethics. But there is no denying that some uncivilized behaviors are still humiliating us. For example, phenomena like “engraving on relics”, vandalism, and “Chinese-style jaywalking” all reveal that some people are not fully aware of what’s civility and are still in lack of it. To promote cultural-ethnic progress, we must face up to these problems and strive to cope with them so that we can raise the level of civility of our citizens and keep elevating the image of China.

Making continual efforts to promote cultural-ethnic progress is also important to overcome problems hindering our development. The civilized life we are in pursuit of and hope of is part of living with dignity. There is no denying that due to the restrictions of realities, there are unavoidably uncivilized phenomena, which becomes the bottleneck of building a civilized China and holds back the development of the society. Some problems like traffic jams caused by overpopulation, unbalanced development caused by the scarcity of the average per capita resources, smog and other environment problems are all restraining China from becoming a civilized country. To tackle these problems, we need to promote balanced development between material progress and cultural-ethical progress. For example, although the advancement of high-speed railroad does not tally solve the problem of Spring Festival travel rush, yet its invention and fast development has mitigated the pressure of national traffic in a large extent.

3.3.3 Promoting Chinese Civilization

The Chinese people are redoubling their efforts to promote their civilization. This time-honored nation is standing rock-firm among all the nations in the globalized world, and its great culture, having been through protracted and arduous struggle, is marching to the renewal of China. At this new stage in the 21st century, China will fully implement the overall plan for promoting economic, cultural-ethnic, political, social, and ecological progress, elevate the degree of civility in the whole society, and finally bring China into a highly civilized country.

3.3.3.1 The Strategy of “Four Comprehensives” Helps Orienting National Governance

At present, China is faced with reforms and opportunities never seen before, and also with unprecedented challenges and pressures. In such a background, the 18th CPC National Congress put forward to build a moderately prosperous society in all respects as a strategic task. The Third Plenary Session of the 18th CPC Central Committee carried out the general objective to comprehensively strengthen reform, and the Fourth Plenary Session of the 18th CPC Central Committee called for fully implementing rule of law. Together with the principles of comprehensively strengthening the Party discipline, the four principles form the Four Comprehensive Strategies for national governance. This strategy will serve as the basic guideline for social development and cultural progress.

Having reviewed China’s development, we set forth the Four-pronged Comprehensive strategies. Since the reform and opening up, especially since the 18th CPC National Congress, new progresses have been made in economy, politics, culture and social development. The corruption combating campaign that “cracking down both tigers and flies” has shown ordinary people the determination of the Party and government to terminate wrongdoings and foster a good atmosphere of practicing integrity. As cultural and ethical progresses are made, more and more people have a better understanding and recognition to the implementation of this strategy, which, to some extent, lays a solid foundation for the change of social morality. As the social atmosphere is being improved and changed, the problems we have been vexed with will be addressed with the implementation of the strategy.

3.3.3.2 Fostering and Practicing Core Socialist Values, and Constructing a Cultural-Ethical Home for the Chinese

A country will be strong only when her people have faiths. To push forward the development of China, we must take core socialist values as the fundamental guidance of the people to national construction and social life, and ensure that every citizen knows the meaning of these core socialist values for social development, and knows that these values are closely linked to our life. Only by doing so, can core socialist values become the cultural-ethical their belief and guide them to take actions. To this end, we need to practice core socialist values, incorporate the publicity of them into national education and cultural-ethical progress, learn from role models, and publicize their exemplary deeds. Besides, we also need to combine fostering core socialist values with the experience we have got from reform and opening up, and with the goal of building a moderately prosperous society in all respects, so that we can have a consensus and cultural-ethical support with the aid of a common sense on these values.

However, fostering and practicing core socialist values do not simply mean reciting them. The implementation of these values shouldn’t be evaluated in such rigid ways like reciting. Publicizing core socialist values should not rely on

indoctrinating them but on treating them as sauces or salt added to our dishes so that they can help increase their flavors and make them more delicious and healthy. On the contrary, if people eat nothing but salt, it will not be healthy at all.

3.3.3.3 More Efforts Should Be Made to Carry Forward Fine Traditional Cultures and to Extend Their Vitality

The Chinese nation has created splendid civilization in history and made great contributions to global civilization. Chinese culture, having stood the test of history, is the source for the ever-lasting development of the Chinese nation. We cannot possibly realize the Chinese Dream without inheriting and developing our civilization, upholding and promoting the fine Chinese cultures. As a result, we must, in line with the need of the current society, fully inherit and make innovative development of the essence of our traditional culture, and make sure the bloodline of our culture will be kept vibrant at the new times.

At present, the renaissance and the increasingly popularity of traditional Chinese culture, together with other activities with the theme of “promoting traditional culture” conducted by schools and communities, help making traditional Chinese culture develop unprecedentedly. We are glad to see that people have sensed the value of critical inheritance, and rather than copying mechanically, they keep the traditional cultures in mind while making creative transformation and development of them.

3.3.3.4 Drawing Energy from the Civilization of All Nations on Earth, and Deepening the Understanding Among Different Cultures Through Exchanges

China, when developing its culture, does not isolate itself from the world, nor does it have the attitude of arrogance or complacency. China both suffered from harsh torments brought for its closed-door policy and benefited from the initiative of reform and opening up. As for the cultural development in the future, we need to remain inclusive to actively draw on all fine cultural achievements. We will, through strengthening exchanges with other countries and increasing mutual understanding, work to build a world of civility, tolerance, sharing and harmony together with people from other countries.

It's worth mentioning that adhering to China's stance does not conflict with having a world view. On the contrary, only by firmly keeping self-consciousness in the exchanges of others can Chinese nation stand rock-firm among other nations, and can China's image known as a “strong oriental lion” is actually a “kind and cute lion” in the view of people in the western countries. Therefore, the “China Threat Theory”, no matter how many versions are there, will have no market. It was a fact and is going to remain one that neither China nor the world can live without each other.

3.4 Harmony

The British historian Arnold Joseph Toynbee once said: “Since mankind have been equipped with highly advanced science and technologies that can destroy themselves, but live in opposite political ideologies, so what they need most is the essence of Chinese civilization-harmony.”

3.4.1 Harmony Is an Important Part of Chinese Culture

Throughout history, China has always given particular attention to social harmony. Ever since ancient times, the character “He” (和), in the Chinese phrase “He Xie” (harmony, 和諧), means being in harmony with others, while “Xie” (諧) means coordination rather than confrontation. As Confucius said “harmony is of paramount importance”, Mencius depicted a harmonious society that “respect other’s elders as one respects one’s own, and care for other’s children as one cares for one’s own”. Till the modern times, the leader of Taiping Movement called for building an ideal society that “enable people to have fields to plow, meals to eat, clothes to wear, money to use, make everything equally distributed and meet people’s basic needs for subsistence”; Kang Youwei, representative of the Hundred Days’ Reform in 1898, proposed to establish a good society in which “everyone loves everyone else; everyone is equal, and the whole world is but one community shared by all”; forerunner of the democratic revolution Sun Yat-sen put forward the idea of building a world where “people can do their best, land can make produce good harvests, things can be in good use and goods can be smoothly traded”. In the past 2000 years, these different views on a “well-off society” and a “harmonious world” have revealed that people all yearn for a harmonious society.

The CPC remains committed to accomplish the goal of building a harmonious society. Based on Marxism, on the interpretation of harmony in the traditional Chinese culture and on China’s reality, the CPC has deepened its understanding of harmony in its long endeavor to build a harmonious society. Harmony does not mean the absence of conflicts, but it exists on the basis of them. Rather, it is the unity in diversity and the dialectical unity of opposite elements. Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of CPC, China has made unremitting efforts to continue its reform and opening up and its modernization drive, to drive economic growth and overall social progress and to build a harmonious society. At the Sixth Plenary Session of the 16th CPC Central Committee, the Party approved The Decision of the CPC Central Committee on Major Issues Pertaining to Build a Socialist Harmonious Society, which comprehensively and profoundly defined the nature of socialist harmonious society, and set the guidance thoughts, tasks, principles and major plans for building such a society. The 17th CPC National Committee once again emphasized the importance of building a harmonious society, and made comprehensive plans for social construction with

improving people's wellbeing as the top priority. The 18th CPC National Committee called for continuing efforts to pursue development in a scientific way, to improve social harmony and people's living so as to complete the glorious and arduous tasks bestowed on us by the times. Having conducted a thorough review of China's positive and negative experiences in build socialism with Chinese characteristics, the CPC always attaches great importance to building a harmonious society, pushes forward social construction with the focus on increasing people's living, so as to enable people to fully play their potentials and prosper. These efforts have shown that China's socialist modernization gives weight to the uniformity between values and objective laws, quality and quantity, process and result.

3.4.2 Social Harmony Is of Great Importance to National Development

It is impossible for a country to seek development in chaos and isolation. As Deng Xiaoping commented on harmony that "with a large population and weak economic basis, China can do nothing without peaceful and united politics and a stable society ... Economic development needs stable circumstances, and China's national construction should avoid disarray."¹² For China and Chinese people, to build an orderly, vigorous and harmonious society is very critical to the prosperity of the country, the renewal of the nation and the happiness of the people. Building a harmonious socialist society is the common expectation of all ethnic groups in China.

Now China has entered a critical stage of reform and is faced with profound reforms and changes of economic system, social structure, interest distribution and ideologies. The unprecedented social reform, on the one hand, motivates the development of China, and on the other hand, it brings about a host of confrontations and problems for China. At present, China is, in general, being in harmony, but there are also some problems that may jeopardize this social harmony. For example, the social and economic development of urban and rural areas, and of different regions are still imbalanced; the pressure on population, resources and environment are still immense; problems affecting people's immediate interests in employment, social security, income distribution, education, healthcare, housing, workplace safety, public security are becoming acute; institutional systems and democratic systems need to be improved; a certain number of people are still lack of ethics and integrity, and some officials are still not competent to meet the requirements of the new times; some state sectors are prone to severe corruption; some hostile forces still conduct activities of infiltration to jeopardize our national peace and social stability. These problems China is confronted with in its development are so severe and complex that it has never been seen in history.

¹²C.F. *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping* (vol. 3), People's Publishing House, 1993: 331–332.

At the same time, China is faced up with grave challenges imposed by complex and volatile international environment. Currently, the competitiveness of overall national strength become intense, the global trends towards multi-polarity and economic globalization are deepening, and the factors of instability and uncertainty are growing. So if we make wrong decisions in such an environment, we will suffer from harsh setbacks. People cannot survive with living in a society, and countries have to co-exist in the same world, and they therefore form a community of common destiny. Problems occurring in one country and one region will incur regional turmoil, and even harm the peaceful development of the whole world. In the summer of 2015, refugees mired by wars and poverty in the Middle East and African countries, flocked to Europe at the expense of losing their lives, which finally led to the refugee crisis in Europe. These facts remind us if we want to attain harmonious development, we must deal with domestic affairs, and maintain reunification of the country, the unity of ethnic groups and social stability. Besides, no one can live all alone, and upholding the peace and the justice of the world should be the common pursuit of all mankind.

To enable nearly 1.4 billion people work and live in contentment is an important contribution China has made to the world. Meanwhile, as China has been driving the growth of global economy, and assuming its responsibility in global affairs, it has been the main power securing stability and peace for the world. The world needs a country such a China that enjoys harmonious development and plays an active role in the world.

3.4.3 Building a Harmonious Society

Social harmony is one value pursuit of socialism with Chinese characteristics. Socialism with Chinese characteristics is committed to develop productive forces, to do so in a harmonious way and to jointly build a harmonious society shared by all people under the leadership of the CPC in the path of achieving socialism with Chinese characteristics. Socialist harmonious society is a society that people uphold democracy and rule of law, fairness and justice, integrity and fraternity, and the society is full of vigor, maintains peace and stability, and people coexist with nature. These are the fundamental features of a socialist harmonious society and also are the objectives of building such a society.

3.4.3.1 Safeguarding Social Fairness and Justice

Social fairness and justice is the basic requirement of social harmony. Kang Youwei, an important politician, thinker and representative of bourgeois reformism in the Late Qing Dynasty once said: "Everyone loves everyone else; everyone is equal, and the whole world is but one community shared by all." Since equality and justice are so crucial to social harmony, if we ignore such social problems as the

unequal distribution of wealth and income, and the widening gap among people, the severe imbalance between urban and rural areas, we will endure untold hardships and sufferings, and have to pay a price for them. As China develops its economy, more and more problems such as conflicts of interests, unordered competitions and misconducts will surface. People heighten their sense of rights and call for fairness and justice when their living standard is improved. An examination of the tough problems that hindered China's reform shows that these problems are related to people's concerns with fairness. Issues concerning equal access to education, the reform of medical care, income gap, discrimination and unjust judicial cases always arouse heated discussion among people, meaning that people yearn for a fair and just society.

To this end, China endeavor in pursuing a philosophy of people-oriented development, the development for the people, relying on people and benefiting the people. We must establish in due course a system to guarantee social fairness featuring equal rights, equal opportunities and fair rules for all, and foster a fair social environment and ensure people's equal right to participation in national governance and to prosper. We must coordinate relations of interests and internal contradictions by striking a balance between personal and collective, regional and national, and current and long-term interests. We still need to attach great importance to income distribution, to properly adjust the pattern of income distribution, to extend the coverage of social security, to take solid steps to safeguard people's living so that people can always feel support and warmth.

3.4.3.2 Correctly Handling Problems Among the People

People are the totality of social relations. People's inherent and fundamental values are entailed in living in harmony. However, a harmonious socialist society is not a society without any problems. With the reform entering its critical stage, many internal problems occur among people, and it is hard to avoid when the society undergoes profound changes. Problems are ubiquitous and we can neither ignore and shirk them, nor incur and escalate them. If we face up with our problems cool-headedly, and find proper ways to deal with them, they will not be accumulated to hold back the reform and development. To handle problems among people, we need to trust the people. That's why the Chinese government requires its departments at all levels to make sure all policies, working methods and styles conform to the reality and the fundamental interests of the overwhelming majority of the people. And it also requires that the officials base their work on the people and realities, work hard to screen problems and disputes, find out the potential problems, and take timely and effective methods to resolve them. They also need to guide people to express their requirements of interests in a rational and legitimate way, prevent and address mass incidents properly.

To build a harmonious socialist society is a long term task. We need to base ourselves on the reality and look forward to the future, deepen researches and studies of the major events concerning social construction, take more targeted and effective

policies, solve prominent problems affecting social harmony, implement every means of building a harmonious society, and enable people to share the fruits of the reform. Besides, we also need to foster a good social atmosphere where people can trust each other, work hand by hand, be united as one, practice integrity and act vigorously, and increase intra-Party harmony to finally promote social harmony.

3.4.3.3 Working Hard to Build a Beautiful China

Nature is home to the survival of humankind. People and nature living in harmony is the prerequisite for human's living. Marx and Engels both believed that "the harmony between people and nature and the harmony among people" are an inevitable result in the development of history. Therefore, striking a balance between people and nature, economic and social development and environmental protection is of vital importance to the sustainable development of nature and people. Faced with increasing resource constraints, severe environmental pollution and a deteriorating ecosystem, the 18th National Congress of the CPC called for that we must raise our ecological awareness to respect, accommodate to and protect nature, give high priority to making ecological progress and incorporate it into the whole process of advancing economic, political, cultural, and social progress, work hard to build a beautiful country, and achieve the ever-lasting and sustainable development of the Chinese nation. Ecological progress, as transcendence over industrialization, represents a higher form of civilization and a more ideal social progress. The consistency between socialism and ecological progress enable them to mutually reinforce each other. Ecological progress supports socialism to develop at a higher level, and socialism in turn provides institutional guarantees for achieving ecological progress. To build a beautiful China is a dream pursued by the Chinese people for thousands of years and it also reflects China's desire and plan for the ecological progress in the times. To promote ecological progress, the CPC and the Chinese government are trying their best to promote the harmonious co-existence between people and nature, and striving to preserve a green development and a green way of living. Efforts are also being made to improve development of territorial resources, to promote all-around resource conservation, to intensify the protection of the ecosystem and the environment, and to formulate laws and regulations for improving the ecological system. We have been launching major projects for restoring the ecosystem, taking integrated steps to control desertification, stony deserts and soil erosion, increasing the areas of forests, lakes and wetlands, and protecting biodiversity. Meanwhile, we have also been taking a holistic approach to prevent water, air and soil pollution, thus placing emphasis on serious environmental problems that impose hazards to people's health.

While promoting domestic ecological environment, China will never forget its international responsibilities. We will work with the international community to actively respond to global climate changes and to co-build a beautiful earth on the basis of equity, and in accordance with the common and differentiated responsibilities, as well as relative capabilities of all countries.

Chapter 4

The Values of Social Progress in Contemporary China



Freedom, equality, justice and rule of law, four of the twelve core values advocated by the CPC, are the value requirements in social aspect, which provide a definite answer to the question of what society is to be built in China. These four values are a reflection of the nature of a socialist society, an embodiment of the cultural-ethical elements of socialism with Chinese characters, a voice from contemporary Chinese people's heart and a revelation of the values pursued in the contemporary society of China. Contemporary China is in urgent need of a social environment characterized with freedom, equality, justice and rule of law. These are the social values that need vigorous avocation because the development of China necessitates sustained release of social vitality and stimulation of internal motivation.

4.1 Freedom

Freedom is a value pursuit shared by all humanity. It is the natural instinct of human beings, and the pursuit of it is like their natural need for sunlight and air. All of us, even with our own personality, desire to live in a free and unconstrained environment, an environment free from other people's will and enslavement. That explains why human beings have been showing such great passion for freedom in the process of remaking nature, society and themselves for the past thousands of years. In both history and real life, there have been countless people, whether the ordinary ones or the ones with lofty ideals, who have manifested the loftiness and greatness of freedom with their own epic life stories.

4.1.1 Freedom: A Core Value Pursuit of Contemporary Chinese People

As is mentioned above, freedom is a value shared by all humanity. However, it is also something very specific and historical, which means the degree of freedom are closely related to the present development of society. On account of national differences, every country has its own way of pursuing freedom, and differs in some extent from others in the emphasis of what kind of freedom is to be achieved.

4.1.1.1 The Expression of Freedom in Traditional Chinese Culture

In order to understand modern Chinese people's view of freedom, it is not only necessary but essential to inspect the traditional ones in the first place. Freedom in traditional Chinese culture, especially in the eyes of Confucians, differs to a large extent from western ideologies, with liberalism in particular. For liberalists, the main body of freedom is usually an individual, which emphasizes the individual's independence and inviolability relative to others, the country and the society. Consequently, a self is the existent of self-regulation, self-being and self-development. As Macpherson has put it, "Its (individualism) possessive quality is found in its conception of the individual as essentially the proprietor of his own person or capacities, owing nothing to society for them. The individual was seen neither as a moral whole, nor as part of a larger social whole, but as an owner of himself."¹

Confucianism has never regarded itself as the existence beyond social relations, but as the participant in social circumstances. As an individual is born in a family and grows up to be a member of a society and a country, which together is usually deemed to be an extended family. Therefore, the identity of an individual is built up through his role in the family and the upbringing he attains, and then is expanded into a bigger common community. This is exactly what the Great Learning, a traditional Chinese Confucian classic, proposes "investigating things, acquiring knowledge, nurturing sincerity, rectifying the mind, cultivating the moral character, regulating the family, administering the country and achieving world peace." As a member of the society, everyone needs to play a certain social role, and his virtue is accordingly manifested by the handling of fundamental human relationships, such as the relationship between emperors and subjects, fathers and sons, husbands and wives, brothers and friends. As a result, one's virtue is proven by his or her ability to excellently fulfill the specific responsibility they are supposed to take. In the social network, one can get a thorough understanding of himself according to his role in the links and then perceive what he should do and what he can gain from other roles. Thus, the appropriate functional concept of people is closely connected

¹C.F. Macpherson (1962).

with other notions of social roles, that being righteousness put forward by Confucian scholars. Based on this comprehension, the interests of the society, the ethnic group, and the nation are extremely significant in traditional Chinese culture. Chinese people underscore that one should shoulder the responsibility and obligation for the family, the nation and the society. They firmly insist that public interests should be prior to personal interests, resolutely oppose the overemphasis of individual rights, with self-centeredness in particular.

Although, Chinese people hold different views on freedom from western people, yet it never means there is no freedom in traditional Chinese culture. Since ancient times, Chinese people have strongly objected autocracy and tyranny, the opposite of freedom, tyrannical behaviors and domineering deeds were resolutely denounced. During thousands of years, there have been touching stories about aspiring for freedom. A Pair of Peacock Flying to the Southeast, a renowned long narrative poem produced at the end of the Han Dynasty, sings highly of the freedom spirit presented by the main characters, Liu Lanzhi and Jiao Zhongqing, who remain loyalty to love and revolt against oppression, conveying people's impassionate yearning for free marriage.

Chinese people uphold independent personality. Since ancient times, the Chinese nation has been committed to aiming high, honoring morality and integrity. In the *Analects of Confucius*, Confucius said decidedly, "the commander of the army may be carried off, but the will of even a common man cannot be taken from him", in an explicit and comparative way, which expresses the conviction that the force of personality is invincible. Throughout ages, the pursuit of this ideal personality has motivated people with lofty ideals to struggle against the grubby reality and aspire for a bright prospect. The long history of China has produced numerous people with independent personality and strong social responsibility, such as Tao Yuanming, who "refuses to bow down for the sake of five pecks of rice", and Li Bai, who "detests to bow and scrape to men of high rank". Their stories remarkably demonstrate their composed attitudes towards prosperity and adversity, and the lofty personality. The noble morality and charismatic personality of these people, as the symbolic of the spirit of the Chinese nation, has deeply influenced Chinese people generation after generation.

Chinese people also advocate the value of being free in mind. Daoism, of particular note, is a staunch champion of this thought. Different from the notion raised by Confucianism that people should actively engage themselves in world affairs, Daoism deems that worldly concern is a hindrance of freedom, and only by evading and forgetting reality can freedom be promised. In the eyes of the Daoists, social reality is nothing but a shackle of freedom. Therefore, Daoism is keen on retreating into reclusion for the purpose of remaining untainted amid the filthy world. On top of that, Daoism also views that the best way of avoiding the alienation between people and nature, people and society, is conforming to nature. To this end, Lao Zi encouraged people to stay true to the original self and follow their own heart. And Zhuang Zi also expected to reach a cultural-ethical state that "heaven and earth co-exist with me and everything between them, including me, is alike", and to live a carefree life. He believed only when people were able to

unshackle the restrictions of fames and gains, powers and high ranks, could they go back to their original nature and be independent in personality and free in spirit. As a result, Zhuang Zi showed people a thoroughly free state, wandering in the endless universe to overlook the whole world with a sense of everything being alike, and finally embracing cultural-ethical transcendence. The Daoist thoughts represented by Lao Zi and Zhuang Zi that “the Dao follows natural laws”, “resume the original simplicity of heart”, “free from worldly possessions” have had profound influence on Chinese people’s spirit and have enlightened people in modern times in terms of how to work and live.

However, while eulogizing the freedom element and freedom spirit in the traditional Chinese culture, we must be highly aware of the dross in it. In traditional Chinese culture, the thought of “rule of man” used to be in dominance, while “rule of law” was absent; a strong sense of “seeking government position” and the lack of democracy and equality were both a common place, which resulted in the absence of thought promoting individual freedom and independence in the traditional Chinese culture.

“Due to the lack of institutional laws and regulations, the traditional thinking concerning the freedom of mind has somewhat been altered and exerted negative impacts. Thus, the freedom of mind was either transformed into ‘a self-destructive slave of the heart’ or ‘a state of blindly capricious indulgence’”.²

Therefore, contemporary China holds a fundamental view to traditional culture that we should make the best of the fine ancient culture to serve for the present, bring forth new thoughts from the old ones, distinguishingly treat our tradition, meaning inheriting the good ones while discarding the bad ones, and make sure that those tradition Chinese cultures can be creatively converted and improved.

4.1.1.2 Socialism Is a Great Cause in Pursuit of Freedom

To know the values of contemporary Chinese, we must first have a thorough understanding of socialism with Chinese characteristics. Over the past ninety years, under the leadership of the CPC, Chinese people have made great achievements in revolution, construction and reform after experiencing countless hardships and paying prices while blazing the trail of Chinese-style socialism and utterly changing the destiny of Chinese people and Chinese nation. Only socialism can save China from perishing, and only socialism with Chinese characteristics can secure China’s development. This is the essential conclusion drawn from the efforts of salvaging and enriching China over the past several decades, and is also a fact that has already been proved true and will remain so in the future.

Socialism is a great cause in pursuit of freedom. Socialist movement is a process that pursues and actualizes freedom. In Marx’s assumption of socialism, freedom is very critical, and is even regarded as the essence of socialism. Marx and Engels, in

²C.F. Kou (2014).

their works, always disdain capitalist freedom and characterize it as the freedom of bourgeois and a deceitful one. Nevertheless, lambasting capitalist freedom never means that they forgo the pursuit of freedom. Rather, they believed that socialism should create better and more genuine freedom on the basis of the proper contents absorbing from capitalist freedom. To transcend capitalism, socialism entails to face up to the freedom concepts in capitalism, to absorb its beneficial parts, and to finally unfetter freedom from the grip of capitalism and make it develop accordingly. In 1894, when Canepa, a member of the Socialist Party of Italy requested Engels, as an inscription for L' ERA NUOVA, to briefly express his view on socialism in the future, so as to distinguish it from the old times proposed by Dante that "some people take the reins, while others suffer in distress", Engels responded: "I am going to find out some inscriptions you need in the works of Marx", "but I can't find better ones except the following excerpts from Manifesto of the Communist Party: in place of the old bourgeois society, with its classes and class antagonisms, we shall have an association, in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all".³

As the supreme subject, and the essential revelation of the lofty value pursuit of Marxism, the proposition—the free and all-round development of ever individual-halted the course for socialist movements and socialist constructions. It is also the inevitable requirement of socialism and a crucial symbol to distinguish socialism from capitalism. The development of social productivity, economy and culture is a gradually improving and everlasting process, so is the all-round development of human beings. The building of socialist system and the pushing forward of socialist modernization drive, create preconditions for the free development of people and lay a good foundation for the shift from the realm of necessity to the realm of freedom.

Taking the free and all-round development of people as its important landmark of social development, the CPC remains committed to freedom and its task of freeing the mind of Chinese people. The Party Programme of the First National Congress of the CPC, unequivocally declared that "The ultimate goal of our party is to achieve communism, strive for the utterly emancipation of human being and we stand for the fundamental interest of a vast majority of people". Under the guidance of this thought, for the emancipation and freedom of its people, the CPC launched massive movements, overthrew the rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, completed the transformation of socialism, achieved national independence and liberation, and helped people become masters of the country. Since the initiative of reform and opening up, the implementation of socialism with Chinese characteristics has further driven forward the realization of freedom, and created favorable conditions for the free and overall development of the people.

The socialist economic system with public ownership as its mainstay ensures the real freedom of people. Socialism upholds the basic economic system, in which the public ownership is in dominance while other diverse forms of ownership develop

³C.F. *Karl Marx and Frederick Engels* (vol. 39), People's Publishing House, 1974: 189.

side by side; the distribution system according to work is in dominance while other diverse modes of distribution system coexist. Hence the working class, endowed with the rights of using different means of production, became masters of the country. Equality in economy basically decides and ensures that socialist freedom is freed from the manipulation of capitalism. Socialist freedom, different from the freedom enjoyed by a small number of people who own means of production, is a genuine freedom enjoyed by the majority of people.

The people's democratic government founded in a socialist society allows people to take control of state power and thus people can attain maximum political freedom. The Constitution of People's Republic of China stipulates that all power in the People's Republic of China belongs to the people, and citizens of the People's Republic of China enjoy freedom of speech, press, assembly, association, procession and demonstration and enjoy freedom of religious belief, and the freedom of the citizens of the People's Republic of China is inviolable. The establishment of socialist system enables people to have their democratic rights and freedom never seen before.

In the meanwhile, we must be soberly aware that the degree of freedom is constrained by the development of the society. At present, China is still in its primary stage of socialism in which the level of its productivity remains relatively low, the living standard of people needs to be further improved, democratic legal system demands to be strengthened, people's intellectual and cultural life requires to be enriched and social security entails to be promoted. These aspects, to some extent, have restricted the ultimate freedom of people. Therefore, we are supposed to step up efforts to build China into a law-based country, push forward the modernization of the state administration system and governance capacity, effectively protect and realize various lawful rights of people; we should also intensify efforts to develop social productivity, consistently improve people's well-being, promote social security, enrich people's life, significantly raise the level of civility of citizens and the moral and ethical standards of the whole society, and finally enable people to have more genuine freedom.

4.1.2 Safeguarding the Legitimate Rights of People

In politics, freedom means the lawful rights citizens enjoy, that is, they have the rights to enjoy freedom within the limits prescribed by laws. The opposite of freedom, in this sense, is restricting people's wills and actions through violence, slavery, threatening and some other ways. In modern times, people are endowed with basic rights that are protected by laws, are free from any intervene, and are defined and stipulated in the form of laws. The private space constituted by these rights sets up the boundary that external forces can't go beyond. External forces, especially the forces from state organs shall not overstep this limitation. Otherwise they are regarded as infringing the freedom of people. For this reason, protecting citizens' rights is the prerequisite of realizing freedom.

4.1.2.1 Human Rights Are not Exclusive to Capitalism

There is no doubt that the modern bourgeois revolution was the first to resoundingly put forward the slogan of freedom, equality, universal love, and in the political practices, to nail down citizens' basic rights, such as the right of life, possession and freedom, which are also safeguarded by a host of institutions. As the proletariats became mature and fresh progresses were made in the anti-capitalist movements, they called for human rights and struggled for freedom as well. In 1930s, the famous British Chartist Movement demanded to have universal suffrage rights for the sake of engaging in state governance. Paris Commune, the first proletariat regime in history, during its 72 day existence, "initially created socialist freedom and democracy on the basis of that of capitalism".⁴ Paris Commune, into the French People, clearly stated that the rights it enjoyed were "Ensuring people fully enjoy freedom of the person, freedom of religious belief, and freedom of work; making it convenient for citizens to express themselves freely, maintaining their immediate interests in different ways and helping them participate in public affairs; supervising and making sure free and legal assembly and press".⁵

Socialist China guarantees in its Constitution the basic rights of people and different kinds of obligations bestowed by the state to protect and realize these rights. However, in thousands of years of feudal autocratic rein, as "all the lands under the sky is the property of the emperor", people had to subject themselves to emperors, and consequently the sense of "officials being superior and people being humble" took root in people's mind.

It has to be admitted that there are in reality some practices going against freedom and infringing freedom in the development of China. Having evolved from the feudal society, China didn't undergo the Religious Reform, the Renaissance and the Enlightenment Movement like those European countries. As a result, feudal ideologies are hard to get rid of and the thoughts of freedom and democracy seem to be scarce. In history, the system of intensively planned economy gave the government full dominance over economy, culture and society. Enterprises and people didn't have enough autonomy and vitality to start their business and life. When the mentality of rule of man prevailed over rule of law, and left-wing politics rampaged in the society, major social problems became massive movement. During the Cultural Revolution, human rights were so gravely sabotaged that a large number of officials and people were prosecuted or suffered from humiliating treatments. As a result,

"this socialist country, failing to get rid of its born weaknesses and taking wrong paths one after another, was reduced to "having no freedom" and "being autocratic" in other's eyes. Ludicrously, capitalist countries became the only monopolist of freedom and the agent of the free world."⁶

⁴C.F. Gao (2004).

⁵C.F. *Announcements of the Paris Commune*, Shanghai People's Publishing House, 1978.

⁶C.F. Lin (2008).

Bearing mind these historical lessons, we must endeavor in maintaining and realizing people's rights of freedom, in case such tragedy of history will repeat itself.

4.1.2.2 Contemporary China Attaches Great Importance to Freedom and Human Rights

In the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the CPC, the Party made a resolute decision to abandon the slogans of “class struggle is a key link in Chinese revolution” and “forge ahead the revolution under the leadership of proletariat dictatorship” together with some other similar ones, shifting the working focus of the Party to the building of social modernization. It was at this conference, that a number of major injustices in history were reviewed and dealt with, and the contributions and faults of major leaders were rejudged. It also proposed to strengthen democracy and build up the legal system, to make democracy instituted and prescribed by laws. Setting China on a new course of driving socialist modernization, the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the CPC marked the new starting point of China's human rights development. In the next a few years, the government launched a series of specific measures to bring order out of chaos. The new constitution promulgated in 1982 regulated all the basic rights of citizens in a more explicit and definite way. It specified citizens' rights of freedom, including people's dignity, personal freedom, and religious belief and so on. Since it is defined in the Constitution that citizens' rights of housing is inviolable, the freedom and secrets of communication are under the protection of laws, citizens have rights to criticize and make suggests to any state organs and their employees, and can appeal, accuse of and report on their illicit deeds and misconducts. This has laid a solid foundation for the development of human rights in the new period.

In 1991, China released the White Paper on Human Rights in China, the first official document on human rights publicized in China and to the whole world by the Chinese government. Holding high the great banner of human rights, it declared that fully enjoying human rights is the ideal ever pursued by human beings, and publicly stated that achieving the goal still remains as a historical mission for Chinese people and Chinese government. With numerous facts and data, it reviewed the achievements made in the development of human rights in China, and demonstrated the real situation of it in China. At the same time, it also firmly announced the stance, ideas and policies of China. For many years, while giving top priority to the right to life and to development, China proactively step up efforts to develop the right of politics, economy, society and culture, aiming at attaining the free and all-round development for its people. In 2004, the amendment of the Constitution was adopted in the Second Session of the 10th National People's Congress, which wrote the item “the country respects and safeguards human rights” into the Constitution, and solemnly announced the political and legal status of respecting and safeguarding human rights in the form of fundamental laws of the state. Thereafter, respecting and safeguarding human rights became the political

ideal and value target of the nation, human rights was elevated from a legal concept to a political concept, and the whole nation, together with the Party and the government, became the subjects of respecting and safeguarding human rights. The inclusion of human rights into the Constitution opened a broad prospect and ushered China into a new stage for the comprehensive development of human rights. In 2014, the Fourth Plenary Session of the 18th National Committee of the CPC, decided to comprehensively promote rule of law, examined and approved the Resolution of the CPC Central Committee on Certain Major Issues Concerning Comprehensively Advancing the Law-Based Governance of China, emphasizing to effectively protect people's rights of person, rights of possession, and their basic political rights from being violated, and to ensure that people's economic, political and social rights are to be actualized.

The progress on human rights we have made since the reform and opening up in 1978 has fully shown that people's rights of freedom is being effectively protected, and China is taking solid steps to respect and safeguard human rights, protect and realize people's freedom rights in all respects, further institute and legalize human rights, and make the whole society more equitable and harmonious where people can live a more dignified and happy life. This is the essential requirement of the Chinese Dream of the great rejuvenation, and is also something consistent with the concept of socialism with Chinese characteristics. Holding high the banner of freedom and human rights, the Chinese-style socialism must make unremitting efforts to advance the free and all-round development of people.

4.1.3 Paying Attention to the Realization of Genuine Freedom

Freedom and rights should not only be a possibility. Rather, they must be made a reality. People's basic rights, such as the rights of life and of property are supreme, and should not be violated. But the protection of these rights is not the same as the full fulfillment of them. For example, we cannot say that a beggar and a rich man have exactly the same freedoms simply because their rights to life and property are not being violated. If people live in distress and suffer from illness, if they can't receive normal education and fail to fulfill their ideals and goals, they are not free at all. Freedom should be an ability that is proactive to realize objectives and pursuits, rather than a negative and passive mentality.

Socialism attaches great importance to citizens' rights of freedom, but doesn't regard freedom to be bestowed by the heaven. For socialism, "freedom not only means everyone enjoys freedom rights in name, but means everyone is capable of and accessible to enjoying these rights in reality".⁷ China highlights the significance of the rights to life and rights to development, and believes that the realization of

⁷C.F. Li (2007).

freedom relies on the underpinning of economy and society. Freedom without a strong economic and social basis is an illusory freedom, like a castle in the air. Having established socialist market economy, China in contemporary times are stepping up efforts to develop productivity, increasingly improves people's living standards, strengthens social security, and ensures that every citizen obtain genuine freedom.

4.1.3.1 Making Intensive Efforts to Develop Social Productivity

The development of humanity and the freedom entailed in it are closely linked with the development of economy and culture. Only by pushing forward the growth of social productive forces, can we consistently increase people's living standards, enable everyone to have their favorable environments for life and development, and finally achieve people's free and all-round development.

(1) People have more choices in purchasing commodities

With their living standards improving, Chinese people are having diversified choices in their life. Dating back to the time of planned economy when products were scarce, the government had to ration goods, and people had to buy them with coupons. At that time, various coupons were issued for daily necessities in every aspect, ranging from food, and clothing and even to a small cake of soap or a tiny box of matches. After the reform and opening up, shopping by allotted coupons became history. As commodities keep increasing, shopping malls and large-scale supermarket chains keep emerging like mushrooms. People can buy whatever they like to their hearts' content. The severe shortage of sources and the limitation on consumption have been thoroughly phased out.

The abundance of goods is embodied in the markedly growth of their quantities and types, which means people have more choices and are freer to consume. For example, clothes at that time were simple in style and monotonous in color, so people had to give up their aesthetic expectations. As a result, the blue khaki cloth became the mainstream, and the whole country was like a blue ocean in the period of planned economy. With the products being diversified, simple styles could not meet the demands of people. At 1980s and 1990s, bell-bottomed pants, leggings, batwing coats, and dresses became fashionable. Today, people have more choices for clothes in styles that suit them so as to display their own unique personalities.

(2) Diversified life styles

With the development of economy, people have started to experience different life styles. At present, the consumption structure of people becomes diverse, and the proportions of food, clothing and other basic necessities are gradually dropping, while those for developmental and recreational purposes, like housing, transportation, communication, education, entertainment, health care and travel, are rising year after year. Refrigerators, televisions, washing machines, air-conditioners

and other durable products can be seen in every household, and upmarket products like cars, flats, computers, and communication tools are gradually available to families, meaning that the upgrading of consumption are speeding up.

The variety of life styles is also manifested by marriage and family in modern times. Nowadays, marriage becomes something of a freer and more personal choice. Rather than blindly following the trend, people tend to think through before they get married. They are allowed to get married with anyone or in any way they'd prefer as long as it doesn't infringe on the legitimate rights of others. Now, the scale, structure, and model of families have seen earth-shaking changes in comparison with what it was in the past. The small scale, simple and diversified models of family becomes the main features of the modern Chinese people. In the past, a traditional Chinese family was usually consisted of two generations, the couple and their children, and at the same time three generations, four and even five generations living in the same family were also common. People liked big families and despised to divide them into small ones. However, the case has become different as time goes by and the society progresses. The traditional complex and extended families are transforming to families with simple structure and small people. On top of the family model with a couple at its core, there are also other new models, like the DINK family, one couple with no kids, and the single-parent family. The change of family structure, together with the attitudes towards them, reflect that people are further freeing their mind and boldly pursuing how they like to live a contented life.

(3) The increase of leisure time

With the development of productive force and the growth of labor productivity, Chinese people have more time for leisure. Spare time means the discretionary time excluding the labor time and the time for physiological requirements and family work. Making full use of free time constitutes an important prerequisite for freedom, and the development of knowledge, science and art also rely on the increase of free time. "The development of the human beings, especially the development required by the natural existence of people, is about the utilization of free time, which in turn bases itself for the development of human beings."⁸ People living in society with a low productivity, have to spare no effort to improve the production of material means to meet their basic need of life, thus they spend little time on personal development, entertainment, and social interactions. With the growth of productivity, people are unfettered from arduous toil, and can spend more time and energy on traveling, relaxation, artistic creation, interpersonal communication and other activities, which help deliver people a colorful life. Today, people are having more free time since the two-day weekend replaced the single-day one, and official holidays increased and the "golden weeks" were authorized. As people have more income and free time, domestic and international travels become a commonplace and people are more capable of doing what they like. If Chinese people have no

⁸C.F. *Karl Marx and Frederick Engels* (vol. 47), People's Publishing House, 1974: 216.

freedom, how can they be found flooding into scenic spots in every corner of the world?

4.1.3.2 Market Economy Motivates the Vitality of Economy and Society

As the most effective way of resource distribution, market economy serves as the fundamental way to keep economy active. Since the reform and opening up, China, at the primary stage of socialism, has gradually established and improved socialist market economy, breaking all the constraints of productivity, and creating unprecedented wonders of development. In 1992, the 14th CPC National Congress decided to “let market play a basic role in resource distribution under the macro control of the government”; in 2003, the Third Plenary Session of the 16th CPC National Committee proposed that “market should play a basic role in resource distribution to a greater extent”; in 2012, the 18th CPC National Congress put forward that “market should play a basic role in resource distribution to a greater extent and at a larger scope”; in 2013, the Third Plenary Session of the 18th CPC National Committee further clarified that “market plays a decisive role in resource distribution”. The development of market economy requires the free flow of labor, land, capital, information and other production factors. Therefore, we need to further make market freer and establish a market system where people can compete fairly. In this system, commodities and factors can flow freely and exchange equally, the production and sale of products and services are determined by the pricing mechanism of the market, consumers can choose and consume independently, fair competition between enterprises keeps survival of the fittest. Only by so doing, can we optimize resource distribution.

Market economy has invigorated Chinese economy and elevates the freedom of Chinese society. Compared with planned economy intervening in the operation of market entities, market entities have full autonomy and freedom to engage in economic activities. In market economy, what should be produced and how to produce them are adjusted by the market according to the rise and fall of prices and the change of demands and supplies. People expand the production of sellable products, and reduce the consumption of those with higher costs and short supply. Like an invisible hand, the market guides producers and businessmen, and adjusts the allocation of personnel, money and materials in the society.

The development of market economy has driven forward the free mobility of people. As socialist market economy had gained its strength, a large number of surplus rural labors started to flood into cities, changing the population structure, transforming and upgrading the industrial mix, and stepping up the process of urbanization. In recent years, since the ideals of people-oriented, of equity and justice enjoy more popularity among people, the Party and the government are paying more attention to address problems of these migrant workers and social security of them. Population mobility goes through restriction and repulsion to the guidance of the government and support of the whole society, and as a result, the

virtuous cycle of population mobility, together with economic and social development, is taking shape, which showcases that prominent progresses have been made in society. At the same time, the government is pushing ahead with the reform of household registration, enabling human resources to flow more freely. Taking into account of national reality, we are carrying out the reform in an active and prudent way, and appropriately guiding the expectations and choices of migrant workers when they are granted urban residency; we respect the freedom of urban and rural residents to settle down in a place, and safeguard the lawful rights of migrant workers and other permanent urban residents; we adopt differentiated urban residency policies fully in light of the local economic strength, its overall catering capacity and the ability of offering basic public services; we are taking a holistic approach to push forward the reform of household registration and making basic public services more equitable, and extensive coverage of education, employment, health care, elderly care, housing and other urban basic public services is being offered. Implementing these measures helps the free mobility of population and makes it easier for rural residents to settle down in cities.

4.1.3.3 Taking the Path of Common Prosperity

Common prosperity is the prerequisite of achieving socialist freedom. Socialism is not built on the basis that a small number of people enjoy extremely rich life and complete freedom, while an overwhelming majority of people suffer from destitution and are stripped of real freedom. China always gives weight to marching on the path of common prosperity in the process of economic development. Deng Xiaoping repeatedly stressed that “What remarkably distinguishes socialism from capitalism is common prosperity and preventing social polarization.”⁹

While deepening reform and raising efficiency, China attaches great importance to equality and justice, and is concerned with protecting and realizing the rights of the disadvantaged. The Party and governments repeatedly have emphasized that officials at all levels have to provide care and assistance to people living in poverty, being concerned with their hardships and stepping up efforts to address their problems. Efforts are being made by the Chinese government in poverty reduction and elimination, in helping the vulnerable, especially the ones in old revolutionary areas, and in outlying poverty-stricken areas. After years of efforts made to relieve poverty, a social security system with Chinese characteristics has been initially established: a social insurance system including basic elderly care, health, unemployment, occupational injury and child birth have been established and been improved; a social assistance system covering rural and urban areas and focusing on subsistence allowance has taken shape; more people are covered by various social security systems and are benefiting more from them. China is taking solid steps to help basically everyone, especially these vulnerable people to a better living and

⁹C.F. *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping* (vol. 3), People’s Publishing House, 1993: 123.

development, to living with dignity and realizing genuine freedom. To this end, unremitting efforts have been made and substantial achievements have been made.

4.1.4 The Integration of Freedom, Order and Virtue

Freedom is closely linked with laws and regulations. As laws reflect and adjust social relations, and standardize people's behaviors through defining their rights and obligations, freedom has to be constrained by laws, defined by laws. Therefore, freedom means that people have the rights to act freely under the restriction of laws.

Order is ensured by acting within limits and freedom comes from sticking to the bottom lines. Order is critical for freedom and makes up the basis for people upholding the rights of participation, expression and surveillance. Accordingly, real freedom is not acting willingly but doing so while abiding by orders and laws. So while exercising rights and enjoying freedom, everyone needs to observe laws and regulations, willingly upholds the social order and never undermines the interests of other people, groups or the society.

Freedom is not about getting one's own ways. Rather, it has to be enjoyed while abiding by laws and the same is true of socialist freedom that is constrained by laws and disciplines. The Constitution of the People's Republic of China, endowing Chinese citizens with broad rights, clearly stipulates that "Every citizen is entitled to the rights and at the same time must perform the duties prescribed by the Constitution and other laws". People should be punished by laws if they violate the rights of others, groups and society when exercising their own rights.

In China, freedom and order are indispensable. While highlighting to protect and respect human rights, and to accomplish the all-round development of people, China cherishes the value of order and stresses the significance of stability and peace. Stability underpins socialist modernization drive. In contemporary China, almost everything is inseparable from stability, ranging from developing economy, deepening reform, further opening China to the outside world, improving democracy and legal system, and fostering stronger observance of socialist culture and ethical standards. Deng Xiaoping said that:

"Stability holds the key to addressing problems faced by China. Without a stable environment, China can do nothing but lose all she has accomplished".¹⁰ "With a huge population and a weak economy to start with, China can do nothing without a stable and united political landscape and a stable social order. So stability is of overriding importance"¹¹; "To achieve Four Modernizations (modernization of agriculture, industry, national defense and science and technology), and shake off backwardness, China needs stable and unified politics, and pushes ahead under the sound leadership in a well-regulated way".¹²

¹⁰C.F. *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping* (vol. 3), People's Publishing House, 1995: 284.

¹¹*Ibid.*, 331.

¹²*Ibid.*, 208.

Ever since ancient times, China has always emphasized the power and value of virtue. It has been the same with freedom. Freedom means that individuals live their own life within the frame of laws, and free from any constraints of external forces. This interpretation of freedom never means it is irrelevant to virtue. People cannot claim they are free if they are controlled by vulgar desires, and lose public awareness and the sense of responsibility. Freedom needs to be accompanied with virtue, and is embodied in individuals who pursue active and healthy life, and shoulder their responsibilities for the society. Freedom also means assuming public responsibility and being dedicated to the society. The sound functioning of a society relies partly on its free, democratic and justified system, and partly on the improvement of its morality. It also requires that every citizen behave rationally and prudently, and develop the sense of righteousness and public responsibility. “A government cannot be a good one if the people under its governance tend to focus on their own interests rather than the collective interests.”¹³ Only people with integrity and virtue know how to enforce laws and regulations, design justified systems, and implement them in accordance with the principle of justice while abiding by them.

The freedom upheld by socialism is closely interrelated with the improvement of public moral ethics and responsibility. Socialism strives to protect and realize the rights of the individuals, respect differences and seek diversities. It also resolutely opposes to extreme individualism, and calls for citizens to dedicate themselves to the society, remain allegiant to the country and cultivate a sense of social responsibility and public welfare. These are the basic contents of freedom with socialist characteristics.

4.2 Equality

Equality is a sacred word and a value pursuit rallying up tremendous impassion and energy. For centuries, people have made unremitting efforts and struggles for the pursuit of equality. At the end of the Qin Dynasty, the peasant uprising led by Chen Sheng and Wu Guang cried out, “Are the powerful and noble people born with such ranks” to accuse the unequal social system; the uprising led by Zhong Xiang and Yang Yao in the Southern Song Dynasty brought forth a resounding slogan that “The noble and the lowly should be equal and wealth should be equally distributed”; the uprising led by Li Zicheng at the remaining years of the Ming Dynasty proposed “farmland be divided equally and land tax be exempted”; during the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom Movement (1850–1864), their leader Hong Xiuquan proposed the ideas of “There should be shared farmland, shared meals, shared clothes and shared money, so that everything will be equally distributed and everyone will be well fed and clothed”. Enjoying great popularity among people,

¹³C.F. Mill (1982).

these slogans and propositions were supported by people and demonstrated the value and meaning of equality. As an important value, equality is currently cherished by Chinese people, and is one of the core values upheld by the whole society.

4.2.1 Equality: The Consistent Proposition of China

In a socialist society, since people are masters of the society and the country, so it is possible and practical to eliminate exploitation and social classes, and people can treat each other equally and administrate the country. Equality is the fundamental feature of a socialist society and also the internal requisition of socialist development. Pooling strength of all parties, contemporary China safeguards that people are equal in personalities, rights and chances.

Firstly, equality means equal human dignity. As the necessary rights of a person to maintain his or her life and dignity, equality here includes the right of life, health, name, portrait, reputation, secret and others. In modern society, although there are disparities in wealth and knowledge between people, yet they cannot be the reason for unequal dignity. No people are born as slaves and being inferior to others, nor are they born as masters and being superior. Everyone is entitled with independent characters, thoughts and dignities. In a socialist society, everyone has equal characters irrespective of the differences in sexuality, identity, status, inclination, body, disposition, personality, knowledge and intellectuality. Both state leaders and ordinary people are equal legal entities, with no lowliness or nobleness. The dignity of citizens is equally protected by laws so that they enjoy the rights of being respected by others.

Equality also means equal rights. In contemporary China, regardless of their ethnic status, race, sex, occupation, family background, religious belief, education, property status, length of residence, every citizen enjoys the same rights and should fulfill their equal obligations prescribed by the Constitution and other laws; any legitimate rights of people are protected equally, and any offenders are prosecuted in accordance with the law; no citizens can enjoy priorities above laws; no one can coerce other citizens to assume any duties that are not prescribed by laws; no one will receive punishment that are not stipulated by laws.

Equality also means equal opportunities to prosper. “Heroes may also have a humble family background, and success does not rely on backgrounds”. Equal chance means that everyone should not be classified into the categories of the noble or the lowly, the poor or the rich, the beautiful or the ugly. And as long as people do their utmost, meet certain demands, and reach targeted criteria, they will have the same chance to gain the same social status and should be recognized by the whole society. Equality is about offering the same chance to all people. If one is willing to study, compete and endeavors to make progress, he or she can share the same opportunities with others to improve themselves, realize their dream, and grow along with the country and the times.

In contemporary China, people's equal right is well protected by the Constitution and other laws. Equality is the fundamental property of socialist laws. In September 1954, the Constitution of the People's Republic of China, promulgated by the Party on the basis of soliciting opinions of people from all walks of life, was approved at the First Session of the First National Congress. According to people's democratic principles, the Constitution defined people's basic rights and duties that "All citizens of the People's Republic of China are equal in front of the law". The current Constitution reaffirms this regulation in the second paragraph of article 33 that "All citizens of the People's Republic of China are equal before the law." This general provision for the equal right is very important to every sector. Besides this general regulation, there are also some relevant and specific provisions. For example, the third paragraph of article 33 stipulates that "Every citizen is entitled with the rights and at the same time must perform the duties prescribed by the Constitution and other laws". The First Paragraph of article 4 stipulates that "All ethnic groups in the People's Republic of China are equal", "Discrimination against and oppression of any ethnic group are prohibited" and so on. These general and specific stipulations constitute an integrated system on the equal right in the current Constitution. Some common laws like the Criminal Law and Civil Law all demonstrate and uphold this basic principle. Article 4 of the Criminal Law of the People's Republic of China clearly sets that:

"The law shall be equally applied to anyone who commits a crime. No one shall have the privilege of transcending the law." Article 3 of the General Principles of the Civil law of the People's Republic of China stipulates that "Parties to a civil activity shall have equal status."

Article 10 stipulates that "All citizens are equal as regards their capacity for civil rights."

The CPC has always attached great importance to safeguarding people's equal legal rights during all phases of the reform and opening up. Since the 15th CPC National Committee, this mission has been underscored and interpreted in every report of CPC National Committee. For example, the report of the 15th CPC National Committee pointed out that "Safeguarding the sanctity of the Constitution and other laws. We must make sure that all are equal before the law, and no individual or organization has the privilege transcending the law". The report of the 16th CPC National Committee pointed out that

"We must see to it that all people are equal before the law. We should tighten supervision over law enforcement, promote the exercise of administrative functions according to law, safeguard judicial justice and raise the level of law enforcement so that laws are strictly implemented."

The report of the 17th CPC National Committee pointed out that "We will strengthen the enforcement of the Constitution and laws, ensure that all citizens are equal before the law, and safeguard social equity and justice and the consistency, sanctity and authority of the socialist legal system." The report of the 18th CPC National Committee pointed out that "We should make laws in a scientific way, enforce them strictly, administer justice impartially, and ensure that everyone abides

by the law. We must make sure that all are equal before the law and that laws are observed and strictly enforced and lawbreakers are prosecuted.”

Socialism guarantees that everyone is equal in politics and law, and is entitled to equal economic and social rights. It also calls for building an ideal society without exploitation and oppression, aiming at achieving real equality and justice. The blueprint and practice of establishing an equal and impartial society, showing the salient feature of socialism, is critical for maintaining the vitality and attraction of socialism.

4.2.2 Equality Is an Indispensable Social Value

In contemporary China, as equality wins popularity among people, they also apply equality into their daily life and into state policies and governance. This is not only conducive to individual progress, but benefits the stability and harmony of society, and helps to strengthen the superiority and attraction of socialism.

4.2.2.1 Equality Is the Condition for Individual Harmony and Development

The expectation of being respected and equally treated is a profound need of humanity. According to the hierarchy of needs, a theory proposed by American psychologist Maslow, human needs can be divided into those levels of: physiological, safety, social belonging, esteem, self-actualization and self-transcendence. These levels are portrayed in the shape of a pyramid with physiological needs at the bottom and self-actualization and self-transcendence at the top. When the fundamental needs are met, individuals will desire needs of higher level. Maslow's theory suggests that people strongly desire to be respected, accepted and valued by others after their physical, safety and social belonging needs are met. If they are not respected, they will feel anxious and tensed up. This shows that people are eager to be respected and to gain dignity.

However, equality is the prerequisite of dignity. In modern times, Chinese people struggled for national independence and dignity, requiring an equal relation with other countries. But it was impossible for them to succeed since China was poor and weak. At that time, China lost its dignity when it was oppressed and preyed by other countries. Therefore, a country must be equally treated before it can claim its dignity. Likewise, individual dignity has to be gained on the premise of being equally treated. If people are nothing but talking machines, and are ordered around by other beings, how can they have dignity? So it is, if there is not an equal environment, unrealistic for people to talk about dignity and get respect.

Ancient Chinese people laid emphasis on treating others on the basis of equality. Confucius stated that “Do not impose upon others what you do not want to be done to yourself”. This means when we get along with others, we need to put ourselves in

others' shoes to consider if we want to be treated this way, and if we don't, we can't impose on others this way. Mencius also said that "Everyone will love you if you love them, and everyone will respect you if you respect them." This means people need to observe this principle in interpersonal communications. People need to respect each other and consult equally, to condemn bullying the weak, to never show off, to never disdain others, and to never infringe on others' interests. Chinese people always bear in mind the value of equality and getting along with others. They even regard this value as the basic code of conducts and the fundamental method of dealing with personal relationships. The same is true in its communication with foreign countries. China always stresses that every country is equal regardless of their size of territory, national strength or economy.

4.2.2.2 Equality Is the Foundation of Social Harmony and Stability

Han Yu, the famous literati of the Tang Dynasty, once said that "Objects that are placed on uneven surface will make sounds." It is true of people who vent their grievance when encountered with impartial treatments. Deep in their heart, everyone appeals for equality when they suffer from inhumane treatment, when their rights cannot be delivered or even striped away brutally, when the rich spend lavishly and the poor beg wretchedly, when alarming gaps exist between them, when they are restrained and have no chance to improve themselves, and when a group is not respected and recognized by other groups and barely have the equal opportunities for development. At that time, the society will be teemed with desperation, dissatisfaction, hatred and rebellion. We can say where there is inequality and dissatisfaction, there is complaint and resistance. In ancient China, people expressed their frowning upon inequality in poems or other literary works.

There is a piece entitled Tanfa in the Book of Songs that said: "why can you take three hundred bundles of crops to home without having sowed and reaped? Why can you hang sand bangers in the yard without having hunted? These so-called lords and noble men do nothing but have everything!" Compared with the euphemistic statement in the Book of Songs, the slogans of peasant uprisings through dynasties are fiercer. As we have mentioned above, under the guidance of slogans appealing for equality like:

"The noble and the lowly should be equal and wealth should be equally distributed" and "There should be shared farmland, shared meals, shared clothes and shared money, so that everything will be equally distributed and everyone will be well fed and clothed", these uprisings grew powerfully day by day.

Since equality is of great significance to social harmony and stability, back to 20,000 years ago, Confucius pointed out that "For those rulers of states and chiefs of families are not troubled by scarcity but uneven distribution of wealth; that they are not troubled with fears of poverty but with that of instability." A society, where the strong prey on the weak, the rich and the poor are extremely divergent, and

discrimination prevails, must be a society full of hatreds and conflicts. Without equality, fairness and justice cannot be attained and social harmony and stability will never come true.

4.2.2.3 Contemporary China Is in Quest for Equality in Both Form and Content

The equality advocated by socialism is completely different from that advocated by capitalism. As is known to all, in the history of human beings, it was the western bourgeois revolution that first put forward the slogan of freedom, equality and human rights and then defined legally the basic human rights in real political practices, and safeguarded them with a set of mechanism designs. Undoubtedly, capitalist equality is a big headway made in the history, eliminating the feudal hierarchy system and aiming at entitling people with equal political rights. The aim of socialism, which has been repudiating and transcending capitalism since its occurrence, is to build a freer and higher-level equality which goes beyond that of capitalism. It's worth mentioning that socialism has absorbed the positive sides of and expressed its discontentedness toward capitalist freedom and equality.

Socialism pays particular attention to the equal rights of people at the bottom of society, ensuring that everyone is equal and the genuine equality prevails. As we all know, representative documents of capitalism, like American Declaration of Independence and French Declaration of Human Rights, definitely carry out the opinion that everyman is born free and equal. However, "everyone" here does not refer to every single American citizen, let alone people in the whole world, for black slaves, the African-Indians, women and white workers with no property are not included in it. Therefore, this so-called freedom and equality covers up its favored groups in the form of universality. The inequality between workers and people in distress, and those people with properties was considered a default fact for the draftsmen of these declarations. Meanwhile, the equality here is the equality in its form rather than its content, which means jobs are, in theory, accessible to all people and everyone has chances to compete for them. As a matter of fact, it is difficult for proletarians without political rights and economic status to participate in competition and gain real equality.

Socialism is a cause in pursuit of equality, and the ultimate goal of it is to eradicate all exploitation and suppression, and establish a society in which everyone is equal. The equality pursued by socialism, being criticism and transcendence to capitalist equality, is considered a thorough and genuine one. Socialism does not only stand for a fact that everyone is equal in politics. Rather, it also proposes that everyone equally enjoy their economic and social rights, and we should build an ideal society that stays away from exploitation and oppression. And it also claims that everyone, including the proletarians and the toiling masses, has equal rights. The prospect of an ideal society is the superiority of socialism over capitalism.

The CPC, since its founding, has taken achieving social equality and justice as its political agenda, and has invested different content in it in different periods.

Under the leadership of the CPC, China launched the New Democratic Revolution, aiming at toppling the rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, freeing Chinese people and helping the Chinese nation to secure its position among other nations in the world, seeking equal standing with them and enjoy due dignity. It also aims to help the toiling masses become masters of the country, and gain individual dignity and be free from any oppression of other dignitaries.

Since the reform and opening up, China has made intensive efforts to develop productivity. On the one hand, it has made notable progresses in it, and on the other hand, it has also been focusing on equality, justice, and the reform of its distribution system. Over these years, it has paid attention to adjust high incomes and raise low incomes, and to enlarge the proportion of middle incomes, thus forming an oval-shaped distribution system. The ultimate goal of these actions is to build an equal and just society. This is the very distinctive feature and the superiority of socialist equality.

4.2.3 Everyone Enjoys Chances to Achieve Their Potentials

We not only stress that everyone should advocate and practice the concept of equality, that being bearing it in mind and putting it into practice, but also institutionalizing the ideal of equality by system design, in hope of building China into an equal, fair and just society.

4.2.3.1 No Organization or Individual Has the Privilege of Transcending the Constitution and Other Laws

Equality means the elimination of privileges, which by name usually refers to those special rights different from and even surpassing the rights of others, which, obviously, gravely goes against the principle of equality.

The establishment of China's socialist system has fundamentally deprived the privileged class of all their special treatments. The Constitution and other laws, issued after the founding of New China, embody China's thoughts and determination in quest of equality and eliminating privileges. Over the past several decades, we have been committed to fight against privileges. In 1956, the Second Plenary Session of the 8th CPC Committee proposed that we should prevent officials at all levels from seeking prerogatives in case a privileged class would be incubated. During the reform and opening up, Deng Xiaoping was highly alert of the privilege-related issues. In 1980, he wrote in *On the Reform and the System of Party and State Leadership* that "various privilege phenomena" was the main flaw of the system of party and state leadership. He viewed that:

“Currently, some leading cadres regard themselves as masters rather than servants of the people, and use their positions to seek privileges. This practice has aroused strong resentment from the mass and tarnished the Party’s prestige. Unless it is corrected, it is bound to corrupt our cadres.”¹⁴

In the eyes of Deng Xiaoping, the key to maintaining the vitality of the Party is that cadres and ordinary people are equal and share the same weal and woe. He said “Why did we manage to go through obstacles in the past? The fundamental reason was that our cadres and party members rose up to face challenges together with our people.”¹⁵ In 1982, the 12th CPC National Congress, wrote for the first time “All CPC members are prohibited to seek any personal interests or privileges” into the Party Constitution as the basic requirement for its members.

However, since we have inherited traditional ways of thinking, and our institutional systems are still far from perfect, a certain number of officials have not refrained themselves from seeking privileges and creating conditions for doing. In addition, they are still doing their utmost to convert their rights prescribed by the law into those beyond the law, in other words, into privileges. Some officials become arrogant, and their speeches and actions are no longer constrained by Party regulations and state laws. They exercise powers in a tyrannical way, appoint relatives and friends to government positions, oust dissents, secure advantages for others, try to curry favor from others, use their positions to seek interests and privileges, and take bribes.

It is so harmful to seek privileges that they encourage people to worship powers and mislead them to believe that they can do anything with powers, and that powers become outdated if not be utilized for their own good. Accordingly, some officials abuse powers blatantly to procure personal interests or to do the same for their relatives and friends. Therefore, privileges are the origins and breeding ground for corruption. From a variety of corruption cases, we can see that corruption occurs when people with certain powers undermine the rules of exercising public powers, make them into privileges and seek illegal personal gains.

To achieve equality, we must resolutely oppose privileges. The Decision of the CPC Central Committee on Major Issues Pertaining to Comprehensively Promoting the Rule of Law, adopted in the 4th Plenary Session of the 18th CPC Committee, states that:

“Equality is the basic attribute of socialist laws. Any organization and individual must respect the authority of the Constitution and other laws, and they must act within the scope prescribed by laws, exercise powers and enjoy rights, assume duties and obligations in accordance with the law. No organizations or individuals have the privilege to overstep the law.”

This tells us that people of all ethnic groups, all state organs, armed forces, democratic parties, social organizations, enterprises and institutions must abide by the Constitution and other laws, exercise their powers, enjoy their rights and fulfill

¹⁴C.F. *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping* (vol. 3), People’s Publishing House, 1993: 332.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, 217.

their duties and obligations in accordance with these laws, and are not allowed to violate them. People regardless of their ranks, powers, status and contributions to the country and society, shall all be subject to the punishment of laws if they violate them.

Opposing privileges require that we put powers into the cage of legal institutions. Powers, which are aggressive and expansive, tend to tempt to grasp and abuse them, thus overpassing the boundary of justice and morality and inflicting the freedom of others. As Montesquieu remarked “experience throughout history demonstrates that people who have powers are prone to abuse them and will never stop doing so until their powers are abused to the largest extent.”¹⁶ Lord Acton, a famous Britain thinker in the 19th century pointed out straightforwardly that “Powers cause corruption, and absolute powers cause absolute corruption.”¹⁷ “Given the opportunity, everyone likes to have more powers and no one will vote for a regulation that demands self-restraining.”¹⁸ Powers without any restriction are the most outrageous powers in a society, and the possibility of abusing powers will always exist. Therefore, we must strengthen supervision over the exercise of powers, and lock them into the cage of legal institutions so as to punish, supervise and eliminate corruption. These years, we have effectively constrained powers in a series ways: we have taken further steps to improve the system of intra-party oversight, democratic oversight, legal inspection, and oversight through public opinions, and minimized institutional barriers and weaknesses; we have strengthened supervision over officials especially those at high ranks, and strengthened internal oversight among leader groups, administrative oversight, audit and inspection oversight, strictly restricted the powers of officials, and ensured that they are vigilant of potential risks so that they don’t abuse powers to seek personal gains.

4.2.3.2 Providing Equal Opportunities to People for Their Potentials

Equality means everyone has equal chances of participation, choice and competition, and all jobs are available to all people. The ideology of resisting privilege is to help everyone have equal chances to compete with others.

Opportunities can determine the destinies of people. An excellent person may achieve nothing if he attains no qualifications for competition. To guarantee equality, particular attention needs to be given to equal chances. Chances should be open to everyone so that they have the same chance to display their intelligence and ability, and success is attainable if people make efforts to pursue it. We need to clear the path for the flow of people from all walks of life and different classes. That is why the youth hailed when College Entrance Examination (gaokao) was resumed in 1977. The fairness of this examination is reflected on the equal chances offered to

¹⁶C.F. Montesquieu (2012).

¹⁷C.F. Acton (2001).

¹⁸Ibid., 343.

students. The resources of higher education are accessible to every citizen who can pass the exam. All Chinese citizens, in compliance with regulations, have the same chances and equal rights to compete. At the same time, everyone, disregarding of their family backgrounds and social status is equal before test scores. Competing in the exam by the same rule, those who perform well will feel proud, while those who fail to do so don't have to blame anyone, which has solved the problem of who are better qualified for college education and can safeguard fairness, justice, harmony and the stability of society. Therefore, we can say that the return of gaokao, in effect, is the return of the principle that everyone is equal before examinations, and it offers people equal chance of receiving higher education. Thus even ordinary people can change their destinies through personal efforts.

At present, we should take the phenomenon of unequal chances in Chinese society seriously, and one of its main symptoms is class solidification, meaning the decrease of social mobility, especially when the mobility in the bottom of the society is so hindered that social classes show an inclination of inheritance. The emergence of so-called "second generations", e.g. "second generation of the officials" "second generation of the rich" "second generation of the poor" and other concepts like these sharply reflects class solidification. And some buzz words like "famous daddy" and "the competition of daddy" are the typical instances. At the initial stage of the reform and opening up, there was a famous slogan that "Nothing in the whole world can daunt you if you master math, physics and chemistry". But now some people tease it as "Learning math, physics and chemistry well is no match for having a rich father". The shift of this manifests the social reality that people in vulnerable positions have a receding confidence to change their destinies through efforts. Some young people have a sigh that "I want to be the master of my destiny but every time I am defeated by it". If this problem cannot be well resolved, these people will be in low spirit and slack to strive, and even it will trigger some sentiments like the hatred of the rich and government officials. Seriously, people are desperate for and repulse the state system, which arouses the instability of society.

"What we are truly concerned with is not unequally distributed wealth but unequal opportunities." It is a natural law that people are born differently. And this inequality is not horrible and what really horrify us is that people make endeavors but cannot see any hope to change this inborn inequality. Conversely, if people are offered equal chance to compete and have the hope to change their inborn inequality, a sound social structure will take shape. Therefore, equal chances hold the key to mitigating the anxiety of people and to maintaining the justice and fairness of society. Without equal chances, competition will no longer make sense, and hopes and efforts will disappear. Therefore, the importance of equal chances should be repeatedly emphasized.

How to achieve equal chances? Firstly, the starting point should be equal in itself, which means people with the same potentials should have the same starting point so that they can have the similar prospects. It is like a 100-m race in which all athletes stand at the same starting line. Secondly, the rules should be equal too. The competition should exclude all the interventions from unusual factors, such as the meddling of the privileged. And all people should act in line with the same rule, and

no one should have prerogatives. To this end, transparency is the key and the competition has to be held above the table.

To achieve real equal chances, we also need to pay particular attention to the life of those disadvantaged groups. In reality, some people, due to such special reasons as disability, mental illness, lack of education and poor family, are hard to compete under the same rule. Therefore, even if they possess equal chances and try their best, they still cannot compete “equally” with others. And this requires that the government provide assistances for them. Unlike the nature, people are not allowed to compete completely by the “jungle law”, which will result in the survival of the fittest, meaning that the strong become stronger, and the weak weaker if not being knocked out of the completion. “People without sympathy are inhuman.” “Jungle law” does not keep sustain the basic morality of humanity. The weak also have the same equal rights with others, and these rights should be respected, protected and actualized.

Equality cannot be achieved overnight so there is still a long way to go. We need to strengthen relevant institutional systems and policies. However, the Party and the government have taken measures to give priority to equality, and the whole society has increased their awareness of equality and is expecting an equal society. We have decided build the system of social justice security characterized by equal rights, equal chances and equal rules. And we have also taken solid steps to ensure that people live a dignified life, have equal chances to prosper and bring their potentials to full play.

4.3 Justice

The idea of justice has long been rooted in the inner cultural-ethical world of Chinese people since ancient times. “A just cause should be pursued for the common good”, as described in the Book of Rites,¹⁹ was the general picture of their ideal society. Confucius proposed that “rulers of states and chiefs of families are not troubled by scarcity but uneven distribution of wealth; that they are not troubled with fears of poverty but with that of instability”, which was continued by the philosopher Mo Di who advocated the idea of “universal love”, calling for “shared benefits”. In addition, Kang Youwei, the famous modern thinker of late Qing Dynasty, argued in his Book of Great Harmony that an ideal society where “everyone loves everyone else; everyone is equal, and the whole world is but one community shared by all” should be built. Like the people of other nationalities, the Chinese have, for thousands of years, made unremitting efforts for the establishment

¹⁹C.F. *The Book of Rites* (禮記 *Li Ji*), compiled by Dai Sheng 戴圣 (?-?), a Confucian of rites in the Western Han Dynasty (202 B.C.–8 A.D.), is a collection of ancient laws and regulations in the Pre-Qin Periods (21st Century–221 B.C.).

of a fair and just society, which has undoubtedly always been propelled by the impetus of equality and justice.

4.3.1 Justice as the Essential Requirement of Socialism

It is the essential requirement of socialist society and the embodiment of the socialist system's superiority to achieve higher social justice than the capitalist ones. Since the birth of the socialist ideal, it is our duty to eliminate inequality and injustice of human society and to achieve the free and overall development of human beings and the liberation of individuality. Both utopian socialism and the founder of scientific socialism turned to believe that the crime of capitalism lies in private ownership and social polarization.

Utopian socialists strongly condemned the cruel exploitation of capitalists in the period of primitive accumulation of capital. In their views, the economic freedom of capitalism will not bring universal happiness to society. On the contrary, it will produce slavery and oppression in a large degree. The free competition of capital does not make a happy and just society. Thomas Moore revealed in his *Utopia* that capitalism had committed the sin of "sheep devouring man" the minute it was born.

"Your sheep, which are naturally mild, and easily kept in order, may be said now to devour men and people, not only villages, but towns; for wherever it is found that the sheep of any soil yield a softer and richer wool than ordinary, there the nobility and gentry, and even those holy men, the abbots, not contented with the old rents which their farms yielded, nor thinking it enough that they, living at their ease, do no good to the public, resolve to do it hurt instead of good."²⁰

In the views of utopian socialists, the development of free competition of capitalism did not bring people, especially proletarians, common interests. Rather, it symbolized their tragic fate.

Compared with slavery and feudal system, capitalism is undoubtedly a major progress in human history. But capitalism is based on private ownership of the means of production, and the basis of free competition and equivalent exchange as a measurement to justice. However, the truth is that the proletariats who have no assets cannot enjoy the rights of freedom and equality, which results in the dilemma of superficial justice i.e. injustice. The principle of justice that is based on private ownership of the means of production of capitalism, is only effective for the bourgeoisies, and for those proletariats who suffer from economic exploitation, justice is nothing but an empty slogan. In the face of such an empty slogan, a beggar in the street can't under all circumstances be compared with a wealthy man. It is Marxism that based the realization of justice on scientific research for the first time. Marxists argue that the social roots of inequality lies in the capitalist system of exploitation, and that only when the capitalist system is overthrown, when the

²⁰C.F. Moore (1982).

capitalist private ownership as the source of inequality is eradicated, and when a new socialist system is established, can real justice be finally realized.

Fairness and justice are the inherent requirement of socialism with Chinese characteristics. In his creative response to the questions “what is socialism, and how to build a socialist country”, Deng Xiaoping pointed out that there are two value goals of socialism: one is to emancipate and develop the productive forces, and thereby realize the dream of the Chinese nation cherished for over a century; the other is to eliminate exploitation and polarization in wealth distribution, and thereby achieve common prosperity. While stressing that poverty is not socialism, Deng Xiaoping, at the same time, repeatedly emphasized the importance of common prosperity by pointing out:

“socialism is not a society where only a few people get rich while most others are poor. It’s nothing like that. The greatest superiority of socialism is common prosperity, which embodies the essence of socialism.”²¹ “Socialism is different from capitalism in its ultimate goal of common prosperity and anti-polarization.”²² “The characteristic of socialism is not poverty, but wealth. But this wealth refers to the common prosperity of the people.”²³

In September 1993, Deng Xiaoping, who was already 89 years old, mentioned again, in a conversation with his brother Deng Ken, the underlying problems of a developed China.

“How to achieve prosperity in a country of 1.2 billion people and how to distribute wealth afterwards are serious problems that confront us. The problems are lying in front of us now, but it seems still difficult to solve them. The problem of distribution is very a grave one. We have to prevent polarization in wealth distribution. In fact, polarization seems unavoidable. However, a variety of means, policies and programs have to be taken to solve these problems”

He said. “We used to talk a lot about prioritizing economic development. Now, it seems that we may have more problems than we did before development.” It’s self-evident that the common prosperity of socialism with Chinese characteristics is of paramount importance in the eyes of Deng Xiaoping.

The Chinese government takes people’s well-being as the starting point and ultimate goal of their work, and the continuous improvement of people’s livelihood as the fundamental purpose of promoting development. Common prosperity, fairness and justice are the inevitable requirements and embodiments of the essence of socialism. The superiority of socialism, in contrast with capitalism, is to create much higher productivity. It will, on the basis of this productivity, achieve common prosperity, social fairness and justice, and guarantee that the majority of people rather than a few people enjoy free and comprehensive development.

²¹C.F. *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping* (vol. 3), People’s Publishing House, 1993: 364.

²²*Ibid.*, 123.

²³*Ibid.*, 265.

4.3.2 The Realization of Justice as the Consistent Pursuit of the CPC

Since the founding of the CPC, the realization and maintenance of social fairness and justice has been its unswerving pursuit. It is the Party that led Chinese people in the victory of the new democratic revolution, in overthrowing the “three big mountains”,²⁴ in achieving national independence and people’s liberation, socialist revolution, construction and reform. It is also the Party that continues to enhance the comprehensive national strength and improve the living standards of people. Those are the efforts made in order to promote social fairness and justice in China.

In the new historical period of reform and opening up, Deng Xiaoping proposed that socialism should, on the basis of liberating and developing productive forces, eliminate exploitation and polarization, and take realizing common prosperity, social fairness and justice as its major objectives. Later, during the 4th Plenary Session of the 13th CPC Central Committee, President Jiang Zemin repeatedly stressed the need to solve the problem of social justice as an important strategic issue that is related to the whole society and gradually guarantee people’s interests with the help of policy and social security system. When Hu Jintao became the General Secretary of the CPC Central Committee, he put forward the strategic thought of building a socialist harmonious society, and decided to make the realization of social fairness and justice as the fundamental features and an important goal of a socialist harmonious society. That is to say, a new realm for the all-round development of people and the overall progress of society would be expanded by means of reforming income distribution system, adjusting the distribution of national income, increasing the efforts to improve people’s living standard, and safeguarding the rights of citizens, building a system to guarantee social justice (mainly including fair rights, fair opportunities, and fair rules).

The Central Committee of the CPC, with Xi Jinping as its General Secretary, have spared no efforts to promote social equity and justice ever since the 18th National Congress of the CPC. In other words, effective measures have been taken to promote fairness and justice. Measures in the social well-fare field include improving people’s livelihood, attaching importance to system construction, guaranteeing the bottom line of living, promoting the reform of pension and social relief system, and improving the minimum living standard of urban and rural residents and the basic pension for enterprise retirees; Those in the educational field include starting poverty-alleviation projects of education, improving compulsory education in under-developed rural areas, promoting the development of education fairness, increasing the living allowance of teachers in rural destitute areas; Those in the medical field include deepening medical and health system reform, perfecting the national basic health-care system, achieving full coverage of basic health insurance, increasing the basic medical insurance subsidies for urban and rural

²⁴The Three Big Mountains refers to imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, which weighed like mountains on the backs of the Chinese people before liberation.

residents, starting pilot rescuing projects for major and emergent diseases to bring people more tangible benefits; Those in the educational field include promoting employment of university graduates, guaranteeing the employment of the vast majority of college graduates; Other efforts include providing employment service and vocational training for rural labors and helping out those who are out of work in the urban areas, promoting affordable housing projects to make sure that millions of people, who don't have their own housing, have new apartments to live in.

4.3.3 Justice as Something More Glorious Than the Sun in China

Great changes have taken place in China since the reform and opening up in 1978. The overall national strength has been remarkably increased, and people's living standards have been greatly improved. But in the meantime, some new social problems are emerging, among which social injustice is the most severe. These problems can be briefly stated as follows.

First, the income gap has been widening. We encouraged some people and some areas to get rich first, which has brought great vitality to overall economic development. However, due to a variety of complex reasons, the income gap among Chinese people has been continuing to expand. The income ratio of urban and rural residents rose from 2.36:1 in 1978 to 3.33:1 in 2009; If compared among different regions, the income gap of urban and rural residents in the eastern and western regions are relatively larger. In 2009, the urban disposable income per capita in Zhejiang Province and Guizhou Province were 24,611 and 12,862.53 yuan respectively, and that of the rural residents were 10,007 and 3000 yuan respectively; if compared among different groups, high-income groups have enjoyed higher wealth growth, and China has consequently become the world's second largest consumer of luxury goods. On the other hand, China still has a population of more than 40 million people who live in absolute poverty, in spite of a low income population of 270 million people.

The Gini coefficient is regarded universally as an important indicator to measure the income gap of a country. It is generally believed that when the Gini coefficient is between 0.4 and 0.5, the income gap is too large. If it is more than 0.5, it signifies polarization. The latest data released by the National Bureau of Statistics in January 2013 shows that during the decade of 2003–2012 the Gini coefficients of Chinese national income was 0.479 in 2003, 0.473 in 2004, 0.485 in 2005, 0.487 in 2006, 0.484 in 2007, 0.491 in 2008, 0.490 in 2009, 0.481 in 2010, 0.477 in 2011, and 0.474 in 2012. The data shows that on the one hand, that China's current income gap is too large is an indisputable fact and on the other hand, through the efforts of all parties, the current income gap between urban and rural residents has been curbed from further expanding.

It takes rational analysis and investigation to solve the problem of widening income gap. The current income gap in China is a problem arising in the process of social and economic development, during which a certain income gap among the members of society is hard to avoid. Since the 1978 social and economic reforms, China has witnessed a process of accelerated modernization. International experience shows that in the transition from a traditional society to a modern one, factors such as the development of industrialization and urbanization, and the market mechanism of “survival of the fittest” effect can all lead to a widening income gap. Most developed countries have experienced such a stage in their process of modernization. With the continued growth of the economy and the government’s regulation in place, the gap will gradually narrow down in the future. But in the meantime, it should be noted that if the income gap is too large and remains so for too long a time, not only will it dampen the enthusiasm of the people, but also affect social stability and unity. The polarization between the rich and the poor is a serious social problem, which has caused many severe social problems, and may even endanger social order and the progress of society. In reality, an “effective mechanism of those who become rich first will lead others to get rich” hasn’t been established. Instead, the phenomenon of “the rich bullying the poor” still exists. In addition, serious dissatisfactions in the whole society has been caused by some wealthy people who challenged the bottom line of social justice. What’s more worrying is that the phenomenon of polarization between the rich and the poor have also led to the vicious cases of revenge on society, emergent incidents, mass incidents and other social problems, which have become a barrier for building a harmonious society.

Second, social security issues have arisen. The social security system includes social insurance, social relief, social welfare, and housing security, etc., among which major insurances that cover pension, unemployment, medical treatment and injury are in the core of this system. Social security is the “umbrella over people’s life”, the “control valve of income distribution”, the “shock absorber of economic operation”, and the “stabilizer for social development”. Social security, as a system of national and social relief and subsidies system for the basic living rights of its members, is an important symbol of social justice and social progress, which plays an important role in the regulation of income distribution, alleviation of social contradictions and promotion of economic development and everlasting national stability. The social security system of China was established after the foundation of People’s Republic of China in 1949. After years of efforts, the system with Chinese characteristics has finally been established. The construction of the system in China has been through great progress in recent years, from the selective institutional system to the inclusive one, from the long-term status of a bottom-up tentative reform to the new stage of maturity and permanence through top-level design and styling. However, due to the interference of institutional obstacles, the historical limitations in the progressive reform, the formation of interest groups and the butterfly effect of a complex social ecology, problems still exist in the Chinese social security system. For instance, urban and rural differences, regional differences and group division still exist in the institutional arrangements, resulting in at

least three aspects of security unfairness: ① There is a comprehensive social security system in urban areas while the rural social security is still in its initial stage, where people are still taken care of mainly by their family; ② There is an unfair payment ratio for the basic endowment insurance due to the current regional disparity; ③ The problem of a “Dual-Track System”, one for the enterprise workers, and the other for the staff in the government and public service institutions, need to be solved as soon as possible. In addition, the work of narrowing urban and rural differences, regional differences and group divisions by optimizing the structure of the system and the allocation of resources, has to be strengthened.

Third, the issue of judicial justice still exists. Judicature, the last fortification to protect the justice of law, is the most important means to ensure the justice of law. Moreover, judicial justice is the bottom line of social conscience. Once it is broken, people will feel despair and society will be plunged into chaos.

Though the mainstream of the Chinese judicature is good, corruption in this field also cannot be ignored. At present, some judicial officers, either from opinion survey or the prosecution cases in this field, are found guilty of negligence and misconducts, including lax enforcement, judicial injustice and corruption. These problems are still very prominent. For example, some are found guilty of arbitrary, uncivil or selective law enforcement; some are found guilty of abusing coercive measures, violating people’s legitimate rights and interests; some are found guilty of inquiring about the case for another party, illegally intervening or interfering with the case, etc. The root cause for judicial injustice lies in the imperfection of the judicial system, the nonstandard operation of the judicial functions and powers, and the lack of judicial protection of human rights. Judicature is the last fortification to protect the justice of law. If this line of defense is breached, social injustice will be condoned and enlarged, blocking people to maintain their interests from “the right way”, thus causing serious social problems. Lax law enforcement, judicial injustice and corruption all lead to the lack of public confidence in the judiciary, which not only tarnish the image of the political and legal organs, but also damage the image of the Party and the government. Therefore, the authority, dignity and credibility of the rule of law must be resolutely upheld, so that justice is served in every case in the courts, which has become an important and urgent target to be achieved in contemporary China.

Fourth, educational inequity is still noteworthy. Over the years, the central government and government at all levels have attached great importance to improving the fairness of education. However, this problem cannot be easily solved due to China’s large population, vast territory, and the unevenness of regional economy and cultures. The educational gap among regions and between the developed areas and underdeveloped ones differ greatly. Significant differences are also found among the counties in the same province, or even in the same municipal district. The difference between urban and rural education is very serious, and the one in rural areas is still outstanding. Though governments at all levels have taken measures to achieve educational equity in urban and rural areas, such as the campaign of the “Reconstruction Project for the Underdeveloped Compulsory Schools in Rural Areas”, and the implementation of the “Special Posts for

Compulsory School Teachers in Rural Areas”, the problems are far from being solved because of the understaffing of rural teachers, the shortage of education investment and facilities. In addition to these problems, social class differences are still enlarging, and disadvantaged groups and students in poverty call for urgent and intense attention.

It is the duty of the Party and government to create a more equitable starting point and condition for development, so that every Chinese citizen has the opportunity to shine. When there is fairness, there is hope. In this sense, justice is more glorious than the sun.

4.3.4 The Achievements of Reform and Development Benefiting Everyone

At present, the call for social fairness and justice is increasingly stronger. Ever since the year of 2002, people.com.cn has been, once a year, conducting a public opinion poll to collect the “ten most popular social issues” right before the opening of the National People’s Congress and the Chinese Political Consultative Conference (NPC and CPPCC). Over the past ten years, “social security”, “anti-corruption”, “income distribution and “education fairness”, topics that are related to fairness and justice, have always been topping the list. It can be said that many of the heated debates are somewhat associated with justice in contemporary China. It is obvious that there is still a gap between the social reality and people’s expectations for fairness and justice.

On November 12, 2013, in the third Plenary Session of the 18th CPC Central Committee, General Secretary Xi Jinping pointed out: “If you cannot bring tangible benefits to the people, or fail to create a fairer social environment, and, worse still, if we cause more inequality, then our reform will lose its significance and cannot be sustained”.²⁵ In November 27, 2015, the Central Poverty Alleviation and Development Work Conference made a solemn promise to bring the country’s poverty-stricken areas and its population in poverty into a comprehensively well-off society before 2020. In the future, we should take efforts to safeguard social fairness and justice in the process of modernization and put this task in a more prominent position. In addition, close attentions should be paid to strengthening social justice, establishing a fair distributional mechanism, eliminating the unreasonable factors in the field of distribution, so that all the people can enjoy equal participation, equal competition, equal development and equal rights in the economic and social development, and all the people, therefore, will be benefited with the growing achievements of development, and thus a foundation for social harmony and stability can be established.

²⁵C.F. Xi (2014, p. 96).

4.3.4.1 Constructing a Guarantee System for Social Fairness

At present, the key to the maintenance and realization of social justice is to gradually establish a fair social security system based on fair rights, fair opportunity and fair rules.

In recent years, the Chinese government has laid particular stress on the construction of social security system. On November 17, 2012, in his speech at the first group study session of the Political Bureau of the 18th CPC Central Committee, General Secretary Xi Jinping pointed out:

“Fairness and justice are inherent requirements of Chinese socialism—this is why we must, relying on the concerted efforts of all the Chinese people and based on economic and social development, double our efforts to develop institutions that are vital to ensuring social fairness and justice, and establish in due course a system for guaranteeing social equity.”²⁶

The Third Plenary Session of the 18th CPC Central Committee pointed out that the cause of reforming socialist market economy must sustained to promote social fairness and justice and improve—as the starting point and final goal—the well-being of the people, to further free our mind, to liberate the productive forces and enhance social vitality. The emphasis of these ideas is to solve the problem of unfairness through the deepening of social and economic reform.

A series of important deployment on deepening the reform, initiated by the central government, focus with no exception on “promoting social fairness and justice, and improving people’s well-being”. The implementation of these reform measures reflects both the “people-oriented” concept and the concepts of equal rights, equal opportunities and fair rules at a higher level.

- (1) Equal rights. The concept of equal rights means that all citizens, regardless of their gender, age, identity, occupation, region, property, and race and so on, are entitled to equal rights of existence and opportunity in all aspects of social development, and are equally protected by law without any discrimination. The fairness of rights, the logical start and prerequisite for social justice, is the bottom line of social justice. Only when people enjoy the most basic rights and fairness, can they have the truest dignity and freedom. If there is no justice to human rights, there will be no fairness or justice at all. China’s Constitution clearly stipulates: “The state respects and protects human rights.” Chinese citizens enjoy not only the freedom of speech, press, assembly, association and demonstrations, but also the freedom of religious belief, personal liberty, personal dignity and inviolability of their residence. In addition, they also enjoy the rights of comments and suggestions on any state organ or functionary. The basic rights of citizens must be effectively protected and guaranteed to ensure their dignity.
- (2) Equal opportunity. The equality of opportunity is reflected in the process of individual development, which means that people, in spite of their differences

²⁶C.F. Xi (2014, p. 13).

in family background and natural endowments, enjoy equal opportunity for future development. Equal opportunity is the key to social justice. It emphasizes that equal opportunity should be provided for all social members for their survival and development so that they can make free choices and have equal access to resources. It also emphasizes that on discrimination should be found in policymaking and implementation so that everyone has equal opportunity. The importance of self-induced factors can thus be so highlighted in individual development that people know as long as they are willing to work, they can succeed. This will undoubtedly ignite people's hope of success and maximize their potentials. To realize equal opportunity, a platform must also be provided to people to display their talents so that they can get involved in the process of social development, share the fruits of it and make true their ideals of life. At the same time, it is necessary to improve the social assistance system and the social welfare system, to meet the basic needs of the people in poverty, and to fully protect their basic rights of equal participation and development.

- (3) Fair rule. Fair rule means that everyone is equal before rules and has to compete by the same rules, and no double standards or different treatment are allowed. Fair rule, an important guarantee for the realization of social order, is an important part of social justice. "A reform must be carried out to promote social justice and clear out the unfair rules that hinder social justice," said Premier Li Keqiang when he met reporters home and abroad for the first time in 2013. He also stressed that "unspoken rules" must be replaced by "written rules". To achieve fair rules, we have to eliminate political privileges and create an institutional environment of openness, fairness and transparency. In addition, we have to earnestly safeguard the authority of laws and rules, which means everyone is equal in front of laws and rules and no one is allowed to rise above them. There is no privilege and no exception in front of the institutional constraints.

4.3.4.2 Accelerating the Construction of a Fair and just System

The transformation of fairness and justice, from an ideal to practice, needs strong protection from a solid system. Outdated system should be reformed, while successful practices should be institutionalized, and new systems should be explored and established to meet the needs of future development. Therefore, priorities should be given to the establishment of the systems that play an important role in ensuring social fairness and justice so that people's rights in the political, economic, cultural and social aspects can be better protected, and social fairness and justice can finally be safeguarded.

- (1) Efforts are made to create an environment for the protection of equal rights. In recent years, China has spared no efforts to protect human rights, regulate the operation of public power, ensuring that people's legitimate rights and interests are not violated; a series of social policies concerning people's livelihood are

issued to protect people's economic and social rights, such as the establishment of urban and rural minimum living system and public medical assistance system, the introduction of laws and regulations to protect people's basic rights to live, to be healthy and to prosper. As a result, social fairness is guaranteed to the largest extent. Besides, we need to further create an institutional environment of maintaining equal rights, safeguarding and implementing citizens' rights stipulated in the Constitution and other laws, and ensuring that all the members of society are able to enjoy equal education, equal employment, equal participation in social and political life as well as other rights prescribed by law.

- (2) Principles of enforcing law for the people and judicial justice must be adhered to. The reform of the judicial system and its working mechanism must be speeded up so that a fair, efficient and authoritative judicial system can be built up and its role in maintaining fairness and justice can be effectively played. On January 7, 2014, Xi Jinping, General Secretary of the CPC, pointed out at a central conference on judicial, procuratorial and public security work that:

“Judicial, procuratorial and public security work is aimed at achieving social fairness and justice as core values. In a sense, promoting fairness and justice is the lifeblood of this work, and judicial, procuratorial and public security organs are the last line in defense of social justice and fairness. Judicial, procuratorial and public security officers should use the scales of fairness and the sword of justice to guarantee a fair and just society with concrete actions, and ensure access to fairness and justice for every individual. We should focus on addressing serious violations of people's rights and interests. We should never turn down people who ask us for help, never refuse to accept their cases because they cannot pay, never abuse power to violate people's legitimate rights and interests, or violate the law to create injustices and wrongly decided cases.”²⁷

In recent years, efforts on improving judicial justice have been made in several aspects. First, judicial transparency has been required to promote justice and “black box operation” has therefore been effectively prevented. In December 2009, the Supreme People's Court issued the Six Provisions of the Supreme People's Court on Judicial Transparency, requiring transparency of filing, trial, execution, hearing, instruments, examination and other aspects of the judicial procedure, a strong impetus to the openness of judicial operation. In the future, China will continue to increase judicial transparency, which includes improving the systems of the public trial and public execution, promoting the live television broadcasting of court trial and publicizing court verdicts on the Internet, perfecting the systems of press spokesman and the jury, so that justice can be something visible, tangible and sensible. Secondly, the system has been perfected to promote justice. It has to be ensured by a scientific and standardized system that judicial justice is not to be interfered by money, power or personal factors. The independent and impartial exercise of judicial and procuratorial powers must be ensured by deepening the reform of the judicial system. In addition, other measures such as optimizing the allocation of judicial

²⁷C.F. Xi (2014, p. 148).

authority, innovating and strengthening trial management, improving the operational mechanism of judicial power and the internal and external supervision mechanism, and ensuring the deepening of judicial justice. At the same time, the construction of judicial personnel continues to be strengthened, which includes strengthening their moral education, firmly establishing their values of fairness, honesty and pleading for the people, focusing on professional training and social practice, strengthening the construction of discipline, increasing the efforts to investigate violations of discipline, and effectively improving their ability to maintain social fairness and justice.

- (3) The reform of the income distribution system should be improved so that the trend of widening income gap can be effectively reversed. Poverty is not socialism, nor is the society where certain people are wealthy, while others remain poverty-ridden for most of their lives. Common prosperity is the unswerving goal of the CPC. The purpose of our socialist construction is to realize this goal of common prosperity. Justice of social distribution should be looked upon from the perspectives of whether the superiority of socialism can be fully in action and continuously strengthened, whether the CPC's ruling status can be effectively consolidated. We need to endeavor in further promoting the reform of the income distribution system, gradually straightening out the relations in the income distribution, standardizing the order of income distribution, and reversing the trend of widening income gap as soon as possible.

First, illegal income must be resolutely confiscated. At present, the trend of widening income gap has been questioned by people. In fact, what has been strongly questioned is not the part of reasonable and legitimate income but the part of income gained through illegal means. Loopholes in the fields of the reform of state-owned enterprises, land sale, mine development and others must be resolutely plugged up. Commercial bribery, together with other illegal activities like business-government collusion, smuggling, insider trading, stocks market manipulation, making and selling counterfeit goods, and frauds on loans and foreign currency, must be cracked down. Second, great efforts must be taken to regulate gray income. At present, China's anti-corruption actions have been escalating to such a degree that various forms of gray income including gifts, red envelopes, appearance fees and other material benefits are now subject to strict control. Further efforts are also needed to strengthen the intensity of regulation, cleaning up or regulating the gains beyond legal income and non-monetary benefits in state-owned enterprises and institutions. The channels of gray income must be cut off by thoroughly examining the "private coffer" in the Party and government's organs, institutions, social groups, state-owned or state holding enterprises. Third, excessively high incomes should be effectively regulated. It is necessary to regulate the excessively high incomes through taxation and other means so that the income gap of social members can be controlled within a reasonable range. The intensity of tax collection and administration should be increased, which means no efforts should be spared to crack down on tax evasions, and priorities must be given in

particular to the management and monitoring of those with highly taxable incomes. Fourth, it is necessary to promote the transparency of revenue information because it is the premise to strengthen supervision and promote fair distribution. At present, China is speeding up the establishment of income information database including personal, income, property, housing information etc. In addition, the establishment of personal payment and settlement system is also under way including a system of fixed credit card account or check account to encourage electronic transactions. In this way, the income and family burdens of each citizen will be “exposed under the sun”. Gray and illegal income will no longer remain undetected, and tax evasion will lose its ground.

- (4) Great efforts are made to protect and improve people’s livelihood, and to constantly improve the lives of people, especially those in poverty. “The people are the foundation of a state, and the stability of this state, therefore, requires the consolidation of this foundation.”²⁸ People’s livelihood is the foundation of their happiness and social harmony. In other words, people’s livelihood is closely related with their opinions toward the government, which in turn will affect their support to the government. Therefore, the efforts to protect and improve people’s livelihood are closely related to the welfare of the people and social harmony and stability. The CPC itself is an integrated part of the people, is rooted in the people and has been striving to serve the people. It is, therefore, a party that serves the people wholeheartedly and all the efforts it has taken, including the revolutions, constructions and reforms, have one common purpose that is to let people live a happy life.

Since the 18th National Congress of the CPC, the new central collective leadership has attached great importance to the construction of people’s livelihood, which includes taking people’s livelihood and social governance as the two fundamental tasks of social construction, and more substantially and equitably benefiting all the people with the achievements of reform and development. On November 15, 2012, when the new Politburo Standing Committee met with Chinese and foreign reporters, General Secretary Xi Jinping pointed out in his speech that:

“Our people have an ardent love for life. They want to have better education, more stable jobs, more income, reliable social security, better medical and health care, improved housing conditions and a beautiful environment. They hope that their children will have sound growth, good jobs and more enjoyable lives. The people’s wish for a happy life is our mission.”²⁹

The hearts of hundreds of millions of people have been warmed by these simple and cordial words of the General Secretary. The new central government should

²⁸C.F. *The Songs of the Five Sons in The Book of History* (《尚書·五子之歌》), a collection of the historical literature of ancient China, mainly recording sayings of the governors in the Shang (17th Century–11th Century B.C.) and the Zhou (11th Century–256 B.C.) dynasties.

²⁹C.F. Xi (2014, p. 4).

continue to improve people's livelihood by adhering to the four basic principles "sticking to the bottom line, focusing on priorities, perfecting the system and guiding the public opinions". "Sticking to the bottom line" refers to the formation of a security system for social justice to safeguard the basic livelihood of the people, securing the "bottom line" of this system; "Focusing on priorities" refers to the preferential policies for focus groups; "Perfecting the system" refers to the formation of a comprehensive security system; "Guiding public opinions" refers to the formation of a good atmosphere of public opinion and social expectations.

Over the years, the Chinese government has spared no efforts to promote social security. The government has played an important role in securing the "bottom line", which means they provide basic social security to people in compulsory education, basic medical care, housing, pension and other aspects; besides, special support and assistance are also provided basic necessities to specially disadvantaged groups, holding the bottom line of their lives.

All in all, great achievements have been achieved in improving people's livelihood and social security, which can be further elaborated as follows.

- (1) It is ensured that all the children can afford school. As early as in 1980s, our country proposed that students in the compulsory education stage (from primary school to junior middle school) be exempted from paying tuition. However, due to limited government investment, these students still had to pay certain portion of the required tuition. This became a burden for many families with financial difficulties. With the rapid development of social economy and the enrichment of national financial resources, the Chinese government has begun to tackle the problem of insufficient investment in education. From 2006 to 2008, the three years witnessed the government's predetermined efforts, from rural areas to urban areas, from pilot areas to the national scale, to increase educational investment. It was a four-step process of exempting tuition fees in urban and rural compulsory education, a milestone in the educational history of China. Since the 18th National Congress of the CPC, problems like college entrance examination, school selection and education reform have caught the attention of the government. Relevant authorities have been striving to seek answers from the institutional mechanism, so as to improve education equity, to perfect the funding system for students from poor families, to establish an effective mechanism that expands the coverage of high-quality educational resources with the assistance of information technology and to finally narrow down the gaps among regions, schools and between urban and rural areas. They have also been balancing the allocation of compulsory education resources in urban and rural areas, to implement standardization construction of public schools and establish a mechanism of exchanging teachers and school principals, to make sure there are no key classes, to crack the problem of school choice and the problem of overweight academic burden of students once for all. These proposals and their implementation are of great significance to equality in education itself and educational opportunity.

- (2) A health and medical service system covering urban and rural areas was established. In 2002, China started to implement a new type of rural cooperative medical system called the New Rural Cooperative Medical Care System. The system is organized and supported by the government and sponsored by a joint multi-resource including individuals, communities and governments. Farmers can sign up for the system voluntarily. The system has effectively alleviated the problem of “poverty due to health problems” in rural areas. Farmers can now afford to see a doctor and receive quality medical service. The system has brought conveniences to the people and won their trust in the same time. In 2007, China began the trial of Basic Medical Insurance for the Urban Residents, covering the medical care of “a child and a senior” in a family. With the implementation of the above two systems, a health service system covering urban and rural areas has been established in China. The two systems achieved full coverage of basic medical insurance for urban and rural residents and boast the largest medical insurance network in the whole world.
- (3) The basic old-age insurance system has improved. In 2009, the State Council launched a trial to establish a new system of old-age insurance for rural residents. After turning 60, farmers in China can enjoy the national old-age security. They have enjoyed one more preferential treatment of “carefree retirement” following other privileges of “tax-free farming”, “tuition-free schooling” and “affordable medical care”. In 2011, the trial of implementing basic old-age insurance for urban workers was launched. This was a decision made by the Party Central Committee and the State Council to speed up the construction of social security system covering both urban and rural residents, which is of great significance to achieving universal access to basic old-age insurance, promoting social fairness and justice, safeguarding the people’s livelihood, and gradually achieving the equalization of basic public services. At present, the basic old-age insurance system for urban and rural residents has achieved full coverage, with 790 million people subscribing to various pension insurances. On February 7, 2014, the State Council decided, at an executive meeting, to merge the system of New Rural Cooperative Medical Care System with system of the Basic Medical Insurance for the Urban Residents in consideration of them having both realized full coverage. The decision was to establish a unified basic old-age insurance system for urban and rural residents in the country, and the basic institutional modes, financing sources, payment of the systems before the merger will remain the same so that all people can enjoy the equal basic old-age insurance.
- (4) The system of affordable housing in urban areas has been established and improved. Housing is the foundation of a happy life. In recent years, the Chinese government has strived to deepen the reform of the housing system. While maintaining the healthy development of the housing market, the government has also launched large-scale projects of affordable housing, accelerated the improvement of housing security system and solved these problems for a large number of disadvantaged groups. During the period of the “11th Five-Year Plan”, China’s 11.4 million low-income households and 3.6 million

households of below average income were freed from housing problems. In recent years, the government has adhered to principles of classified guidance, step-by-step implementation and graded responsibility to improve the construction of affordable housing. Besides, long-term stability and adequate financial support was provided for low-income housing construction by adopting a market-oriented mode of operation and means of innovating the investing and financing mechanisms of policy-based housing. At present, a system of housing security has been initially formed in the aid of the low rent housing, affordable housing, public rental housing and commercial housing. Every single project of the affordable housing represents a housing dream of the majority in such need, symbolizing the government confidence of caring about and improving the livelihood of the people. With the progress of China's housing security, people's dream of living in their own house has gradually come true. More and more people are realizing this dream.

To improve people's livelihood, we must first and foremost keep in mind that the fundamental realities of China: we are still at the primary stage of socialism. China is still in and will be at this stage for a long time. Therefore, the improvement of people's livelihood cannot be separated from this fundamental reality and the goal put forward should be more realistic. Instead, the living standard of the people should be gradually improved according to the economic and financial situation of China. Otherwise, the result will be counterproductive. Lessons should be learned from Latin America, the Middle East and some European countries. To protect and improve people's livelihood, the government should focus on securing the minimum standard of living rather than rising above reality or wasting national resources on thankless tasks. As General Secretary Xi Jinping pointed out, "We should make more efforts on timely assistance, helping those who are actually in need, instead of icing on the cake or painting the lily".

Fairness and justice, as a specific, relative and historical category, is compatible with the level of economic and cultural development of a certain society, the realization of which relies in a process of long-term and progressive nature. Rights must not exceed the current economic structure of the society, or the current cultural development of the society under the restriction of economic structure. Only on the basis of the joint efforts of all the people and the continuous development of economy and society, can fairness and justice have a solid material foundation for their final realization.

4.4 Rule of Law

Rule of Law, a fundamental way of social governance in modern times, has proven to be the civilization achievement in the process of human societies' pursuit and perception of political wisdoms. Therefore, it is without question that rule of law is also the value pursuit of socialist China as well. In contemporary China, ruling the

country by law is the basic principle the Party pursues while it leads the people in running the country. Governance based on rule of law means that the people, under the leadership of the Party and in accordance with the Constitution and other laws, participate in one way or another and through all possible channels in managing state affairs, economic and cultural undertakings and social affairs, and see to it that all work by the state proceeds in keeping with law, and that socialist democracy is gradually institutionalized and codified. It is the strong appeal of the contemporary Chinese society as well as an important content of the Chinese legal construction that a thinking-pattern and working-manner of “Rule of Law” should be at work in deepening the social and economic reform, promoting development, resolving contradictions and maintaining social stability. The same is true of handling matters by the law, seeking legal measures when in need, solving problems and conciliating conflicts with the help of the law.

4.4.1 Rule of Law as the Fundamental Way of Administering the Country

Rule of Law, as its name suggests, puts emphasis on administering the country according to law and on the supremacy of law, which means no individuals or organizations can override the authority of law. In a country under rule of law, the law is king, but the king isn't law. First and for most, rule of law means the authority and sanctity of law is sacrosanct and should be respected and upheld under all circumstances. No individuals, special interest groups or political parties have the privilege of outmatching the Constitution or any other laws. They all have to obey the law and any violation of it will have to receive due punishment according to the judgment of law. The nature of the supremacy of law, as a matter of fact, implies the idea of rule-based governance. That is to say, “there will be rules for everything” and “everything has to be done by following rules”. These definite and stable rules are taken as certain “established practices” to standardize and restrain the behaviors of civilians and states. Accordingly, rule of law is deemed the criterion of managing state affairs, promoting economic and social development, protecting people's rights and interests and regulating social relations and disputes.

The legal thoughts of ancient China, with a long standing and well-established tradition, are both extensive and profound. As long ago as the Spring and Autumn and Warring States Periods (770–221 B.C.), Legalists (a school of thought in these periods) put forward the concepts of “taking law as the foundation, ruling in accordance with established practices, enforcing the law without favoring powerful persons and executing cruel tortures to decrease crime rate” in their fight against Confucianism's thoughts of “rule of virtue, rule of rite and rule of man”. These original legal thoughts attached unprecedented importance to the effect of law in social governance, and as a consequence the society made tremendous progress thanks to them. Later, though feudal thoughts and the rule of man prevailed for a

time, the effect of law in national development and social stability has gradually been recognized ever since that period of time. This recognition has been further proven by admonitions like “A state will get into severe disorder if there is no law to govern it and there will also be errors if the law is adhered to stubbornly”,³⁰ “Rites function before erring in that they can prevent people from making mistakes, while laws function after erring in that they punish those who make mistakes”³¹ or the conclusions like “encouraging people to make achievements and thus intimidating those who are cruel and violent”, and “determining the ownership and thus ending disputes”.³² The legal thought of ancient China, being a rich mixture of multiple schools of thought, had been refined and extracted in the long history before it developed into an extensive and profound legal culture. Many legal thoughts and conceptions of this period have had significant influences upon modern China. However, we must realize that rule of law in ancient China, in its entirety, was restricted to how to govern the populace. It didn’t have the nature of modern legal concepts such as freedom, equality, democracy and human rights.

The legal construction in China has witnessed a time of difficulties and reverses since the founding of the People’s Republic of China. We have experienced the gradual formation of the basic laws in the initial period, abandoning laws during the “Cultural Revolution” (1966–1976) period, resuming legal construction after it and implementing the strategies of administering the country by rule of law to build a socialist country under rule of law at present. Both rich experience and painful lessons were gained in this process of twists and turns.

The founding of the People’s Republic of China in 1949 ushered in a new epoch for her legal construction. The period from 1949 to the mid-1950s witnessed the initial establishment of China’s socialist legal system. In this period, China promulgated, in the character of an interim constitution, *the Common Program of the Chinese People’s Political Consultative Conference* and other laws and decrees, which all played a momentous role in consolidating the new-born political power, maintaining social stability and the revival of the national economy. In 1954, the

³⁰C.F. *Lü Shi Chun Qiu* 《呂氏春秋》 (Lü’s Commentaries of History or A History Written by LüBuwei), published in 239 B.C., is an encyclopaedic compendium of the ideas of the Hundred Schools of Thought. The composition and publication of this book was sponsored by LüBuwei 呂不韋 (291–235 B.C.), a politician of the State of Qin in the Warring States Period of ancient China.

³¹C.F. *Da Dai Li Ji* 《大戴禮記》, also known as 《大戴禮》 Da Dai Li (The Book of Rites by Dai De), written in the middle Western Han Dynasty by Dai De 戴德 (?–?A.D.) a Confucian of rites, is a collection of the ideas and thoughts of Confucians from the Warring States Period to the Han Dynasty.

³²C.F. *Qi Chen Qi Zhu* 《七臣七主》 (Seven Ministers and Seven Masters), an essay from Guan Zi 《管子》 (Guan Zi), the collected works by Guan Zhong 管仲 (291–235 B.C., also known as Guan Zi) a chancellor and reformer of the State of Qi during the Spring and Autumn Period of ancient China, is an article from Guanzi elaborating on rights and wrongs of seven ministers and masters. Guan Zhong was disparagingly identified with the Legalist school as a result of his administrative reforms, even though legalistic philosophy did not actually develop until hundreds of years later and that’s why he is usually considered to be the pioneer of legalists in ancient China.

Constitution of the People's Republic of China was promulgated at the First Session of the First National People's Congress (NPC), and at the same time, *Organic Law of the National People's Congress of the PRC*, *Organic Law of the State Council*, *Organic Law of Local Government*, and *Organic Law of the Courts and Procuratorate* was promulgated in succession. The laws defined China's political and economic systems, citizen's rights and freedom, set the standards for the organizational structure, functions and powers of state organs, and established the basic principles for China's legal system, and thus initially paving the foundation for rule of law in China. From the late 1950s, and especially during the chaotic period of the "Cultural Revolution", China's socialist legal system was severely sabotaged by ultra-leftist thought and legal nihilism. At the end of the 1970s, the CPC, after learning from experiences and drawing upon lessons from the "Cultural Revolution", made an important decision to shift the focus of national affairs to socialist modernization. In order to guarantee democracy for its people, it was necessary for China to strengthen the socialist legal system, institutionalize democracy and enact laws to ensure democracy. The goal of these efforts was to make the democratic system and laws stable, consistent and authoritative. The guideline put forward by the CPC states that there are laws to go by, laws are to be observed and strictly enforced, and lawbreakers are to be prosecuted. Under the guidance of the basic principle of developing socialist democracy and improving the socialist legal system, China promulgated the present Constitution and basic laws, such as the *Criminal Law*, *Criminal Procedure Law*, *Civil Procedure Law*, *General Principles of the Civil Law and Administrative Procedure Law*, ushering in a new era of rule of law.

In the 1990s, China started to develop socialist market economy in an all-around way, which further paved the economic foundation and arouse a more demanding need for rule of law. In 1994, the Third Plenary Session of the 14th Central Committee of the CPC, for the first time in history, determined to establish the socialist market economy system, and proposed again to build a legal system for it. In 1997, the 15th CPC National Congress not only decided to make "Rule of Law" a basic strategy and "building a socialist country under rule of law" an important goal for socialist modernization, but also put forward the significant task of building a socialist legal system with Chinese characteristics. In 1999, the clause "the People's Republic of China administers the country by rule of law and aims to build up a socialist country under rule of law" was written into the Constitution as a strategy of running the country, which marked the beginning of a new era in China's effort to promote rule of law.

With the arrival of the 21st century, legal construction in China continued as it always had done. In 2002, it was decided in the 16th CPC National Congress that the improvement of the socialist democracy and socialist legal system, and the implementation of rule of law should be taken as an important target of building a moderately prosperous society in all respects. In 2004, the clause "the state respects and guarantees human rights" was written into the Constitution. In 2007, a call for implementing the fundamental principles of governing the country by law and accelerating the building of a socialist country under rule of law was heard in the

17th CPC National Congress, and programs were made at the same time to strengthen rule of law in an all-around way. In 2012, the 18th CPC National Congress emphasized on promoting law-based governance of the country in an all-around way. A full implementation of rule of law, the establishment of a law-based government, an increasing improvement of judicial credibility, and the respect for as well as the protection of human rights were taken as the four goals of building a moderately prosperous society in all respects. Moreover, rule of law has been included in the socialist core values ever since.

Since the 18th CPC National Congress, the Central Committee of the CPC with President Xi Jinping as general secretary drew up a comprehensive plan to strengthen rule of law, which charted the course for accelerating the construction of a socialist country under rule of law. The Fourth Plenary Session of the 18th Central Committee of the CPC held in 2014 was the first meeting that focused on “a comprehensive advancement of rule of law” in China. It was in this meeting that the *Decision of the CPC Central Committee on Major Issues Pertaining to Comprehensively Promoting rule of law* was issued, which answered a series of important theoretical and practical questions concerning the advancement of rule of law in China, and offered a blueprint for accelerating the construction of socialist country under rule of law and promoting the modernization of governance system and ability. The *Decision* marks a milestone in the China’s journey of building a socialist country under rule of law.

The *Constitution*, an embodiment of the will of the CPC and the Chinese people, is the fundamental law of the country and the general regulations for administering state affairs and ensuring national security. It has supreme legal status, legal authority and legal force. Therefore, to rule the country by rule of law requests that the country should be ruled in accordance with the Constitution in the first place. The same is true that law-based exercise of state power requests that state power should be exercised in line with the Constitution. The Constitution should be followed, respected and maintained by people of all nationalities, by all national organs and armed forces, by all political parties and social organizations, and by all organizations. Neither organizations nor individuals shall have the rights above the Constitution, and any behavior against it shall be investigated and corrected. On December 4th, 2012, General Secretary Xi Jinping stated on the meeting commemorating the 30th anniversary of the Constitution that “The life of the Constitution is sustained by its implementation, and so is the authority of it.”³³ It indicates that the force of the Constitution not only lies in its supreme status, but also on its effective implementation. Otherwise, the Constitution will be nothing but a text, or a pure “political declaration”. It is to be insisted that the Constitution is abided by unconditionally and all people are equal before the law. Both individuals and organizations have to abide by the Constitution and laws, and their execution of power, exercise of rights, execution of duty and fulfillment of obligation must all be in accordance with it and other laws. No one has the rights to override the

³³C.F. Xi (2014, p. 138).

Constitution and laws. The unification, dignity and authority of national legal system should be safeguarded, just as the implementation of the Constitution and laws must be guaranteed. No one in a position of power is allowed in any way to take one's own words as the law, place one's own authority above the law or abuse the law.

Rule of Law is the foundation of a prosperous country and a stable society. The history of China's development as well as the process of her legal construction have shown that in the time of abandoning laws, the economy and society would regress, while in the time of implementing rule of law, the economy and society would thrive and prosper. Therefore, rule of law has the power to pave the way for the development of political civilization and social harmony and stability. The positive and negative facts in history have told us that rule of law is closely related to the governance of the state and the society. Only by implementing rule of law can we guarantee the efficiency of every cause, of preventing and combating corruption, of winning the support of the people, of strengthening the ruling status of CPC, and of maintaining the prolonged peace and order of China.

4.4.2 Legislation in a Scientific Way

“The world will be under good governance if good laws are established worldwide. A country will be under good governance if good laws are established country-wide.”³⁴ That is to say, good governance rests with good laws. Legislation is to rule of law what engines are to an airplane. Only when the engines are started can the airplane fly. Therefore, the quality of legislation is directly related to the quality of rule of law. The more we emphasize on rule of law, the more shall we improve the quality of legislation. To promote law-based governance of the country in an all-around way, we must insist on making laws ahead of time, taking legislation as our guidance and impetus. In the meantime, emphasis must be put on improving the quality of legislation, which is the key to improve scientific and democratic legislation. It must be ensured that legislation is in accord with the spirit of the Constitution, embody the people's will and are endorsed by them.

The core of scientific legislation lies in respecting and reflecting the objective laws of social development, of social relations regulated by human laws, and of the inherent rules of these human laws. First of all, the legislation of China should not only embody the socialist character of our country and conform to the development of times, but also contribute to national development and the protection of people's rights. In the meantime, the laws made must be good and effective. A scientific system and mechanism of legislation must be established to ensure that the laws we make answer to the requirements of economical and social development, and they

³⁴C.F. *Zhou Gong Lun* 《周公論》 (On the Duke of Zhou), is short essay written by Wang Anshi (1021–1086 A.D.), a politician, reformer and man of letters of the Northern Song Dynasty.

therefore can constrain the powers and responsibilities of state organs, and the rights and obligations of citizens, legal persons and other organizations. Legislation, a science of governance, should also obey the inherent rules of the legal system itself, the rules of law-making, the rules of legislative procedure, and resort to legislative techniques to make sure that our legislative process is scientific. The objectives and boundaries to be regulated by legal relations must be differentiated so the legal order that meets the demands of China's national development will come into being and be maintained so since.

Since the founding of the PRC, especially since the introduction of the reform and opening-up policies over three decades ago, tremendous achievements have been made in legislation. The historical goal of "building up a socialist legal system with Chinese characteristics by the year of 2010", which was proposed at the 15th CPC National Congress in 1997, had been achieved on schedule. In addition to the Constitution, a series of laws had been made and put into practice by the end of December, 2011. They include 239 laws, 714 administrative laws and regulations, 8921 local laws and regulations, autonomous regulations and specific regulations. Furthermore, legal branches covering every aspect of state affairs and social activities have all been in readiness. A socialist system of laws with Chinese characteristics have been formulated, which includes a hierarchical system of laws, administrative laws and regulations and local laws and regulations, with the Constitution as its foundation, and with other laws like constitutional law, civil law, civil and commercial law, administrative law, economic law, social law, criminal law, procedural and non-procedural law as its main body. Consequently, a socialist system with Chinese characteristics has been perfected, which means there are now laws to abide by in all aspects of economic, political, cultural, social and ecological development.

Legislation is without doubt an extremely complicated process. In view of the development of the Party and the country's undertakings as well as the expectations from the people, there are certain problems demanding prompt solution with aspect to scientific and democratic legislation. For instance, some laws are not effective, specific, functional or operable enough in dealing with problems in reality; the legislation efficiency call for improvement since laws in some important fields were not formulated in time and thus failed to adapt to the changing situations; there are still legal flaws in some serious institutional sides; laws of different ranks are not closely in line with each other, so their compatibility and synchronization need improvement. All in all, to improve the quality of legislation is and will continue to be a top priority in the lawmaking cause of China.

4.4.3 Strict Law-Enforcement

A law-based government plays a paramount role in the process of building up a country under rule of law. If the cause of a law-based governance is to be promoted in an all-around way, the laws must be stringently implemented and

enforced, and the law-based government to be built must bear the characters of being strict and impartial in law enforcement, of being lawful in dealing with rights and liabilities, of being transparent and just in governance, of being honest, highly efficient and law-abiding.

Being a law-based government means the government has to function within the legal framework and under rule of law, and all administrative activities have to be standardized and restrained by law. A law-based government refers to a government with legal constraints, which means its branches and sections are set up according to law and its function and power ought to be under legal restraints. The government that tries to put all matters, whether important or trivia, under its control is incompatible with the society under rule of law. That is to say, a law-based government ought to be a responsible government, which puts the authority of law above all, taking its due responsibilities for any violation of laws, executing its power while undertaking its obligations; a law-based government ought to be a democratic government, which executes its power on full behalf of its people and hence becomes the executor of its people's will; a law-based government ought to be transparent and honest, which means all citizens, business entities and organizations have the rights to know, and the government should accept overall oversight from the public.

Over the years, great attention has been paid to the promotion of law-based administration and the building of a law-based government, which resulted in a series of deployment. In March 2004, the general goal as well as specific plans of "establishing a law-based government" was released for the first time in the Outline for Comprehensively Implementing Law-based Administration issued by the State Council. In October 2010, the State Council, on the basis of the Outline in 2004, issued the Opinions on Strengthening the Establishment of Law-based Government, putting forward specific requirements on the target and relevant measures of speeding up the establishment of a law-based government. In November 2012, it was proposed in the 18th CPC National Congress that a law-based government would be established by 2020. In November 2013, the Third Plenary Session of the 18th Central Committee of the CPC proposed that the establishment of a law-based government, a law-based rule of the country, law-based governance and law-based administration should be jointly advanced, and building a legal state, a law-based government and a law-abiding society should be integrated as an organic whole. Later, another series of explicit requirements on speeding up the establishment of a law-based government was proposed in the Fourth Plenary Session of the 18th Central Committee of the CPC.

Recent years has witnessed the significant achievements in the construction of a law-based government thanks to the unremitting efforts of government at all levels. These achievements can be elaborated as follows:

- (1) A law-based governmental system has come into being. An institutional system is currently being perfected, with the administrative organization and staff law, administrative actions and procedure law, administrative oversight and remedial law as the framework, and with the regulations of economic, political,

- cultural, social, environmental and governmental activities as its main content. There are basically laws to abide by in all aspects of government management, which lays a solid foundation for the establishment of a law-based government.
- (2) The execution of administrative powers has been gradually regularized. Scientific, democratic and law-based decision-making has not only become the basic principle of governments at all levels, but also is being further strengthened. The deepening of administrative law enforcement reform and the promotion of the accountability system for administrative law enforcement has effectively regularized administrative law enforcement itself. The Administrative Permission Law regularizes the setting and implementation of permission, continuously pushes forward the reform of administrative approval system and promotes the transition of government functions and the innovation on management methods. From the beginning of 2001 to the end of 2012, a series of 2497 items, which used to be reviewed and approved by the State Council, were either cancelled, transferred or readjusted to a lower organ at the central level, which accounted 69.3% of its original total. In later years, a series of 416 similar items requiring government review and approval were dealt with the same way by the State Council in 2013 and later 317 more such items in 2014, making a total of 733 in two years. The task of “simplifying one third of the items requiring administrative approval”, promised by the government in office in the very beginning of its reign, was completed two years ahead of time.
 - (3) Supervision and accountability of administrative powers are being continuously strengthened. In other words, supervision and accountability of administrative powers are being gradually institutionalized, normalized and regularized. Governments at all levels have been accepting oversight voluntarily from the National People’s Congress and its standing committee, from people’s court according to the provisions of law, from news consensus and the people themselves. Moreover, internal supervision from higher organs to lower ones should be strengthened, giving full play to the function of stipulated supervision methods like auditing and surveillance, and reinforcing accountability on illegal behaviors like abuse of power, malpractice and wrong decision-making. These efforts have effectively prevented and restrained the spreading of corruption and thus won the favor of the people.
 - (4) Government work has been getting increasingly transparent and is transparent to the public. *Regulation of the People’s Republic of China on the Disclosure of Government Information* was issued in the year of 2008, which stipulates that governments should disclose information in a timely manner through news conference, government gazette, home website, etc. In addition, they are also supposed to renew the channels of information disclosure and broaden the scope of transparency so that people can enjoy a fairer and more convenient government system and the problems they are concerned with can be answered without delay. To prevent corruption in public administration and provide better service, more than 2000 government service centers and business halls have been set up nationwide, which have simplified administrative procedures by implementing the “all affairs to be handled in one window”, and people’s

rights of information, participation and supervision have been continuously extended.

It should be noted that some problems, in spite of the tremendous progress in the establishment of a law-based government, do exist. The practices, like failure to abide by laws, laxity in law enforcement, nonfeasance and perfunctory manner of one's duty, still happen sometimes; problems, like acting beyond one's power in law enforcement, rent-seeking law enforcement, corruption through misuse of laws or even serving as "umbrella" for underworld, are still severe; law enforcement regardless of normal procedures and regulations are also commonly seen; the personnel quality of some law enforcement departments are still relatively so low that some of them even ask for bribery. Therefore, it is both necessary and urgent for governments at all levels to speed up the process of establishing a law-based government, advancing law-based administration and promoting stringent law enforcement.

4.4.4 *Judicial Justice*

In his *of Judicature*, the famous British philosopher Francis Bacon once wrote that "One foul sentence does more hurt than many foul examples. For these do but corrupt the stream, the other corrupts the fountain." This quote demonstrates in a vivid way that fairness and justice are the lifeline of rule of law as well as the soul of judicature. Whether the judicial departments of a country adhere to fairness and justice will not only determine the quality of their work but also be considered a yard stick for measuring the extent of rule of law in this country. Only when judicial fairness is guaranteed can the authority of law be established, and the political safety and social security ensured. Only when the judicial fairness is guaranteed can the dignity of law be preserved, and the healthy and orderly development of socialist market economy ensured. Unjust judicature, which is usually the result of abusing judicial power, is betrayal to Rule of Law. It confounds the right with the wrong and undermines the authority of law to such a degree that the targets of administering a country under Rule of Law and the building a socialist country under Rule of Law will never be achieved. Judicial justice means that judicial departments should base their law enforcement on facts and take the law as a yardstick; they should ensure there are laws to go by, laws are to be observed and strictly enforced, and lawbreakers are to be prosecuted; they should enforce laws so solemnly and handle cases so impartially that social justice can be realized.

Judicial justice has always been an important value pursued by human beings. The statue of Greek Goddess of justice, a blindfolded lady with a scale in one hand and a sword in another, is commonly seen either on the building of a Western court or in front of it. The blindfold signifies that judicial justice rests on reason rather than the sense organs of human beings; the scale symbolizes impartiality of judicature, and the sword, strict enforcement and zero tolerance. The image of Greek

Goddess of justice is an externalization of how Western people understand judicial justice, while the image of “麩” (zhi), an unicorn, bears the understanding of the same thing in Chinese culture. In Chinese language, the word “law” is written as “法” (modern form) or “灋” (ancient form). According to *Shuo Wen Jie Zi*, a Chinese dictionary of words and expressions written by Xu Shen in Eastern Han Dynasty, “灋” means punishment. This character is composed of three parts. The one on the left (氵) means “water”, while the upper right one (麩) means “a unicorn” and the lower right one (去) means “departure”. The “water” in this character suggests that legal punishment should be as even as the surface of water and the “unicorn” is a righteous divine creature which can tell right from wrong by pointing its unique horn to the one who is guilty. Legend has it that in ancient China, the accuser and the accused would be brought in front of a unicorn when the court couldn’t tell which of them was guilty, and the one pointed out by the unicorn would lose the lawsuit. Therefore, the unicorn also symbolizes righteousness and justice. The fact that ancient Chinese chose this righteous and impartial animal “麩” to express the meaning of “law” have endowed the value connotations of integrity and impartiality to the concept of “law”.

The impartiality of law enforcement requires that judiciary authorities be independent in the execution of judicial power. The judge, as a judicial person, should make verdicts independently according to the law and avoid influences from any other people or factors, which is a must for judicial justice. The independence of judicial power was interpreted by ancient Chinese as “The law does not bend for the powerful persons as the line in a carpenter’s ink marker never bend for the curves on a piece of wood.”³⁵ The Constitution provides that, people’s courts and procuratorates shall, in accordance with the law, execute judicial power independently and are not subject to interferences of any administrative bodies, organizations or individuals. Since the social and economical reform in 1978, judicial bodies at all levels have played an essential role in handling cases impartially and protected the legal interests of the people. Statistics shows that cases accepted and heard in courts in China had increased from 610,000 to over 13,370,000 and the number of lawyers had increased from less than 3000 to over 250,000 from 1978 to 2013, which was a historic progress for the China’s judicial system.

A scientific system of judicial proceedings must be established. Judicial proceedings are the outward manifestation and main carrier of judicial activities, and also an important channel for the people to feel judicial justice. Therefore, the principles of transparency, democracy and equality must be advocated. We must make sure that these proceedings are visible, understandable and trustworthy to the people and no black case work is allowed; we must give full play to the advantages of people’s assessor system, carry out the our Party’s policy of judicial mass line, broaden the channels of people’s participation in judicial activities, guarantee their

³⁵C.F. *You Du* 《有度》 (Of the Implementation of Law) is an essay from 《韓非子》 (Han Fei Zi), the collected works written by Han Fei 韓非 (280–233 B.C.), who was the most renown legalist in Warring States Period.

right of speech so as to promote judicial credibility; besides, we must make sure that the parties involved in judicial proceedings should also take their evidential burden when they enjoy their litigious rights and obligations, and the judge must remain neutral absolutely and verdict impartially.

The two systems, a strict and efficient supervisory mechanism and a sound accountability mechanism, are the key to sustain the lifeline of judicial justice. The handling of every legal case should be taken as a test of acting by law, and the whole process of procuratorial and judicial work should be considered as a lecture of popularizing laws. “We should enable the people to feel that justice is served in every case before the courts, and eradicate elements that hurt their sentiments or damage their interests,”³⁶ said Xi Jinping in commemorating the 30th anniversary of the promulgation and implementation of the Constitution.

4.4.5 *A Law-Obeying Country*

Rule of Law should neither be a pile of abstract legal provisions nor general strategies of governing a country. The building of a country under Rule of Law requires that the principles, spirits and core values of law spread to the minds of every citizen and be internalized in their ideology so that they can obey and apply them in their daily life. Abstract legal provisions should be converted into standards of behavior obeyed conscientiously by all citizens.

Recent decades has witnessed the joint efforts of the Party Central Committee and the State Council in the disseminating the concept of Rule of Law. The promotion of national rule-of-law awareness and the establishment of a society under Rule of Law has become one of the major agendas. A law-obeying country has been taken as the corner stone in the basic framework of Rule of Law and a nationwide legal education and law-obeying awareness have been taken as the fundamental task of advancing Rule of Law on the long run. Legal dissemination and education have been put into practice in effective ways of publicizing legal knowledge, spreading legal thoughts and nurture legal faiths.

Constitutional education has pervasively spread to every corner of the society. The idea of constitutional supremacy has rooted in people’s mind as a result of vigorously publicizing the basic principles and contents of the Constitution, and disseminating the Constitution-centered socialist legal system with Chinese characteristics as well as the socialist ideas of rule of law in various approaches and forms. The basic principles of combining Rule of Law with the rule of virtue have been implemented in legal education: ① virtues are to be embodied in Rule of Law and hence the function of law is to be stressed in facilitating the improvement of virtue at the same time; ② the spirit of Rule of Law is to be nurtured by virtue and hence the function of virtue is to be stressed in supporting legal culture; ③ the ideal

³⁶C.F. Xi (2014, p. 141).

status of laws and virtues supplementing each other and Rule of Law and the rule of virtue complementing each other are to be realized. The system concerning how the state personnel learn and use laws has undergone continuous improvement: ① government staff is the key factor in the establishment of rule of law awareness when they take the lead to learn and observe the law; ② Constitution and laws should be studied by the core members of all party committees and listed as the compulsory course of party schools, administration institutes, cadre institutes and socialist institutes; ③ government personnel's capability to abide by the law and handle affairs in accordance with the law is taken as an important standard of their evaluation; ④ it has been institutionalized that government officials have to take a test of their legal knowledge before their appointment and in their term of office in addition to their annual report on law, so that their ability of legal thinking and means of administration can be improved, and their awe of law strengthened.

In the meantime, legal education has been incorporated into national educational system. Legal education starts from a very early age in China, the content of which has already been included in the curriculum of primary and middle schools. Besides, special legal courses are set up in three levels of schooling system: primary school, middle school and college to ensure that all the students are legally educated. In addition, the establishment of an integrative school-family-society legal education network is strongly advocated. Second classrooms, social practices and education activities are taken as good opportunities to make legal education more appealing for the young people.

Legal education is also included in the process of cultural-ethical standards, and studying, respecting, observing and employing the law are taken as important measurements for evaluating the achievements of cultural-ethical standards. The depth and extent of legal publicity and education are improved in the establishment of model cities, model villages and towns, and model industries. Public activities themed with legal cultures are to be spread to basic administrative levels with the purpose of implementing legal publicity. An integrative development incorporating legal culture with locally distinctive culture, industrial culture, village (community) culture and enterprise culture are to be promoted. People are encouraged to actively participate in the governance of village, community and enterprise and in public administration in accordance with the law so that the seeds of rule of law will take root in people's mind, and blossom and yield fruits afterwards.

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Chapter 5

Value Regulations for Contemporary Chinese Citizens



In the absence of morality, neither an individual nor a country would prosper. In order to ensure the prosperity of individuals and a country at large, all citizens must have lofty ideals, steadfast beliefs, righteous values and high morality. That we encourage all citizens to be patriotic, to be dedicated, to be honest, and to be mutually friendly reflects our definition of a good citizen and represents our answer to the question of what type of citizen we have to cultivate.

5.1 Patriotism

Patriotism refers to deep attachment to and love of one's country as well as the corresponding behaviors that result from such love. Patriotism is reflected in love of the beautiful lands of one's country, love of one's compatriots, love of glorious culture of one's country, and love of its social systems. Specifically, patriotism is demonstrated in heartfelt praise of and attachment to the motherland in which one is reared, in pride in the time-honored cultural traditions, fascinating civilizations, and world-known achievements. Patriotism is also displayed in love of one's compatriots from different nationalities, in the profound sense of responsibility for protecting one's country's reputation and in the extreme caring about one's country's prospect and destiny.

5.1.1 *Patriotism Is Advocated in All Countries*

In this world, in no country is patriotism not advocated. In the United States, cultivating patriotism has always been emphasized, leading to Americans, in comparison to citizens in European and American countries, to have the strongest identification with, pride in, and willingness to fight for their country, as indicated

by some surveys. The sentence “Ask not what your country can do for you; ask what you can do for your country,” made in the inaugural address of John F. Kennedy, has been a motto with which Americans strongly identify. In the United States, patriotism has been a highly-advocated value so that citizens of different ethnicity, cultural backgrounds and life styles can be united under the Star-Spangled Banner for the establishment of a powerful country.

In Russia, over the past years, a series of syllabuses and legal acts for patriotism education targeting citizens especially adolescents have been proposed in an effort to rejuvenate nationalism. After the breakup of the Soviet Union, expressions such as “patriotism”, “motherland” and “responsibility” faded out of their education, leading to the youth lacking strong sense of citizenship and to the country lacking impetus for development. In the age of Putin, Russia recognized the importance of patriotism education, and with the strong governmental support, freedom, democracy, individual rights were combined with traditional patriotism, consciousness of country empowering, role of the country and social union to form “Russian New Ideology”, which was enforced through a variety of approaches. In 2016, when meeting with the “Leader Club” advocated by Russian business industry, Putin pointed out: “We do not and cannot have any other thought of union except for patriotism, which is a national thought, independent of ideologicalization and partisan activities, and associated only with a common principle of unification. If we want to live a better life, we should make the country more attractive and effective to all citizens.”¹ It is clear that at the core of Russian values is cultivation of patriotism.

In Asia, Singapore also emphasizes the cultivation of patriotism in all citizens. According to Singaporean government, morality education must be conducted to conform to and serve the need for national modernization. For this purpose, at the beginning of the establishment of the country, in an effort to respond to the political and economic challenges, Singapore launched the initiative to cultivate country awareness and citizen spirit in order to create in all citizens a sense of identification with the country and to enable them to transform, not just externally, but psychologically, from a “Chinese” (Indian, Malaysian ...) to a Singaporean.

Patriotism, always a glorious part of the Chinese tradition and a salient line through the Chinese history, has been like a fertilizing soil for the Chinese spirit, providing a strong encouragement and a clear compass for the dissemination and development of the Chinese spirit. From ancient times to the present, patriotism has been deeply integrated into the national consciousness, character and spirit of the Chinese nation, and has become a precious cultural-ethical treasure of the Chinese people. Since ancient times, the Chinese people have always taken it as a responsibility to love their country, harboring the concept that one should “be concerned about affairs of the state before others, and enjoy comforts after others”, and automatically putting the national interest above personal interest. They are willing to put aside personal well-being and go forward regardless of any

¹C.F Putin (2016).

misfortunes ahead. They can even sacrifice their lives for national interests. Rooted deeply in the minds of all Chinese people is the concept as reflected by the following sayings:

“Keep concerned about the country even in a low social status”, “Everyone has a share of responsibility for the rise and fall of his country.”, and “The sounds of the wind, of the rain, and of reading aloud all come to my ears; the affairs of the family, of the state and of the world are all my concerns.”

For thousands of years, with the spirit of sacrificing lives for their country and of regarding death as simply a matter of going back home, the Chinese people have involved themselves in the fight to protect their homeland and their country. Passed down from one generation to another are the laudable and moving stories of countless patriotic heroes such as Qu Yuan, who drowned himself in the Milo River, Yue Fei, who fought against the invasion of the Jin armies, Lin Zexu, who destroyed opium at Humen Beach, and Deng Jiaxian, who, remaining anonymous for 28 years, devoted himself to the development of nuclear weapons for his country.

For thousands of years, the spirit of patriotism, going deep into the hearts of hundreds of millions of Chinese people, has become the core of the traditional spirit of the Chinese nation. On their vast motherland, the patriotic Chinese people have created miracles one after another, creating an amazing Chinese civilization. Over the 5000 years of history of the Chinese nation, patriotism has become a great cohesive and rejuvenating power motivating the whole Chinese people and has served as a strong mental support in their striving in unison amid adversities. According to statistics, over its 5000 years of history the Chinese nation has survived more than 1000 major droughts, more than 1000 major floods, and around 800 major earthquakes. Over the more than one hundred years from 1840 to 1949, more than 10 imperialist powers repeatedly invaded China, launched hundreds of wars of aggression, forced the then corruptive Qing Dynasty to sign 1175 unequal treaties, and plundered 1000 million taels of silver. However, the Chinese nation, rather than being defeated, has acquired a new life after all those misfortunes and has marched forward successively for the goal of realizing the renaissance of its greatness. One important reason is this: Patriotism has been deeply integrated into the genes of the Chinese nation, has become a cultural-ethical force for its development and growth, and has served as a source of inspiration for all Chinese people, from one generation to another, in their striving for the interests of their motherland.

5.1.2 Patriotism as a Citizen's Inherent Responsibility

Like our parents, our motherland provides us with a place where we live and grow, enjoying the fruits of labor created by the people, using the language of our motherland, and being bathed in the culture of our motherland. Fundamentally, the

fate of each person is closely related to that of his or her country, as indicated by the saying “With national security comes the freedom from worry for the people”. From the painful experience of being bullied due to backwardness and of being discriminated as reflected by the slogan “Chinese people and dogs are not allowed in”, the Chinese people have lamented poignantly the country’s poverty and weakness and the people’s being enslaved to misery. They have come to a deep realization that, in the absence of the country’s prosperity and power, the people would be without security, without happiness, and without dignity. After a hundred years of ups and downs, the Chinese people have deeply understood why the existence of a country is the prerequisite for the existence of a home. As General Secretary Xi Jinping pointed out, “History tells us that each of us has a future and a destiny that are closely related to the future and destiny of our country and nation. Our well-being depends on that of our country and nation.”² The reunification of the motherland and national unity are not only in the highest interest of our country but also provide the fundamental basis for the people to live peacefully and work happily. Every citizen should regard patriotism as their sacred responsibility and cherish and maintain political stability and unity. Every citizen should continuously strengthen the identification with the great motherland, the Chinese nation and Chinese culture, the CPC, and socialism with Chinese characteristics. Every citizen should strive continuously to establish a shield and fort, which stems from national unity, national unity and social stability, to protect our common homeland.

Every citizen has the sacred responsibility to safeguard the unity of the country and solidarity of the nationalities. Like a big family composed of 56 nationalities, the Chinese nation is characterized by a highly consistent sense of unity and responsibility, by a common value oriented towards the general interest of the country and the nation, and by the fine tradition under which various nationalities live together peacefully, treat each other with friendliness, struggle in unison in the face of national crisis, and go through hardships together. Embedded in the national consciousness of the Chinese people are solidarity and unity, which are the foundations for the Chinese nation, as evidenced by the fact that, since ancient times, different nationalities in our country have established close political, economic and cultural ties and that a unified country with vast territory came to be formed more than two thousand years ago. Common experience of extraordinary struggling, common homeland that arises from collective efforts, common national ethos that have been cultivated, and common ideals and beliefs that have been adhered to—these are ties that bind close together 56 nationalities and all the 1.3 billion Chinese people. Over the years of its long history, the Chinese nation has held fast to the principle that values harmony (but not uniformity), morality, generosity, and tolerance. Under this principle, various nationalities have been like close members of a big family, where they live together in peace, rely heavily on each other, and share weal and woe. It is in the core interest of the Chinese nation to maintain national solidarity and unity, and the Chinese people both at home and abroad shall

²C.F. Xi (2014, p. 36).

strongly and firmly oppose any acts that aim to produce national secession and impair state sovereignty and territorial integrity opposed by Chinese and overseas children.

The content of patriotism, being historically bound, differs depending on the specific stages and phases in the development of a society. Nowadays, being patriotic means to adhere to the road of socialism with Chinese characteristics. The establishment of the socialist system provides a reliable guarantee and a bright prospect for the development and progress of China's society, and embodies the fundamental interests of the state, the nation and the people. The road of socialism with Chinese characteristics has enabled China to become prosperous and powerful. Historical end current evidence has fully demonstrated that only socialism can save China and that only the socialism with Chinese characteristics can ensure China's development. Therefore, being patriotic means loving socialist China and the essence of patriotism in the new era lies in building socialism with Chinese characteristics. With regard to the erroneous concept that attempts to make a distinction between love of the country and love of socialism, Deng Xiaoping once firmly pointed out, "Some people have argued that not loving socialism does not equal not loving the country. But is patriotism abstract? What can you love if you do not love new socialist China led by the CPC? For Hong Kong, Taiwan and overseas compatriots, they are not required to support socialism, but at least they should not oppose the socialist new China, otherwise how can we say that they are patriotic?"³ The history of the CPC leading all Chinese people to struggle to establish new China, to develop new China, and to launch the policy of reform and opening serves as a convincing testament to the core leadership of the CPC in the cause of developing socialism with Chinese characteristics. A true patriot should understand that the destiny, prospect and socialist road of the motherland are closely related to the leadership of the CPC. The erroneous view of making a distinction between loving the motherland and upholding the socialist road led by the CPC is neither in accordance with historical evidence nor in accordance with current social scenario.

To be patriotic is to respect and inherit the history and culture of the Chinese nation. The understanding and acceptance of the long history and profound culture of the motherland is an important condition for the cultivation and development of patriotism. The important role of cultural identification in enhancing identification with a country can be reflected from the statement "only when social integration is supported by cultural habits from members of the community and cultural habits are closely related to the way they interact with each other can political communities succeed in social integration."⁴ Only with the presence of common values approved by all the people, of common national ethos, and of common collective memory and public culture can a stable and solid sense of identification with a country be formed. The characteristics that distinguish one nation and country from another are formed in history and remain in people's memory through culture. By learning from

³C.F. *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping* (vol. 2), People's Publishing House, 1994: 392.

⁴C.F. Honneth (2005).

historical facts, people understand their nation's past, become better able to handle their present, and acquire the insight into the future. Because of this, Liang Qichao once pointed out, "A historian, with knowledge that is the most profound and necessary, is like a mirror for the people and the source of patriotism."⁵ The understanding of history enables people to travel back in time to recognize their roles and status in history, thus acquiring a sense of historical mission and responsibility. On the contrary, a nation that has lost its historical memory is like a man who has lost his memory, who knows nothing about who he is, where he is from, where he is and where he is going. Precisely because of this, Qian Mu pointed out, "A nation that has no knowledge of its history is bound to be nation rid of culture. Such a nation, for which its members are bound to have no deep love and have no real willingness to struggle and sacrifice, will ultimately have no strength to survive in this world. In order for citizens to have deep affection for their country, it is necessary to equip them with a deep appreciation of the country's history. In order for citizens to contribute to the improvement of their country, it is necessary to make them have an authentic understanding of the country's history."⁶ History and culture reinforce people's sense of national self-respect and responsibility by giving them a sense of belonging and orientation. The memory of a glorious history inspires national pride and confidence; the memory of a poignant history enables people to learn a lesson that inspires in them determination and fortitude. In the education of patriotism, we especially emphasize that we should not only let people understand the glorious achievements of China over the past 5000 years but also let them understand the humiliation that China suffered in modern times. The Chinese culture with a long history enshrines the deepest cultural-ethical pursuit of the Chinese nation, represents the unique logo for the ethos of Chinese nation, and affords rich nourishment for the surviving and thriving of the Chinese nation. For this reason, in contemporary China, we put particular emphasis on revitalizing the fine Chinese traditional culture by resorting to the spirit of the times, in an effort to promote the creative transformation and innovative development of fine Chinese traditional culture, to guide the people to establish and adhere to correct perspectives of history, nation, country and culture, and to continuously enhance people's sense of belonging, identification, dignity, and honor towards the Chinese nation.

5.1.3 Patriotism Based on Rationality and Actions

Patriotism is not only a thought and emotion based on a sense of responsibility, but also lies in concrete actions of contributing to the motherland. To be patriotic is not to ask something from one's country but to contribute to it. Citizens need not only have the sense of responsibility for their motherland's rise and fall but also

⁵C.F. Liang (2014).

⁶C.F. Qian (1996).

transform their deep love of country and people as well as personal ambitions into concrete striving actions in their own positions so as to serve their country and rejuvenate the Chinese nation.

Rationality and emotion complement each other: without emotion, rationality would empty and boring; without rationality, emotion would be aimless. We encourage the patriotism that is based on actions, which means that citizens demonstrate patriotism in a rational, legal and orderly manner and display patriotic actions in a reasonable, beneficial and moderate approach, under the legal and moral framework, with the fundamental purpose of maintaining and protecting the interests of the country and nation. Such rationale patriotism, which features openness and tolerance, is in contrast to any form of shutting off from the rest of the world and in contrast to narrow nationalism characterized by xenophobia.

The significance of reform and opening-up lies in breaking the closed state of modern China, integrating the country into the rest of the world, and enabling it to become an important force in the international arena by taking advantage of the advanced technology, capital and experience from all over the world. China cannot develop in isolation from the world, and the prosperity and stability of the world depend on China. One of the important experiences that China has accumulated over the past more than 30 years of reform and opening-up is to promote openness with the spirit of reform and to promote reform and development through opening up. More than ever before, China's reform and development demand the insistence on and expanding of opening up, as China and the rest of the world have become increasingly interconnected and mutually influencing. The Chinese government has solemnly stated on various occasions that it will implement a more proactive opening strategy and promote opening-up in a broader range and at a higher level. "I am the son of the Chinese people, and I deeply love my motherland and people." "As a member of the Chinese nation I am honored to become a world citizen."⁷ A Chinese citizen is both a member of the Chinese nation as well as a "world citizen". Under the context of current globalization, every Chinese citizen should have an international perspective, which, combined with an appreciation of domestic reality of China, should be employed to understand and solve various problems in an effort to contribute to both the renaissance of the Chinese nation and the whole world's peace and development.

Globalization is not the integration of the world because it is impossible that there is only one kind of social system, culture or value; and so it is inappropriate to impose a social system, culture or value on a nationality or country. The world in the future will be one of more diverse cultures and civilizations. Therefore, we should respect the history, cultures, social systems and developmental models of different countries and recognize the reality of diversity in the world. This is the basic characteristic of human society, and also the driving force for the progress of human civilization. The Chinese people, who have always had a broad mind, hold

⁷C.F. *A Chronicle of Deng Xiaoping's Thoughts (1975–1997)*, the Central Literature Publishing House, 1998: 182.

the view that “It is not a flower blooming solo but all kinds of flowers blooming together that constitutes spring.” It is the exchanges and mutual learning between civilizations that promote the common development and progress of mankind. The great thinker Lao Zi said: “A big country should be like a river downstream,” which means that a big country should have a broad and inclusive mind. The contemporary China has the open and inclusive mentality to actively carry out dialogues and communication with various countries, to listen humbly to voices from all over the world, and to promote mutual tolerance between different social systems, mutual learning between different cultures and mutual benefits between different modes of development. This is also a fundamental dimension of patriotism that a contemporary Chinese citizen should harbor.

5.2 Professional Dedication

For citizens, professional dedication is an important standard for values and the most fundamental requirement for professional ethics. A citizen, no matter what a profession he or she is engaged in, and no matter what a position he or she holds, should have dedication to work as a simple and lofty virtue. It has been proved that, regardless of profession and position, people can have their achievements and bright future as long as they, treating their profession and position with awe and respect, work hard and strive for excellence.

5.2.1 *Dedication to One's Career*

Dedication is an ancient topic, both in the East and in the West. The Chinese nation has always had a fine tradition of advocating respect and devotion. In ancient China, “respect” is an important moral norm that is reflected in three aspects: respect for gods, for people and for work. Respect for god represents a kind of religious ethics that regulates and restricts people's behavior towards god. According to Zi Zhang in *The Analects of Confucius*, it is necessary to be serious and respectful in an activity of sacrifice and to be sorrowful in an activity of mourning. Respect for people is a moral standard that regulates the attitudes and behaviors in interpersonal communication. Mencius said, “The benevolent love others and the courteous respect others. Those who love others will be forever loved and those who respect others will be forever respected.”⁸ This remark highlights the need to be mutually polite and respectful in interpersonal relationships. Respect for work reflects a person's attitude toward work or career. From *The book of Rites* is an idiom “Jing Ye Le Qun”, meaning that one should be dedicated to work and

⁸C.F. *The Book of Mencius*.

get along well with others. Confucius also stressed the importance of respect for and dedication to work. Here “respect” indicates an attitude of reverence and is reflected by external behaviors of dedication and concentration. Liang Qichao, a famous modern scholar, held the view that dedication means the devotion of one’s entire energy to a job without concerning oneself with other things.⁹ Plainly speaking, dedication means treating one’s work with awe, respect, sense of responsibility and single-mindedness in an effort to strive for excellence.

To have respect and awe towards one’s profession and to be totally dedicated to it means to deem one’s profession as a responsibility and mission. In the west, Protestant ethics holds that work is a duty arising from God’s arrangement. Marx Webb, a German thinker, in his work entitled “the Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism”, postulated that the Protestant ethic, for which the view of “duty arranged by God” was the core, and was the internal driving force for the emergence and development of capitalism in the West.

Nowadays as we develop the socialist market economy, with a new understanding of dedication, we have given to the traditional concept of dedication a new meaning, which is an attitude of loyalty towards work. That is, dedication means a high degree of loyalty and a strong sense of responsibility. A dedicated person will devote his entire life to the profession he is engaged in and achieve self-actualization via his career. A dedicated person will have a clear understanding of his or her specific duties and work hard without worry about complaint from others. A dedicated person, without feeling forced, will take the initiative to be engaged in work.

In daily life, some people will have the erroneous concept that their work is so trivial and insignificant that there is no point putting all energies into it. The truth is, it is not easy to do every simple thing well and it is extraordinary to perform well every ordinary matter. For people who complain of their talents not being used due to an ordinary profession, who have no ambition and passion because their job is too tedious, who, feeling no hope for the future, elude their responsibilities and remain as slackers, they will never feel the pleasure of work and realize their values in their careers. In fact, every work position is the same in the sense that they provide us with a platform where we can work hard to realize our values. Everything is worth doing, and is worth our effort. As Liang Qichao said, “Everything that can be called a thing is respectable in nature.” Even in a seemingly mundane profession, we will have extraordinary achievements as long as we work hard with a strong sense of responsibility and a mentality of striving for perfection.

One should love whatever profession he or she is engaged in. “Love without respect is not true love; respect without love is not true respect.” It has been proved that truly dedicated people indeed have a strong affection towards their profession, which, in turn, serves as the deep driving force for them to have the burning desire to work and stride forward. As Golgi said, “Genius arises from affection towards a cause. It can be said that genius is, in essence, nothing more than love for the

⁹C.F. Liang (1989).

process of being fully dedicated to work.” Dedicated people, who treat work as a source of pleasure and happiness, maintain the zeal for moving forward, the passion for striving, and the mentality of sparing no efforts to do a good job and to perform extraordinarily even an ordinary job.

In the eyes of some people, perhaps calling for “love of whatever profession one is engaged in” represents a mentality which is inherent in planned economy but which is not in harmony with market economy, where people should be encouraged to “do whatever job they love and give up doing whatever they do not favor.” Admittedly, under market economy, where the model of arranged (planned) employment is abandoned, employers and job seekers have a two-way choice and everyone can choose a job according to their own interests. To advocate “love of whatever profession one is engaged in” is not to call for staying in the same work position in one’s whole life, during which there may be many choices of jobs. However, it is a basic occupational moral requirement to “love a position that one still stays in”. One should remain responsible and do one’s job well as long as one still stays in a work position whatsoever.

Professional dedication and excellence are complementary: dedication represents an attitude, and excellence represents expertise. However great skills and abilities and qualifications one has, it is difficult to make achievements without making a great effort. Likewise, however dedicated one is to work, achievements will not arrive if one has limited knowledge and ordinary skills and abilities. Particularly, in the modern society where knowledge economy is developing rapidly, it is very important to have the concept of lifelong learning, constantly improving professional quality, and honing professional skills with craftsmanship. Nowadays, from all walks of life have emerged models of dedication to, love for and excelling at work, such as Xu Zhenchao, known as an outstanding representative industrial worker in the new era, “blue collar expert” Kong Xiangrui, “the gold worker” Dou Tiecheng, and “knowledge worker” Deng Jianjun. They love the professions they are engaged in and make efforts to excel. They study hard to acquire outstanding expertise and have the courage to make one technological breakthrough after another. They give first class performance and make substantial contributions in their own positions. Although at ordinary positions, they are dedicated, having a strong mentality of making efforts to excel and, through creative labor, to realize their life values and have a taste of happiness, which, in turn, provides a mental support for them as they devote themselves whole-heartedly to work despite loneliness and tedium. These people represent models of reaching the lofty degree of dedication.

5.2.2 Empty Talk Leads a Country Astray, and Down-to-Earth Work Rejuvenates a Nation

Success results from down-to-earth work, and perils begin with empty talk. After the founding of new China, the Chinese people started from scratch and, with a

mentality of living frugally, established a complete industrial system. In the new era of reform and opening up, with the courage that transcends fear of death, they completed, within around 30 years, the process of industrialization that took the western countries 300–400 years. History has proved that hard work strengthens a country and leads to social progress whereas empty talk weakens a country and leads to social decline. On the eve of the May Day Holiday in 2013, at the meeting with nationwide representatives of work models, General Secretary Xi Jinping pointed out in a deep and hopeful tone: “Happiness does not drop from the clouds, and a dream will not automatically come true. In order to achieve our goals and to create a better future, we must rely on the people, work for the people, and toil with diligence, honesty and creativeness. Empty talk leads a country astray, and down-to-earth work rejuvenates a nation. Down-to-earth work means, first of all, labor with diligence and honesty.”¹⁰ “Achievement comes from hard laboring and is lost due to idling.” In order to achieve the dream of the great renaissance of the Chinese nation, and to have a happy life, we all have to labor with diligence and strive for perfection. Dedication, though seemingly trivial, is in fact significant in that it provides the moral condition for individual career success and self-actualization as well as the cornerstone on which to establish a “benign and decent society”.

A job is the guarantee for the survival and development of an individual. One must first be able to eat, drink, live, and be dressed prior to engaging in politics, science, art, religion, etc. All great goals of life start with being able to subsist, and the pursuit and realization of all dreams is based on doing the easiest and simplest job with a down-to-earth attitude. A work position is also an opportunity and a platform whereby one pursues career successes and realizes the meanings and values of life. It is the hope of most people to accomplish career successes in their lives. To some extent, all the efforts we have made in our life are for giving amazing performance in our profession and thus for the realization of our career dreams by dedication to work, which, more than any other activities, brings us such a high sense of fulfillment and the opportunity to express ourselves and to realize life values. However, realizing life goals and manifesting its values depend to a large extent on our dedication to work. It is only to those who are dedicated that opportunities come; it is only those who are dedicated to work with a down-to-earth mentality that can establish themselves in a profession and make extraordinary achievements even in an ordinary position, thus maximizing the realization of their dreams. In today’s society with increasingly fierce competitions, one can be considered lucky to obtain a work position, which should be cherished. We should constantly maintain the heart of dedication, exhibit it through working hard, and consider our profession as a lofty cause to pursue to constantly enhance the significance of our life.

The great importance of dedication lies in the fact that it is one essential factor, among many others, that enhances the competitiveness in all sectors and the whole

¹⁰C.F. Xi (2014, p. 44).

society under the context of increasingly fierce competitions. That is, a just and decent society will come into being only with the dedication of all members in the society: Civil servants who conduct work with integrity and for the whole society, soldiers who fight to protect homes and their motherland, businessmen who carry out businesses with integrity, teachers who work hard teaching and cultivating students, scientists and engineers who make innovations, and doctors who heal the wounded and save the dying.

5.2.3 Achieve Extraordinary Performance in Ordinary Work Positions

Professional dedication, rather than an empty slogan, entails the concerted efforts from various sectors and even the whole society at large.

Every worker needs to be correctly and fully aware that different work positions, which just represent division of labor, are essentially the same in that they all provide the opportunity to find an outlet for ambitions, contribute wisdom and expertise, and to manifest life values. Every worker need to maintain good attitude towards his or her position, focusing on, keeping love of and staying completely devoted to it while constantly conforming to occupational ethics. Every worker should learn diligently various job skills and have a full command of various aspects of professional knowledge so as to strive for first-class performance, to become experts and the backbone in a specific position and industry, and to achieve extraordinary feats of life even in an ordinary position.

The fostering of dedication spirit is contingent on the macro context of a society. Nowadays, the lack of dedication spirit is closely associated with the social context where some employers are short of humanized management and incentive systems. In addition, there has been a huge gap in terms of salary, welfare and social status between workers in different industries, which, to a large extent, impairs workers' enterprise and their identification with their positions. Therefore, in various industries and sectors we should firmly establish the human-oriented concept, effectively protect the rights and interests of workers, and help address the issues that are the most direct, immediate, difficult, and worrying to them. We should also establish and improve a scientific and effective evaluation system that is ability-oriented and that serves to invigorate workers' enterprise and innovativeness. We should create a fine cultural atmosphere under which to focus on creating more opportunities of development for workers and of exploiting their potentials, and to enhance their sense of belonging to their organizations as well as their sense of honor and pride regarding their professions. We should accelerate the reform of income distribution system, particularly deepening the reform of income distribution system in monopoly industries by strictly regulating the income of management staff, especially the income of those at the top management, in state-owned enterprises and financial institutions. We should speed up the reform of income

distribution system by effectively narrowing the income gap between various industries and sectors, improving labor remuneration, and establishing a fair social security system. We should vigorously advocate love of and dedication to work and publicize the deeds of labor models and other outstanding workers, in an effort to “firmly establish in the whole society the ideology that labor is the most glorious, the loftiest, the greatest and the most beautiful, and to encourage all the people to release all their innovation potentials to labor with more enthusiasm for a better life”.¹¹

5.3 Integrity

In both the East and the West, integrity is, when it comes to carrying out businesses, always one of the most universal and basic moral norms in human life. Integrity, as the foundation for being a good citizen, for a successful career and for continued existence of a country, is what it takes to sustain trust between people and maintain a normal social order.

5.3.1 *Promises Must Be Acted Out*

In Chinese, “Cheng Xin” (誠信 integrity) means being honest and acting out promises. Simply speaking, a person with “Cheng Xin” treats others with sincerity, does not lie, and keep promises. To be honest means to abide by the truth of things without lying to anyone for some purposes not to be divulged. Honesty entails reflecting the truth, acting with seriousness and without deceit, treating others with sincerity, acting in accordance with promises, and being the same both outside and inside. Honesty also entails avoiding cheating others and oneself and entails doing down-to-earth work without talks that are exaggerating, superfluous and false. To keep promises means to be loyal to obligations and to act out promises made to others. In Chinese, “Cheng” and “Xin” are closely correlated, with the former being the reason the latter being the effect. Only when people make promises out of their own will and endeavor to act out their promises can they really be people with integrity. In real life, some people break their promises because they did not make them out of their own conscience. That is why people in ancient times often said “honesty leads to credibility and credibility results from honesty.” Integrity, as a traditional virtue of the Chinese nation, has been cherished by the Chinese people over thousands of years. This can be seen from the fact that related to integrity are many popular Chinese idioms, such as “Yi Nuo Qian Jin” (meaning “a promise is weightier than one thousand bars of gold”), “Yi Yan Jiu Ding” (meaning “one word

¹¹C.F. Xi (2014, p. 46).

is as heavy as nine tripods”) and “Yi Yan Ji Chu, Si Ma Nan Zhui” (meaning “The words once spoken can never be overtaken even by four running horses or can never be withdrawn”). The great emphasis on integrity can be seen from the fact that “Qian Jin”, “Jiu Ding” and “Si Ma”, which represent power and wealth in ancient China, were used in idioms concerning integrity.

Over the thousands of years of Chinese history, imprinted on the minds of the Chinese people are the many figures and stories regarding integrity such as “Ji Zha Gua Jian” (“Ji Zi, to act out his unspoken promise, hang his sword on a tree near the tomb of the King of Xu Kingdom”), “Zeng Zi Sha Zhu” (“Zeng butcher killed a pig to cook meat for a child”), Shang Yang’s “Li Mu Wei Xin” (“Shang Yang rewarded a person with yellow gold of 50 liang, with one liang being 1/16 of 500 g, for his carrying a light log to the north gate”), Cao Cao’s “Ge Fa Dai Shou” (“Cao Cao cut off his hair as a replacement of his head as a punishment for trespassing on a wheat field of farmers”), “Min Shan Bin Mai Niu” in the Southern and Northern Dynasties (“Min Shan Bin sold a cow that once had a feet disease and honestly told the buyer about the cow’s disease and gave some money to the buyer as a compensation”), and “Tang Pei Du Shi Jin Bu Mei” (“In the Tang Dynasty, a man named Pei Du found a lost package in a temple and returned it to the owner.”). The figures in these stories were of integrity and acted out promises whether they were dealing with the general public, subordinates, friends, family members or even sheer strangers. In many folk stories and legends are also lauded a large number of grass-roots figures demonstrating touching behaviors of integrity: Conducting businesses with decent commodities and fair prices, being honest with both kids and the elderly, not taking money or property immorally gained, doing things with gratitude in return for acts of kindness, and acting out promises.

5.3.2 People Cannot Establish Themselves and Businesses Cannot Flourish in the Absence of Integrity

For thousands of years, the reason that integrity has been valued and advocated in various countries is that it serves as the foundation for establishing an individual, an organization and a country. Lacking integrity, people cannot stand on their own, success is unlikely to come by in doing any businesses, and a country is unlikely to be prosperous and powerful.

Integrity is the foundation for establishing oneself and conducting businesses, as is indicated in the ancient saying that “integrity is a fundamental component of being a human and the source of flourishing of all enterprises”.¹² That is, integrity is the basic moral norm for people to live up to, and is the origin of morality. In other words, integrity is the cornerstone of individual morality and the starting point for personality cultivation. In our decades of life, we must continue to learn in order to

¹²C.F. Zhou Dunyi: *A Daoism Book—Under the City*.

obtain more knowledge. However, in order to contribute to society, it is not enough to depend on knowledge, which, without guidance of decent values, may simply turn out to be a catalyst for the breeding of evil. The spirit of integrity is an important ethical principle that enables people to cultivate noble moral sentiments and guides them to handle various relationships. As a Chinese saying goes, “Of all the creatures in the world, humans are the most distinguished.”¹³ That is, humans, who set themselves apart predominately by the ownership of the moral concepts of sentiment and integrity, are the top of the ladder of creatures. This is also why there was a saying that went in ancient China: “Going back on words is a sign of being inhuman”. People who lack integrity and a sense of responsibility for their actions would land in trouble everywhere and fail to establish themselves in conducting enterprises. People with integrity, on the other hand, would be impartial, keep promises, abide by laws and regulations, thus winning trust from others and being successful in handling the relationship between themselves and others and the relationship between themselves and society. Therefore, the Chinese people have always stressed the significance and values of integrity for individuals, who would be unable to establish themselves in the absence of integrity. With faithful and honest remarks, persistence in acting out promises, and loyal and honest behaviors, people will win trust wherever they go. On the contrary, with deceitful words and irresponsible behaviors, people would fail to establish themselves, for only those who are sincere, honest, promise-abiding and down-to-earth in work can be recognized and thus win more opportunities and broader platforms for development and better performance.

Integrity is the foundation for conducting businesses for a manufacturer, which has to be of integrity to be able to reap benefits and to thrive for a long time. On the contrary, surrendering to the temptation of short-term interests and thus making fake products, a manufacturer would lose forever the foundation for survival. In China, many enterprises are crowned with such a title as “Lao Zi Hao” (meaning “Time-honored Brand”) due in no small part to their excellent manufacturing techniques and their business concept of integrity. An excellent example of business integrity is Tong Ren Tang, a pharmaceutical manufacturer established in the 8th year of the Kangxi Period of the Qing Dynasty (i.e., the year 1669). Over the hundreds of years, Tong Ren Tang has made its name both at home and abroad with its very curative products, resulting from unique formulae, excellent material, exquisite workmanship. The great fame that Tong Ren Tang has enjoyed comes from its constant living up to the motto that “concocting though complicated must involve careful manual work; material though costly must be included if necessary”. This manufacturer has maintained very strict requirements for material selection, material application, material mixing and manufacturing processes. In Tong Ren Tang, every new employee has to well memorize, internalize, and live up to the above motto. It is due to the persistence in integrity that Tong Ren Tang has made its name both at home and abroad, winning consumers’ trust and becoming a

¹³C.F. *The Book of Filial Piety*.

famous time-honored enterprise with the title of “Lao Zi Hao”. It should be basic concepts for enterprises to identify with and follow that credibility is money, a brand can be a rich intangible asset, and integrity is a golden-rule for enterprise development and expansion.

5.3.3 Acting Out Promises and Treating Others with Sincerity

Market economy is established on the basis of contract and credit, and honesty is the internal requirement of market economy. Integrity is the most basic requirement that has relevance to the success of a market economy. Lack of honesty will reduce the efficiency of economic activities, disturb the normal order of the market, increase the cost of economic operation, and disrupt social order.

In urgent need for integrity, the market economy is also a breeding ground for dishonesty. In the nature of capital is the maximization of profit. With the system and mechanism not fully developed, some people, driven by the wrong ideas and ignoring laws and regulations, conduct fraud and cheating, detracting from integrity of the whole society and leading to the frequent emergence of the following phenomena: false bidding, eschewing debts, getting loans by deceit, shoddy construction, drainage oil used to cook food in restaurants, poisonous milk powder, using clenbuterol, “Zhao Ling Xi Gai” (literally meaning issuing an order in the morning and rescinding it in the evening), fraudulent data, vanity projects, “Qi Shang Man Xia” (meaning deceiving one’s superiors and deluding one’s subordinates), etc. In addition, the field of academia has frequently witnessed deceitful behaviors such as plagiarism and fraudulent data, which poses a serious challenge to the basic academic ethics. Under such a social milieu with impaired integrity, passers-by frequently dare not help an elder person falling down on the ground and people frequently dare not go to a wounded child’s rescue, which leaves the Chinese people feeling poignant. Many people fall into a crisis in which they dare not trust anyone and anything, do not know whom to trust, and do not know what can be trusted. From fake products, fake advertising, fake information, fake diploma, up to hundreds of millions of dollars of fake invoices and accounts, all these have resulted in a crisis of trust and caused immeasurable losses to the nation and society, and this has led to a severe credit crisis. In contemporary China, it is urgent to carry out education on integrity and strengthen the construction of integrity.

First, education on integrity should be carried out to improve citizens’ sense of integrity. Although integrity itself is a consciousness embedded in the cultural-ethical arena, the concept of integrity, which is not inherent, is an extremely important concept of morality. The sense of integrity does not emerge overnight but has to be cultivated by persistent and constant external education and self-education. In other words, in order to equip people with a sense of integrity and

ultimately demonstrate behaviors of integrity, it is necessary to conduct education on integrity both inward and outward.

Carrying out education on integrity requires the concerted efforts of family, school and society. As the first school after one's birth, family is the primary field in which to conduct education on integrity. As the first teachers for children, parents must be good models of integrity and create in the family a fine atmosphere under which children learn that it is glorious to have integrity and shameful to be without it and where small children come to grow under the fine influence of integrity education and demonstrate behaviors of integrity. The period during which one goes to school is also a critical one in which to carry out education on integrity. Schools are an important place where education on integrity should be conducted. We must abandon the previous education mode featuring a heavy emphasis on intelligence education; rather we must effectively enforce the penetration of integrity education into the courses of primary schools, middle schools and universities and conduct regular evaluation of students' morality so as to establish a harmonious and honest school environment. Society is also an important arena for education on integrity. Whether in the enterprises, institutions, government departments, or in the media, which is responsible for supervising public opinions, various approaches should be taken to carry out education on integrity and morality targeting employees and Party and Government cadres; the purposes are to establish in the whole society a fine atmosphere under which people pursue "truth, goodness and beauty" and fight against "falsehood, evil, ugliness", and to make integrity a real element of social morality, occupation ethics and family virtues as well as a real lubricant and propellant for social and economic development.

Second, the system for fostering integrity should be strengthened. The education on integrity is the key but this alone is far from enough. Although integrity falls into the category of morality, the cultivation of integrity demands systems and laws. System integrity involves meanings at two levels. First, it means that the establishment, implementation, revision and adjustment of the systems developed by the state and society must be under the principles of openness, fairness, standardization and transparency so as to ensure the credit of the systems themselves. Second, it means that the state and society should establish a set of mechanisms and systems to constrain dishonest acts by administrative organizations, civil servants and ordinary citizens. The integrity system depends to a large extent on the sharing of integrity documents and the establishment of a system for integrity evaluation. Without integrity documents, there would be no integrity information to be shared, rendering the integrity system a castle in the air. Integrity evaluation, based on integration of integrity documents, serves as the basis for corresponding rewards and punishments. Therefore, it is necessary to periodically and comprehensively investigate individual and enterprise credit conditions, and to conduct timely recording, feedback, supervision, correction and guidance so that those credit records serve as important aspects for the evaluation of personal quality and enterprise performance. All localities and units also need to share information regarding integrity. For example, credit management agencies designated by governments can summarize and integrate information collected in an effort to establish

credit records for individuals and enterprises. Those agencies can then rely on those credit records and collaborate with the relevant departments and units in order to have an overall rating of the credit degree of individuals and enterprises so as to provide warning to those lacking integrity and regulate their behavior.

Third, we should improve law-making and strengthen the legal system for cultivation of integrity. Perfect institutions and sound laws are needed in order to safeguard normal and healthy economic and social order of a country. The market economy is based on credit, which is guaranteed by rule of law. The economic behaviors of creditors cannot be effectively constrained by conscience and morality themselves but must be regulated by rule of law so as to cultivate a fine atmosphere of credit on the basis of laws: there are laws to abide by, laws are strictly enforced and law-breakers are prosecuted.

Fourth, we should establish and perfect a system for integrity supervision. Currently, because there is still room for gradual improvement for China's social credit system, those who act without credit are difficult to be found and held accountable. In addition, the punishment for dishonest behaviors is not serious enough for a deterrent effect, which, therefore, makes it urgently necessary to establish and perfect a system for integrity supervision to effectively thwart those dishonest behaviors. Governments and public opinions are two primary approaches for integrity supervision. Centered in the cultivation of integrity culture is governmental supervision and management, which directly regulates the development of enterprise and personal integrity because whether the government and its staff have integrity can have a direct influence on whether enterprise and individuals have integrity. In recent years, public opinions have also played an increasingly salient role in the cultivation of integrity culture. In the current information age, governments should emphasize, encourage, and automatically accept the supervision via public opinions not only as an ideal approach towards spotting and solving problems for building social harmony but also as an effective means to enhance work performance, correct work defects, improve governance abilities and demonstrate governance achievements. With supervision by public opinions, there will be timely reports of economic misconduct of governmental departments, social organizations, enterprises or individuals, which will be conducive to detection of dishonest behaviors and to the effective enforcement of laws and regulations. Nowadays, in China there has been rapid development of the media, characterized particularly by the birth of the Internet as a modern medium, which provides a rapid, convenient, wide, interactive platform for integrity supervision. The Internet combined with the traditional media will accelerate the cultivation of integrity culture and contribute to magnificent progress in rule of law.

Finally, integrity should be what every citizen demands himself or herself. That is, integrity is the basic moral code that every citizen should follow regardless of whether others have integrity. The formation of a society of integrity everyone desires, where there is no cheating kids or the elderly, is up to the attitude that every citizen holds towards integrity. Therefore, a citizen with a sense of responsibility, rather than blindly following the crowd, should demonstrate behaviors of integrity to influence others. One can demand integrity from others only after one is able to

be of integrity. For establishment and enhancement of integrity in the whole society, every member should take his or her responsibility, actively displaying behaviors of integrity and getting started right now with concrete matters. In a word, cultivation of integrity entails concrete practices and depends on accumulation. A kind act, however small, is worth pursuing; an evil act, however small, must be avoided. One should eliminate small evil acts to pursue kindness and reach significant virtue by adding up small acts of kindness. This is the road that every citizen must take to enhance levels of integrity.

5.4 Friendship

Friendship is a prerequisite for the common survival and development of mankind. To meet the needs of humans, it takes not only the basic material things but, more importantly, cultural-ethical support from friendship and mutual help. Both historical and current facts have shown that a society without love and tolerance is one without harmony and happiness. On the contrary, there can be less social conflict and more harmony and well-being in a society where friendship, integrity, unity, mutual help, tolerance and mutual respect constitute the quality of all citizens.

5.4.1 *The Benevolent Love Others*

Friendship is the traditional virtue of the Chinese nation, which has always emphasized great virtue and harmonious living together and stressed being friendly to others and taking delight from helping others. In the works of traditional Chinese culture abound statements concerning friendship and kindness. For instance, “Li Zhi Yong, He Wei Gui” (literally meaning “harmony is key in practicing the rules of propriety”), from *the Analects of Confucius*,¹⁴ stresses treating nature, society and others with friendliness and kindness and handling various relationships with a broad mind. “Di Shi Kun, Jun Zi Yi You De Zai Wu” (literally meaning “as earth is broad and profound, so must a gentleman have great virtue to be inclusive”), from *I Qing*, emphasizes the importance of inclusiveness. The Mohists advocates “Jian Ai”, (where “Jian” means “all”). In comparison to the “Ren Ai” (literally meaning benevolent love) as advocated by Confucian school, “Jian Ai” refers to love that transcends degree of closeness and social status and that features treating others in the way of treating oneself and doing things for others in the way of doing them for oneself. According to the Mohists, the elimination of unethical behavior and the realization of peace and prosperity of the whole world depend on practicing the concept of “Jian”, characterized by looking at other countries like one’s own

¹⁴C.F. *The Analects of Confucius: On Learning*.

country, looking at other homes like one's own home, and looking at other people like oneself.¹⁵ The essence of “Tui Ji Ji Ren” (meaning putting others in one's own place) and “Jian Yi Yi Bie” (treating others in the same way) lies in loving others. Passed down from one generation to another in Chinese history are numerous stories demonstrating the practice of friendship: Lian Po and Lin Xiang Ru who came to good terms, Kong Rong who gave away bigger pears to his elder and younger brothers, Zheng Ban Qiao who loved people as if they were his own kids, the Zhang and Wu households that surrendered a space of one meter wide to each other in Tong Cheng Anhui Province ... It can be said that the concept of friendship has from the very beginning been embedded in the consciousness and thought of the Chinese nation; this concept had later stabilized and developed into the moral norm that regulates social order and interpersonal relationship.

An analysis of etymology of “友善” (friendship or kindness) would lead us to find that the two characters were used separately in ancient Chinese. The word “友” (friend or friendship) took the form of the combination of two “又”s in oracle-bone writing system, resembling two hands joined together in the same direction. In *Shuo Wen Jie Zi*, the original Chinese character dictionary in Han dynasty, the word is explained as follows: “Friends are companions or two persons who are on good terms with each other.” When used as a verb, “友” means to be friend, cooperate, and provide help or support. Accordingly, in ancient Chinese, “友” means two people holding hands together and helping each other in a cordial manner. The word “善”, a compound ideograph consisting of the character “羊” (literally meaning sheep) and “言” (literally meaning speak), carries the meaning of kind talk or mutual blessings. Therefore, in *Shuo Wen Jie Zi* the word “善” is defined as “luck or auspiciousness”. The combination of “友” and “善” literally means being as kind as a friend.

Friendship is externalized love. By saying “the benevolent love others”, Confucius meant that only a person who has love inside can be friendly to others and transmit the internal love to others and the society. Mencius argued that a perfect human is one with externalization of internal benevolence by pointing out the following:

“What is worth loving is kindness, a self that has kindness can be said to have trust, a self that is filled with kindness is said to have beauty, a self that is filled with kindness and radiating light can be said to have ‘greatness’, a self that have greatness and the ability to touch all matters in the world can be called a saint, a saint that is too magnificent to be understood is called a god.”¹⁶

Each individual should make an effort to augment and expand his or her inherent benevolence to make it dominate the whole body.

Nowadays, as we endeavor to develop socialist market economy, friendship has been endowed with new connotations that reflect the development of human society and China's status quo.

¹⁵C.F. *The Book of Mo Zi: Universal Love, Chap. 2.*

¹⁶C.F. *The Book of Mencius, Dedication Part 2.*

The first connotation is mutual respect. The increasingly delicate social division of labor has led to increasingly heavy interdependence between humans and industries and to the whole society being an interactive organism. Especially under market economy, which in nature is based on exchange, in order to realize individual values all individuals with equal humanity must undergo exchange, for which mutual respect is a prerequisite.

The second connotation is understanding and inclusiveness. In life, lack of mutual understanding will inevitably lead to conflict. A person with self-denial and put others' interest above one's own would not quibble when his interest fall into conflict with that of others. A person with broad-mindedness who is misunderstood and excluded would not pay others back in their own coin. In other words, only a person with a broad mind can be of inclusiveness, which is a prerequisite for objectively evaluating, understanding and getting along well with others. As the saying goes, wider than the ocean is the sky, but still wider than the sky is the human mind. Such broad-mindedness embodies one's cultural-ethical level. Due to the differences in knowledge, ability, experience, and qualification, people can have both strengths and weaknesses. Therefore, in social interactions, one should not only understand and tolerate others' weaknesses without demanding perfection from them, but also understand others' advantages. Obviously, advocating understanding and inclusiveness does not mean glossing over others' mistakes or unprincipled surrendering, which will definitely lead to humiliation of one's personality and dignity.

The third connotation is coordination and cooperation. Competition, as an important feature of market economy, has two sides. On the one hand, competition can promote human social development; on the other hand, it also causes confrontations and conflicts and leads to tension in interpersonal relationships. Excessive competition will lead to distortion of behavior and waste of resources, thus bringing enormous psychological pressure, making competitions counterproductive. However, large-scale socialized production requires members in the whole society to work in coordination with each other. In modern society, the essence of coordination and cooperation lies in promoting harmony based on interpersonal understanding and trust, effectively counteracting conflicts arising from competition, and ultimately contributing to social development through enhancing individual motivation and social and economic benefits.

5.4.2 Friendship Is like the Spring Breeze of a Society

Friendship is like the spring breeze of society. Being friendly with family members leads to a harmonious family; being friendly with friends generates solid friendship; being friendly with others results in a pleasant interpersonal relationships; being friendly with nature leads to a harmonious natural ecology.

Friendship is a catalyst for social trust. During the interaction with others, only by believing that they will respect us and kindly treat us can we dispel our wariness

and establish trust in them. Unfortunately, in recent years there has been a crisis in social trust with the abrupt occurrence of unsafe food, fake products, and social deception. Such a crisis, though partly due to the imperfection of the system for integrity supervision, is more importantly due to the distortion of social relationships. The difficulty of social governance lies in how to guide social members to understand each other and to regulate their behaviors with correct values. Social trust would be impaired if social members see each other only as an instrument to satisfy one's own needs. The essence of the value based on friendship, rooted in the morality of "benevolent love" that requires people to treat others in the way of treating themselves, lies in deeming others as a purpose rather than simply a tool to be used in one's own interest. Genuine friendship will lead people to treat others sincerely in social life and fulfill the responsibility and commitment to others, thus transmitting friendliness and love among social members and providing a psychological basis for enhancing mutual trust.

Friendship helps to alleviate social conflicts. Since the reform and opening up, China has witnessed earthshaking transformations and world-known achievements as reflected in remarkable enhancement in general national strength, substantial improvement in people's living standards and long-term social and political stability. Despite the overall social harmony, we should realize that in the current stage of social development abound various social conflicts and problems that are superimposed on each other and emerge at the same time. Some conflicts and problems are augmented and disseminated via novel media and are conducted and projected through hot events. The factors that detract from social harmony are complex and multi-faceted. In the general public still exists negative emotions such as hatred of the rich and officials. Indeed, the imbalance of social mentality stems largely from a distorted social environment. In the process of its profound transformation, contemporary China is faced with many problems that inevitably arouse in people negative emotions: economic structures and the corresponding systems to be improved, the income distribution system to be perfected, etc. Meanwhile, in some social strata there are groups that commit evil acts and groups that are rich but cruel, which arouses dissatisfaction in other groups. Although it must be admitted that perfecting and reforming various systems are fundamental to solving social conflicts and counteracting social risks, we need to realize that the formulation and implementation of any good system requires the support of good values. In contemporary China, a lot of social conflict and imbalance in social mentality originate from the lack of necessary communication between various social strata. In real life, we need to highlight the power of values and advocate positive values. One important purpose for advocating friendship in contemporary China is to guide people to have kindness, empathy and positive mentality towards society and to learn to positively understand, respect and recognize others in an effort to transmit the positive energy of friendship and love among various groups.

Friendship helps to establish harmony between man and nature. Friendship should be reflected not only in human interactions, but in the relationship between humans and nature. In modern times, regarding nature as a target to be conquered, people use scientific methods to exploit nature in a predatory manner in order to

satiate their endless desire for consumption. Nature thus ends up in being something relentlessly wantonly slaughtered. The contemporary China, while seeking development, also faces the huge challenge from a damaged ecological environment: water and soil loss and soil desertification caused by excessive grazing and excessive deforestation, frequent extreme weather such as fogs and hazes resulting from exceeding greenhouse gas emission, etc. Man who causes damage to nature will receive double retaliation from it, as pointed out by Engels,

“We must not be too much obsessed in our triumph over nature because every single triumph over it shall lead to retaliation from it. With every triumph indeed comes initially the results we expected, but such results will be offset, over time, by the effects completely beyond our prediction.”¹⁷

Man and nature constitute an organism in which they are interdependent and interrelated. It is defeating to only demand things from nature without investing in it. We must respect nature, conform to it, protect it, treat it well and live in harmony with it. As president Xi Jinping responded to a student in his speech made in Kazakhstan Nazarbayev University, “We want mountains of gold and silver, but we also want clean water and green mountains. We would rather want clean water and green mountains than just mountains of gold and silver. The truth is, clean water and green mountains are in themselves mountains of gold and silver.”¹⁸

5.4.3 *Harboring Friendship and Acting Accordingly*

Friendship, as an excellent personal quality, not only provides moral support for establishing harmonious interpersonal and social relationships but also serves as the ethical foundation for maintaining a healthy social order.

Everyone should have the desire to be friendly to others. Unfortunately, presumptuously seeing themselves as well-educated, resourceful, highly skilled, wealthy and capable of accomplishing everything, some people do not realize the need to get along with others. Some people, driven by utilitarianism, are nice only to those from whom self interests can be satisfied but are indifferent to those who contribute nothing to self interests. Some people even think they would suffer losses by being friendly to others. In fact, no one can ever succeed without help from others. A person who acts solo all the time will find it extremely hard to adapt to the society and will have no chance at all to have a fruitful life. Therefore, everyone should have the consciousness of being friendly to others. In the big family of the motherland, every member has, to the same extent, the rights and obligations as stipulated by the Constitution and other laws. All members are equal regardless of differences in position, education, nationality, religion, or economic status. It

¹⁷C.F. *Selected Works of Marx and Engels* (vol. 4), People’s Publishing House, 1995: 383.

¹⁸C.F. *Publicity Department of the Communist Party of China: Readings of General Secretary Xi Jinping’s Series of Important Speeches*, Study Press and People’s Publishing House, 2014: 120.

follows therefore that those who have more power, resources or wealth are not entitled to bullying. All social members should treat each other as equal with good will, open-mindedness and frankness.

We should respect the differences between people and learn to be understanding and tolerant. In the contemporary society, in which value pluralism is the basic characteristic, it is difficult for people to have an absolutely identical view on many issues. Even regarding the same issue, different people will express their points of view from different perspectives. Therefore, everyone should have the spirit of tolerance and learn to understand and tolerate different opinions. We should recognize that the understanding of the world, life, self, and others differs from person to person and that different people have to right to opt for different values and life styles. In life, when there is a conflict with others, we need to learn to put ourselves in others' shoes, which serves as a lubricant in interpersonal relationships, contributing to understanding and harmony and reducing controversy and conflicts. The end result would be better and closer interpersonal relationships.

We should take delight in helping others and provide rescue to those in need. In real life, it is more difficult to offer concrete help than it is to send kind wishes and utter blessing words. As an ancient saying goes, "Fragrance lingers in a hand that gives out a rose". Nowadays people often say "We should take delight in helping others without expecting anything in return". Kind people are those who are caring, broad-minded, lenient with others, and always harbor a desire to give a helping hand. In the hearts of all human beings is sympathy with those in a difficult situation. To the unfortunate we cannot be indifferent but should provide moral, material and emotional support. It should be a character of all modern citizens to care for the sick and elderly and to enthusiastically engage in socialist enterprises of public welfare. It is only with mutual help, caring and trust between colleagues, neighbors, family members, friends and even strangers that our society can be filled with genuine affection and sense of warmth.

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Chapter 6

Contemporary China's Values and Ideals for Building a Harmonious World



At the beginning of the 21st century, the peaceful development of China as a country with 1/5 of the world's population is a phenomenal international event, which liberates China from poverty and backwardness, contributes to realization of the great renaissance of the Chinese nation, and, meanwhile, brings opportunities of development to the whole world as China becomes a broad market with great potentials. The enhancement of China's international status will lead the world to pay more attention to Chinese cultures and customs, Chinese way of getting along with each other, and the values that Chinese people have regarding international relations.

6.1 Creating a Community of Shared Future for Mankind

6.1.1 *The Proposition of a Community of Shared Future for Mankind*

In today's world, the CPC has

“standing in the forefront of the times and with a mastery of the direction of mankind development, put forward a series of new ideas and concepts, such as the one which advocates the establishment of partnerships where, through dialogues rather than confrontations and collaboration rather than alliance, a new international relationship is established with its core being cooperation for win-win situations. On the basis of the above concepts, the CPC has also put forward the concept of a community of shared future for mankind. These new thoughts and concepts, which not only break away from the old thoughts of alliance and confrontation but also transcend the old zero-sum game, are of

distinct Chinese characteristics and pronounced implications for the whole world. They are not only the guidelines for China's diplomacy in the new era but also have profound and broad effects on human progress and development."¹

It is a rational strategic decision, based on Chinese cultural traditions and values, of all Chinese people to take the road of peaceful development and advocate the establishment of a harmonious world. As early as the year 1985, Deng Xiaoping proposed peace and development as the two themes of the times when he said: "Now there are two big strategic issues facing the world, with one being the issue of peace and the other being the issue of economy or development."² Afterwards, the third generation of the central collective leadership with Jiang Zemin as the core proposed a new concept of security. Put forward at the 16th Party Congress were the diplomatic guidelines of being kind to neighboring countries and treating them as partners as well as the diplomatic policy of creating harmony, peace and prosperity in neighboring countries, with the purpose of development, at the Jakarta Asian African summit in April 2005, Comrade Hu Jintao pointed out that "In today's world, peace, development and cooperation have become the maintaining world peace."³ In order to create a peaceful international environment for trend of the times. With economic globalization developing in depth, science and technology advancing by leaps and bounds, the movement of production factors and the transfer of industries speeding up, countries are becoming more and more interdependent. "Various countries should endeavor to promote friendly relations, equal dialogues and development and prosperity for different cultures in an effort to build a harmonious world."⁴ In September 15, 2005, at the second plenary meeting of the 60th anniversary of the United Nations Summit, President Hu Jintao reiterated the concept of "a harmonious world" with his speech entitled "Strive to build a harmonious world of lasting peace and common prosperity."⁵

Peaceful development is not only a rational decision but also a solemn promise of the Chinese people. In the speech made at the Germany Colbert Foundation, President Xi Jinping pointed out that "China's road of peaceful development is neither a matter of expediency nor diplomatic language; rather it is a decision derived from the objective judgment of history, reality and future and is an organic union between ideological confidence and practice self-awareness."⁶ His statement is the most incisive exposition of China's road of peaceful development. Since

¹C.F. Wang Yi's (Minister of Ministry of Foreign Affairs) responses to Chinese reporters regarding China's diplomatic policies and relations with other countries at the press conference held at the 5th session of the 12th National People's Congress, *People's Daily*, Page 6, March 9, 2017.

²C.F. *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping* (vol. 3), People's Publishing House, 1993: 105.

³C.F. Full text of Comrade Jiang Zemin's report on the Sixteen Party Report, China.com.cn, October 17, 2012. (http://www.china.com.cn/guoqing/2012-10/17/content_26821180_9.htm).

⁴C.F. Hu Jintao's speech at the Asian African Summit: "Keep pace with the times, carry forward the predecessors' cause and forge ahead into the future to build a new strategic partnership between Asia and Africa", *People's Daily*, Front Page, April 23, 2005.

⁵C.F. *People's Daily*, Front Page, September 16, 2005.

⁶C.F. *People's Daily*, Page 2, March 30, 2014.

peaceful development is neither a matter of expediency nor diplomatic language, there must be profound values underlying this road.

The report of the 18th Communist Party of China put forward the proposition that “We should advocate the awareness of a community of shared future for mankind.” This proposition, as an important declaration of China’s historical perspective, civilization perspective and values, is based on Chinese traditional culture, China’s economic and social development, a prospect of the great renaissance of the Chinese nation, and a prospect of the advancement of human civilization.

With a time-honored history, the contemporary China is a continuation of an independent civilization. It is because of this that Kissinger, former US Secretary of State, remarked that “In order to understand China’s diplomacy in the 20th century or China’s role in the world in 21st century, it is a must to, first of all, have a basic understanding of China’s history.”⁷ In fact, the awareness of a community of shared future for mankind is likewise a creative transformation and innovative extension of Chinese historical thoughts. Just as Zhang Liwen said,

“Since ancient times, the Chinese nation has had the following thoughts concerning the communality of human destiny, such as ‘the heaven and earth exists with me and everything and me are united into oneness’ in *The Book of Zhuang Zi*; ‘the importance of heaven and earth lies in my body and to rule heaven and earth is in my nature; all other people are my compatriots and everything is my friend’ in *The Book of Changes*; ‘everything in the world and me are of oneness’ by Wang Yangming.”⁸

In brief, the above thoughts reflect a concept of a community of shared destiny.

The necessity of dealing with the intricate and complicated contemporary international relations provides a direct impetus for advocating the concept of a community of shared future for mankind. This concept, which reflects a civilization value where the mankind have common interests, cooperate for a win-win situation and share weal and woe, is proposed by the contemporary Communist Party of China, under the context of economic globalization, networked communication, and increasing global ecological as well as security challenges.

Over the long history of civilization, mankind had long lived in mutual isolation until the breakthrough in transport particularly the discovery of the New World. In today’s world, more and more convenient transportation promotes economic and cultural contact; breakthrough in information technology further brings people into a global network where, influencing each other, they disseminate knowledge and live an intellectual life. Despite the different social systems, cultural traditions and geographical spaces in which people live, and despite the different racial backgrounds, skin colors and religions that they have, they face common challenges in the fields such as economic development, ecological environment, and social security. On this planet, convoluted and increasingly close contact constitute a scenario in which “benefit to one means benefit to all, whereas harm to one mean

⁷C.F. Kissinger (2015).

⁸C.F. Zhang (2016).

harm to all". "It is in such a scenario that China puts forward the approach of building a communality of shared future for mankind so as to have win-win situations."⁹

6.1.2 The Connotation and Essence of a Community of Shared Future for Mankind

Since the report of the 18th Party Congress in which was put forward "We should advocate the awareness of a community of shared future for mankind", "a community of shared future" has been China's diplomatic concept that President Xi Jinping has repeatedly stressed on many diplomatic occasions, especially when stating the diplomatic relations between China and developing countries, neighboring countries and emerging countries. He has continuously enriched the connotation of this concept by taking into account a variety of international cooperation. At the first meeting with foreign experts who worked in China after he became the General Secretary, President Xi Jinping pointed out that:

the international community had increasingly become a community of shared future in which all countries are interdependent. Facing the complicated situation of the world economy and global issues, no country can afford to be concerned only with self-interests and no country can thrive alone. This necessitates the pulling together of all countries.¹⁰

At the G20 summit in September 2013, President Xi Jinping stressed the importance of international cooperation quoting "benefit to one means benefit to all, whereas harm to one mean harm to all" and "A single flower does not make spring while one hundred flowers in full blossom bring spring to the garden." In other words, he emphasized that all countries should have an awareness of a community of shared future and he explicitly sent the message that China has the conditions and the abilities to achieve sustained and healthy economic development, which, in turn, brings more positive spillover effects on world economy.¹¹

In October 2013, at the forum on diplomatic work concerning neighboring countries, President Xi Jinping emphasized the basic guidelines such as "build friendship and partnership with neighboring countries", "bring harmony, peace and prosperity to neighboring countries" and "be amicable, sincere, beneficial and inclusive in intercourse with neighboring countries". He pointed out that "publicity work should be improved so that the awareness of a community of shared future will find its home in neighboring countries."¹² In a speech made at the Indonesian

⁹C.F. Xi Jinping: *Work Together to Build a Community of Shared Future for Mankind*, a speech made at the United Nations Office at Geneva, *People's Daily*, Page 2, January 20, 2017.

¹⁰C.F. *People's Daily*, Front Page, December 6, 2012.

¹¹C.F. *People's Daily*, Page 2, September 6, 2013.

¹²C.F. Xi Jinping's important speech at the forum on diplomatic work concerning neighboring countries, October 25, 2013. (http://news.xinhuanet.com/politics/2013-10/25/c_117878897.htm).

Congress during his visit to Indonesia, President Xi Jinping, mentioning the cooperation between China and ASEAN (the Association of Southeast Asian Nations), made it clear that China is willing to have maritime cooperation with ASEAN in order to establish “a maritime Silk Road” in the 21st century and to build “a closer China–ASEAN community of shared future.”¹³ President Xi Jinping also successively talked about establishing a China–Arab and a China–Africa community of shared future. Visiting South Korea, he put forward the following: “China and South Korea should build an open and integrated pattern of development in a joint effort to establish a community of shared future.”¹⁴ Attending a meeting for leaders from China Latin America and Caribbean countries, he further stressed the need to strengthen cooperation with Latin American and Caribbean countries “in an effort to build a common community in which to strive hand in glove with each other”.¹⁵

At the Boao Forum held in 2015, President Xi Jinping again specified that “In creating a community of shared future for mankind the following principles must be followed by all countries: having mutual respect and treating each other as equals; cooperating for win-win situations and common development; striving to realize common, comprehensive, cooperative, and sustained security; inclusiveness of different civilizations and learning from each other by exchanges.”¹⁶

On September 28, 2015, President Xi Jinping, attending the general debate of the 70th UN General Assembly held at the UN headquarters in New York, made an important speech entitled “Working Together to Forge a New Partnership of Win-win Cooperation and Create a Community of Shared Future for Mankind”. He stressed that peace, development, equity, justice, democracy, and freedom are the common values for mankind, as well as the lofty goals of the United Nations.

In today’s world, all countries are interdependent and share a common future. We should renew our commitment to the purposes and principles of the UN Charter, build a new type of international relations featuring win-win cooperation, and create a community of shared future for mankind. President Xi Jinping also specially elaborated the main purposes of creating a common community of shared future for mankind: ① We should build partnerships in which countries treat each other as equals, engage in mutual consultation and show mutual understanding; ② We should create a security architecture featuring fairness, justice, joint contribution and shared benefits; ③ We should promote open, innovative and inclusive development that benefits all; ④ We should increase inter-civilization exchanges to

¹³C.F. Xi Jinping’s speech at the Indonesia Congress, March 8, 2017. (<http://world.people.com.cn/n1/2017/0308/c411452-29132303.html>).

¹⁴C.F. Xi Jinping’s speech at Seoul National University in South Korea (full text), July 4, 2014. (http://news.xinhuanet.com/world/2014-07/04/c_1111468087.htm).

¹⁵C.F. Xi Jinping’s speech at the meeting for leaders from China Latin America and Caribbean countries (full text), July 18, 2014. (http://news.southcn.com/z/2014-07/18/content_104671012.htm).

¹⁶C.F. Xi Jinping’s keynote speech at the 2015 annual meeting of the Boao Forum for Asia (full text), March 29, 2015. (http://news.xinhuanet.com/politics/2015-03/29/c_127632707.htm).

promote harmony, inclusiveness and respect for differences; ⑤ We should build an ecosystem that puts mother nature and green development first.¹⁷

Obviously, the reason that China takes the road of peaceful development and advocates the construction of a harmonious world lies in China's profound awareness and pursuit of a community of shared future for mankind. Such pursuit, with which more and more countries have come to identify, is essentially based on the recognition that all countries are so interdependent that win-win cooperation and common development can result only from mutual understanding, mutual benefiting, and pulling together in tough times. More encouragingly, on February 10, 2017, the United Nations Development Committee, by consensus, passed a resolution entitled "New Partnership for Africa's Development", calling for the international community to strengthen the support for Africa's economic and social development, "in the spirit of win-win cooperation and of establishing a community of shared future for mankind". This is the first time that the concept of "establishing a community of shared future for mankind" came to be adopted in a UN resolution. Charles Philips, a top UN official, also particularly pointed out that "In the long run, countries all over the world as well the United Nations will benefit from this concept," which requires an eye on the future rather than focusing on quick successes and temporary benefits. He said that "with China being a time-honored country, Chinese people have far-sightedness and a broader perspective on issues relating to long-term mankind interests as evidenced in their concept of "establishing a community of shared future for mankind."¹⁸ In addition, the recent 34th meeting held by UN Human Rights Council passed two resolutions regarding "economic, social and cultural rights" and "rights for food", with the concept of "establishing a community of shared future for mankind" being explicitly stated. This is the first time that this important Chinese concept came to be adopted in resolutions of UN Human Rights Council, signifying that this concept has become an important part of international discourse system for human rights.¹⁹

¹⁷C.F. Xi Jinping's talk at the general debate of the 70th UN General Assembly (full text), September 29, 2015. (http://news.xinhuanet.com/2015-09/29/c_1116703645.htm).

¹⁸C.F. Gu Zhenqiu: "Building A Community of Shared Future for Mankind" to highlight China's contribution-Interview with United Nations top official Philips Charles, Reference News, February 20, 2017.

¹⁹C.F. *Guangming Daily*, Page 8, March 25, 2017.

6.2 Keep Good Faith, Promote Good Will, and Conduct Friendly Exchanges Between Nations

6.2.1 *China's International Outlook Has a Profound Historical and Cultural Foundation*

That contemporary China advocates building a community of shared future for mankind and takes the road of peaceful development represents a continuation of a historical and cultural tradition of a deep foundation, as evidenced in the ideal of “He He Wan Guo” (literally meaning peaceful relations among 10,000 nations) proposed in *Historical Records for Five Emperors*. It can be said that the pursuit of peace and harmony is in the gene of the Chinese culture. During the fusion of civilizations in ancient China, Confucianism, as the mainstream ideology that emphasizes the practice of “winning people by virtue” rather than “winning people by force”, contends that it is by keeping good faith, promoting harmony and conducting friendly exchanges among all nations that “The Great Peace” can be obtained, thus giving rise to “harmony of all nations” and “peace of the whole world” (from *I Ching*, or *the Book of Changes*). That is to say, conducting friendly exchanges is a prerequisite for realizing peace among nations and for bringing prosperity to a nation and peace to the people. It is the basic connotation of China’s international and diplomatic outlooks to keep good faith, promote good will, and conduct friendly exchanges between nations.

China is witnessing the trend towards prosperity and thriving, but it is not a historical law for a powerful country to dominate other countries. Since ancient times, China has advocated the concept that “A just cause should be pursued for the common good.”²⁰ and that “the strong should not oppress the weak and the rich should not bully the poor”.²¹ Well knowing that “a warlike country, however big it is, is bound to perish,”²² China neither has a history of aggression and colonization nor any intention to dominate the world. It is China’s strategic choice and solemn commitment to persist in taking the road of peaceful development. China is willing to more closely combine its own development with the development of neighboring countries. China welcomes neighboring countries to take the “express” and “free ride” of China’s development so that China and all neighboring countries can together attain a better future, and to participate in the Belt and Road Initiative to work with China hand in glove for peace, development and cooperation.

²⁰C.F. *The Book of Rites-Their Sources, Operation and Functions*: “A just cause should be pursued for the common good; the ruler must have virtue and abilities, value integrity and promote societal harmony.”

²¹C.F. *Mo-tse: Universal Love Chap. 2*: “People all over the world love each other. The strong do not oppress the weak; the crowd do not loot few people; the rich do not bully the poor; the dignified do not abuse the humble; the sly do not cheat the silly.”

²²C.F. *Regulations for War*: “A warlike country, however big it is, is bound to perish; despite the world peace, a country not ready for fight against invasion is precarious.”

6.2.2 *China's Core Values in Handling International Relations and Foreign Affairs*

Although an extension of domestic politics, international politics involves handling the relationships between sovereign states. In dealing with international relationships, the values adopted are bound to influence the corresponding routes and choices of approaches.

6.2.2.1 Peaceful Development

The Chinese nation loves peace. Deeply rooted in the cultural-ethical world of the Chinese nation with a history of more than 5000 years, and fully dissolved in the blood of the Chinese people is a persistent admiration for peace and harmony. According to The Doctrine of Mean, "Moderation is the essence of the world, and harmony is the top maxim for the world". Dong Zhongshu contended that:

"a harmonious world will be sustained if it is born so; it will remain in the middle way if it is started this way. The Middle Way philosophy reflects on the ultimate destiny of the heaven and the earth, while harmony, their original formation."²³

In 2014, when visiting India, President Xi Jinping pointed out: "We all regard harmony as the great way of the world and we hope all countries co-exist in peace and harmony."²⁴

With peace, which is like sunshine, rain and dew, the world will have a prosperous future; without peace, mankind will face calamities. This is exactly what President Xi Jinping meant when he pointed out that:

"peace between countries leads to world peace and fights between countries result in world chaos."²⁵ It is not by resorting to military power, but applying the principle of "winning people far away by virtue" that China had created its splendid ancient civilization.²⁶

China's transformation from being poor and weak into revitalization depends not on expansion into foreign countries or colonial plunder, but on people's hard work, social stability and a peaceful environment. We must insist on realizing a shared, comprehensive, cooperative, and sustainable international security in order to maintain world peace. China never seeks hegemony now as a developing country, and will never seek hegemony even after being modernized in the future because it is not in the gene of Chinese's culture to resort to military power for dominating other countries.

²³C.F. Su (1992).

²⁴C.F. Xi Jinping's speech at the Indian World Affairs Committee (full text), September 19, 2014. (http://news.xinhuanet.com/politics/2014-09/19/c_1112539621.htm).

²⁵C.F. Xi Jinping: *Work Together to Build a Community of Shared Future for Mankind*, a speech made at the United Nations Office at Geneva, *People's Daily*, 2nd edition, January 20, 2017.

²⁶C.F. *The Book of Jin Dynasty: Stories of Xun Xu*.

It is understandable that there are different interests and discrepant opinions between countries. But how to handle the differences? China's answer to this question is: "harmony with diversity", which is the best way to resolve conflicts and promote win-win cooperation, just as stated in The Doctrine of the Middle Way: "All living creatures grow together without harming one another; ways run parallel without interfering with one another." Mutual respect and learning from each other are prerequisite for peaceful co-existence. "Every country has its own advantages, from which we can learn. The world can be united into a harmonious whole if all countries are inclusive and learn from each other". Big countries must have mutual respect in order to create a peaceful environment for development. Many conflicts can be reduced if big countries treat small countries as equals without resorting to power for dominance.

We should not only adhere to the value of harmonious coexistence but also clarify its universal significance for the whole world. At the UNESCO headquarters in Paris, President Xi Jinping stated and explained China's perspective on civilization: Civilizations should be of diversity, which makes mutual learning valuable; civilizations should be of equality, which provides the condition for mutual learning; civilizations should be of inclusiveness, which is the source of impetus for mutual learning.²⁷ We should promote mutual respect and harmonious coexistence of different civilizations in an effort to make mutual learning between civilizations a bridge of friendship for people from all countries, an impetus for advancing human society, and a tie that maintains and protects world peace.

6.2.2.2 Cooperation for a Win-Win Situation

Although living on the same earth, human beings live in different natural environments and have different cultural traditions. Cultural diversity should not be a barrier for our coexistence but a complementary condition for each other. It is conducive to mutual learning and encouragement, which, in turn, advances human civilization. Fighting with each other only leads to losses for both sides, whereas mutual inclusiveness and learning definitely results in win-win situations.

In the keynote speech at the opening ceremony the World Economic Forum Annual Meeting held in Davos in 2017, President Xi Jinping pointed out that:

"Mankind has become a close-knit community of shared future. Countries have extensive converging interests and are mutually dependent. Although all countries enjoy the right to development, they should meanwhile view their own interests in a broader context and refrain from pursuing them at the expense of other countries."²⁸

²⁷C.F. Xi Jinping's speech at the UNESCO Headquarters (full text), March 28, 2014. (http://news.xinhuanet.com/politics/2014-03/28/c_119982831.htm).

²⁸C.F. Xi Jinping's keynote speech: *Jointly Shoulder Responsibility of Our Times, Promote Global Growth*, at the opening ceremony of the World Economic Forum Annual Meeting 2017, *People's Daily*, Page 2, January 20, 2017.

We must avoid the “beggar thy neighbor” approach and we should be amicable, sincere, beneficial and inclusive in intercourse with neighboring countries in an effort to advance the world economy into a new type that is inclusive and benefits all countries.

Historical experience has proved that it is exclusive development, not inclusive development, which leads to development of a country itself. Inclusive development is a promise to which China is living up, as evidenced by the fact that China has taken the initiative to establish the Silk Road Fund, the BRICS Development Bank, and Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank, etc., in an effort to provide a platform for international cooperation, to create open-mindedly opportunities for international cooperation, and to contribute to prosperity and development of the world.

6.2.2.3 Fairness and Justice

It is stated in an ancient Chinese classic that “the law is the yardstick for the whole world.”²⁹ We should stick to the principles of sovereignty equality, mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other’s internal affairs, equality, and mutual benefit. We should reshape the model of world governance so that it features fairness and rationality and we must oppose double standards. At the 60th anniversary meeting for commemorating the publication of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, President Xi Jinping stated that the scenario is unacceptable in which security exists only for one country or some countries but not for other countries and in which one country seeks the so-called absolute security for itself at the expense of other countries’ security.³⁰

We actively promote the democratization of international relations, advocating that issues in the world should be jointly addressed, in a spirit of negotiation, by governments of various countries and their people; we actively promote the rule of law for relations between countries, advocating the spirit of rule of law featuring the unification of the rights, obligations and responsibilities of all countries, and hoping that all parties will abide by international law and universally recognized basic norms of international relations; we actively promote the establishment of rational international relations, and, through advocating the combination of rights and responsibilities, we endeavor to advance the reform of the global governance system. We contend that in the era of economic globalization, in which success or failure of one country can bring success or failure to other countries, one country should not pursue its own benefits at the expense of other countries’ benefits,

²⁹C.F. *Wen Tse Shang Yi*: “The law is the yardstick for the world and the measurement for human beings.”

³⁰C.F. Xi Jinping’s speech at the 60th anniversary meeting for commemorating the publication of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence (full text). (http://news.xinhuanet.com/politics/2014-06/28/c_1111364206_2.htm).

let alone to win by taking advantage of other countries and making them losers. We should properly handle the relationship between obligations and rights, hold fast to fairness and justice, and treat each other as equals.

6.2.2.4 Sharing Weal and Woe

The establishment of a fair, just, and sustainable international order requires all countries to shoulder common and rational international responsibilities. With an awareness of a community of shared future for mankind, China hopes to witness the development and prosperity of itself and of other countries and the whole world. China also hopes to pursue its own security while witnessing the security of other countries and the whole world. With its development, China is willing to provide more and more public products that are conducive to global development and prosperity in an effort to shoulder more and more international responsibilities.

In this global village, all of us are increasingly connected like passengers in the same boat, whose peace can be secured only by pulling together in times of trouble. If we try to pursue the so-called absolute security at the expense of others' security, we will end up in calamities. In the eyes of the Chinese people, the world is like a family in which we are all brothers. Only by pulling up together and close collaboration can we establish a world of prosperity, peace and harmony. Despite the regional and international status quo with unrest and frequent wars and conflicts, China has always adhered to the road of peaceful development. In the face of voices and actions that question the existing international order and the international system, China has always advocated reforming but not eliminating the current order and system. Facing the trend of "counter globalization" and "protectionism", China has always held high the banner of multilateralism, openness and inclusiveness. "This stability and certainty of diplomacy, which represent the responsibilities that China as a big country should shoulder, not only counteract various types of uncertainties but also fully demonstrate China's composure and confidence."³¹

6.2.3 China's International Outlook Embodies China's Core Values in International Relations

Chinese international outlook, based on the historical view that "all countries should conduct friendly exchanges with each other" and combined with peace and development as the two themes of the times, is represented by the concept of "a community of shared future for mankind" and lays a solid philosophical and

³¹C.F. Wang Yi's responses to Chinese reporters regarding China's diplomatic policies and relations with other countries at the press conference held at the 5th session of the twelve National People's Congress, *People's Daily*, 6th edition, March 9, 2017.

theoretical foundation for the diplomatic policy aiming for peace and development. The concept of “a community of shared future for mankind” is not only a continuation of Chinese cultural traditions but also embodies a prospect harbored by the contemporary Chinese people.

China's understanding of international relations and China's values as reflected in its diplomatic practices are the extension and embodiment of Chinese values in international relations and diplomatic fields. Domestically, we emphasize prosperity, democracy, civilization and harmony. Internationally, we advocate win-win cooperation, common development, and democracy in international relations. At the first meeting of the National Security Council, General Secretary Xi Jinping pointed out: “The implementation of the overall concept of national security entails an emphasis on both external security and internal security. Domestically, we pursue development, reform and stability in an effort to build a peaceful country; internationally, we pursue peace and win-win cooperation in an effort to build a harmonious world.”³² Since the 21st century, China has continuously pushed forward the overall opening to the outside world, promoted exchanges and mutual learning with other countries, and strengthened win-win cooperation. The goal of China's proposing the construction of the Silk Road Economic Belt and the strategy of the maritime Silk Road in the 21st century is to create and share developmental opportunities with various countries. The Chinese values regarding international relations lead to the prediction that, with greater open-mindedness, stronger inclusiveness and broader perspectives, China will vigorously carry out cultural exchanges and mutual learning with other countries so as to make more and greater contributions to the progress of human civilization.

Domestically, we emphasize freedom, equality, justice and the rule of law; internationally, we uphold justice and treat all countries as equals. China advocates and endeavors to live up to the concept that issues in the world should be jointly addressed, in a spirit of negotiation, by governments of various countries and their people. We actively promote the democratization of international relations. To promote the rule of law for international relations, we advocate the spirit of rule of law featuring the unification of the rights, obligations and responsibilities of all countries; we hope that all parties will abide by international law and universally recognized basic norms of international relations. We actively promote the reforms of global governance systems and the establishment of rational international relations by opposing double standards and advocating mutual respect and win-win cooperation.

Domestically, we emphasize patriotism, dedication, integrity and friendship; internationally, we are willing to properly handle the relationship between righteousness and interests. Interests we do emphasize, but we emphasize more righteousness. “A country should take righteousness rather than interests as its ultimate objective”. We advocate the balance between interests and righteousness in the sense that we Chinese people expect a better life for ourselves while feeling good

³²C.F. *People's Daily*, 1st edition, April 16, 2014.

about others' good life and endeavoring to improve their life. "The Chinese Dream is a dream of making contributions to the whole world, the same as an old Chinese saying 'perfect yourself when in poverty; relieve the world of poverty when successful', said President Xi Jinping on March 27, 2014 in a speech at the 50th anniversary meeting commemorating the establishment of diplomatic ties between China and France, which embodies a virtue that the Chinese have always upheld."³³

Obviously, the content of core values determines the content of values regarding international relations. China's international outlook, based on the concept of a community of shared future for mankind, provides correct ideological guidance and regulations for China's peaceful development and its prospect of establishing a harmonious world.

In a word, in international exchanges, China is committed to doing what is in line with the trend of historical development. "China will continue to be an anchor for stabilizing international situations, an engine for world growth, a source of positive energy for peaceful development, and a new impetus for global governance."³⁴ Meanwhile, in international communication we should shape China into an image of a big civilized country with time-honored history, diverse nationalities united into a whole, diverse cultures, and harmony; an image of a big Eastern country with clean and bright politics, economic growth, flourishing culture, stable society, unity of people and picturesque lands; an image of a big responsible country that adheres to peaceful development, promotes common development, maintains and protects international fairness and justice, and contributes to mankind; and an image of a big socialist country that is more open to the outside world, more amicable, more promising, and more vigorous than ever before.

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³³C.F. Xi Jinping's speech at the 50th anniversary for commemorating the establishment of diplomatic relation between China and France (full text), March 28, 2014. (http://news.xinhuanet.com/politics/2014-03/28/c_119982956_3.htm).

³⁴C.F. Wang Yi's responses to Chinese reporters regarding China's diplomatic policies and relations with other countries at the press conference held at the 5th session of the twelve National People's Congress, *People's Daily*, Page 6, March 9, 2017.

Concluding Remarks

Carrying Forward the Socialist Core Values and Making Concerted Efforts to Realize the Dream of National Rejuvenation

In the current era of economic globalization and rapid social transformation, as a country of 56 ethnic groups and 1 billion 300 million people, China, on its voyage to realize the dream of the grand renaissance of the Chinese nation, must have common ideals and cultural-ethical realms that form ideological consensus and evoke cultural identification. In contemporary China, carrying forward the socialist core values is simply for building such common ideals and cultural-ethical realms.

The Chinese values are a complete system that reflects the interactions between the country, society and citizens. In this system, due to the nature of the country's system, the value related to "what kind of country should be constructed" determines the contemporary connotation and orientation of the values of the society and citizens. Due to the society being foundational and broad, the value related to "what kind of society should be constructed", on the one hand, supports the value related to the country level, and, on the other hand, profoundly impacts the nature of the value orientation of citizens. Meanwhile, citizens' individual morality and life values, in a practical and existential sense, supports the realization of the goals and norms as derived from the values at the country and society levels. The values at the three levels (i.e., the country, society and citizens) are mutually supportive and influencing. It is only the values at the country level (i.e., prosperity, democracy, civilization, and harmony) that contribute to the establishment of a society of freedom, equality, and justice and rule of law and to cultivating citizens of patriotism, dedication, integrity and friendship. It is carrying forward the values at the societal level (i.e., freedom, equality, justice and rule of law) that contributes to realizing the goals as derived from the values at the country level (i.e., prosperity, democracy, civilization, and harmony) and to cultivating citizens of patriotism, dedication, integrity and friendship. At the same time, it is only citizens of patriotism, dedication, integrity and friendship that can work together to establish a

society of freedom, equality, justice and rule of law and to construct a country of prosperity, democracy, civilization, and harmony.

For any country, society or individual, values are indispensable. If we walk at night, we often have to rely on the Big Dipper to determine our direction. If we sail on the vast ocean, the helmsman must rely on the compass to determine his direction. Our social life and action also need the “Big Dipper” and the “compass” so as to ensure that we move forward at the same pace and that our behavior is reasonable and consistent with the direction of historical development. What serves as the “Big Dipper” for social life and the “compass” for social action are the values of mankind. Since we are on the road of socialism with Chinese characteristics, the values that guide our daily life and social actions are socialist values. Just as a person walking at night must learn how to observe the Big Dipper and navigators must learn to use the compass, we need to actively cultivate and practice the socialist core values as we carry out the great enterprise of socialism with Chinese characteristics.

Carrying forward the socialist core values should be first of all based on the reality of socialism with Chinese characteristics and must reflect on the great practice of socialism with Chinese characteristics. Just as a traveler must observe the position of the Big Dipper depending on the road under his or her feet and a navigator must take into account his or her sailing route in determining the direction using a compass, in taking the road of socialism with Chinese characteristics, we must cultivate and practice the socialist values depending on our own reality. The socialist road and system with Chinese characteristics are our most fundamental reality, based on which our values should be those for contemporary China, namely, socialist values rather than any other values.

Some values that we advocate, although in names similar or identical to those of other values, have different connotations because these two types of values are related to different social practices at different historical stages. In fact, many values that share names have strikingly different connotations depending on specific locations, historical stages and social practices. For example, “justice”, as mentioned by Plato in ancient Greece, was in his eyes equal to the independent shouldering of responsibilities by the ruling class, guardians and laboring people. Under socialism, which aims for the free and equal development of all people, justice as we advocate is of a socialist nature, in sharp contrast to the “justice” as defined by Plato. In fact, socialist democracy, characterized by all people participating as masters themselves in economic, political, cultural, and social arenas, is clearly different from the capitalist democracy that narrows itself into voting rights. Although the capitalist countries in the West have always taken delight in bragging about their democracy whereby people enjoy the political rights to vote, many western scholars, including Richard Wolf, have noted the reality that the general public in Europe and America are faced with “complete lack of democracy”.¹

¹C.F. Zhao Zhun: Richard Wolf and his Movement for “Democracy in Work”, *Chinese Social Sciences Today*, on June 26, 2013.

Different from the partial democracy in the West, our democracy is therefore socialist democracy through which all people extensively engage in socialist processes and practices.

In addition, cultivating and practicing the socialist core values must be accompanied by the great practice in the socialist enterprise with Chinese characteristics and the developmental process of the inheritance and innovation of Chinese culture. This is the way to continuously enrich the conceptual connotation and clarify the normative orientation of the socialist core values. There is no end to the socialist practice with Chinese characteristics and to the cultivation of socialist core values. Essentially, culture is not unchangeable existence but is the continuous formation and evolution of human creative activities. It follows therefore that values, as the soul of culture, should not be solidified but should be subject to a process of continuously being cultivated and updated with social development. The Chinese culture is reflected in the creative activities continuously carried out by the Chinese people from one generation to another. As the soul of socialist culture with Chinese characteristics, the socialist core values, being a key factor, a driving force, and a source of motivation for the development and evolution of Chinese culture, should also be updated with the development of Chinese culture. The CPC emphasizes the construction of a system of the socialist core values and the cultivation and practice of socialist core values; the purpose is to establish a contemporary Chinese culture that succeeds the traditional Chinese culture, interacts well with other excellent cultures in the world, and represents the direction in which human civilization moves forward. For contemporary Chinese culture, a system of the socialist core values serves as the backbone and socialist core values are the soul or essence. The key of establishing socialist culture of China lies in strengthening the cultural creativity and vitality of the Chinese nation. For liberation and enhancement of cultural productivity, we need values of democracy, freedom, and equality, which serve to arouse people's cultural creativity and imaginativeness. We also need values of justice, rule of law and harmony, which encourage people to devote themselves to free activities of scientific research, to exploratory activities of knowledge innovation, and to free activities of literature and art production so as to provide the general public with a broad cultural platform on which to thoroughly manifest all their hidden cultural creativity and to create a new scenario in which cultural creativity of the Chinese nation continuously radiates, social and cultural life becomes more colorful, people's basic cultural rights and interests become better secured and protected, people's ideological and moral qualities and scientific and cultural quality improve comprehensively, and Chinese culture continuously exerts greater impact in international arenas.

In carrying forward the socialist core values, we must also have our eye on the direction in which human civilization advances and determine the vantage point for these core values in a way that reflects the advanced nature of the socialist system. It is due to a stable position in a changing sky that the Big Dipper can guide a person walking at night and provide him or her relatively reliable reference for a direction. It is due to a magnetic needle always pointing to the north in the boundless sea that a compass can guide a navigator. If the Big Dipper floats around like other stars, it

would not give a reliable guidance; if a compass fails to point to the north, it would not be popular with navigators. Likewise, values that do not reflect the pace at which human society progresses and the direction in which human civilization advances would not be recognized by the majority of people.

Although there is no universal value, the values that follow the laws of social development and reflect the direction in which human society progresses would be of historical significance for the whole world. Our values, though based on China's socialist road and bound to be of Chinese characteristics, must be of historical significance for the whole world because, from the perspective of social development, our road with Chinese characteristics dovetails with the overall trajectory of human civilization. Because of this, we should make an effort to elucidate the point that the advanced nature of the socialist core values lies in reflecting the direction in which human civilization advances. Only the values that dovetail with the direction in which human civilization advances would be of historical significance for the whole world. We should avoid regarding socialist core values as something whose significance is only national, relative, specific and local because in so doing our values would be deprived of historical significance for the world at large, would fail to appeal to people all over the world, and would keep us from acquiring soft cultural powers. By saying that socialist core values have universal significance for the whole world, we do not mean that there is a so-called "universal value" but that these values, in line with the direction in which human society advances, have broad historical implications for the development of the mankind. In this sense, the more a value represents the direction of human development, the more likely it has universal significance for the world. In fact, what is for a nation can be for the world; what is relative is inclusive of what is absolute; what is specific is inclusive of what is universal. Any values are bound to a specific historical milieu. A value that represents the trend of human progress and dovetails with the direction of human development is likely to be of universal significance for the whole world. The road China has taken for development has implications for the world and has impact on the world, which indicates the value of having universal significance for the world. Such universal significance is what it takes to have a moral vantage point and to own soft powers that guide and appeal to the world.

The socialist values, like all other values whose evolution reflects social and historical progress, do not pop out from nowhere but rather are the cultural results from the development of human society. Therefore, although we advocate values of "freedom, equality, justice, and rule of law" and recognize the advantages of the capitalist society over the feudal society, our values are based on the socialist system. Under the context of socialism, freedom is no longer based on capital but on people's sovereignty; equality is neither something abstract reflected in legal rights nor simply the equivalent of periodic equal "voting rights" but entails comprehensive and concrete equality of all people in economic, political, social and cultural arenas; justice is no longer a procedural and secondary value that is below capital freedom and individual freedom but rather is a core value that reflects the essence of socialism, which entails equality and common prosperity of all people.

Carrying forward the socialist values must also be linked to the dream of the great renaissance of the Chinese nation so that identification with national culture and with the country can be mutually promoting. In November 29, 2012, General Secretary Xi Jinping, during a visit to the exhibition named “the Road to Renaissance”, said: “It is the greatest dream of the Chinese nation since modern times to realize the great renaissance of the Chinese nation. This dream, as the common aspiration of every Chinese, has long been held by several generations of Chinese people and reflects the overall interests of the Chinese nation and all Chinese people.” To realize the Chinese dream is to realize the great renaissance of the Chinese nation and to establish powerful and prosperous socialist country where people are happy, cultures are flourishing, society is harmonious, and the land is picturesque. In other words, this glorious dream is a dream of a prosperous China, a democratic China, a just China, a harmonious China, and a beautiful China. The Chinese dream is the common pursuit of all Chinese people and the ideal prospect recognized by the Chinese nation. It is the goal of several generations of Chinese people to realize the Chinese dream, which, like the Big Dipper or a compass, guides the striving of all members of the Chinese nation.

Since the reform and opening up, China has witnessed remarkable social and economic achievements well known by the whole world. However, significant changes have also occurred in the social structure of China: Social groups have been increasingly divided due to more refined division of industry, social structures have been more complicated, and people’s interests have been more diversified. With the deepening of economic globalization, there have been more frequent cultural exchanges and deeper cultural fusion as people become simultaneously presented with different cultures and thoughts from all over the world. The differences in people’s environments and interests have also led them to have more diversified perspectives, which, in turn, results in diversified thoughts. Under such circumstances, what kind of ideological consensus or cultural-ethical ties do we have to link all members of a fast developing country? This is a question that the ruling party must answer. As stressed in the 18th CPC National Congress, we should strengthen the construction of a system of socialist core values, deepen the study and education of the socialist core values, and apply the system of socialist core values to guide the trend of social ideology and establish social consensuses. After all, a society that lacks consensuses would be of no social harmony and authentic cooperation among people. Only a society in which people have identification with common values can be a real community of common destiny. Through the cultivation and practice of the socialist core values, we can form social consensuses and build a cultural-ethical homeland and a community of common destiny for the Chinese nation.

In cultivating and practicing the socialist core values, it is the consensus of all Chinese people to realize the Chinese dream and therefore the best education concerning patriotism, collectivism and socialism. The Chinese dream provides a realistic impetus for cultivating and practicing of the socialist core values, which provide a powerful cultural-ethical power for the realization of the Chinese dream. The Chinese dream is not only a dream of prosperity but also a higher-order dream

of advanced civilization. We should base the Chinese dream on the socialist core values.

In carrying forward the socialist core values, we should also earnestly look for the correct forms of discourse that correctly express our values and are able to touch the hearts of the masses. Navigators always use a compass because they know it is useful for navigation. Likewise, these values, in order to be most widely recognized, must be understood as useful by the people. For this purpose we must first make sure that the people are willing to listen to these values and can understand them finally. In fact, every day we need to deal with values: Either by a speech or an article, we aim to express our values so as to communicate with and persuade others. In order to be persuasive, we need to express ourselves in a way that makes others willing to listen and understand finally. There can be and need be different ways of expression of the same idea depending on specific situations. That is, our words and tones need to match a particular context. It has been reasonably pointed out that even a self-evident truth needs a flavor of poetry to be touching. However, when it comes to transforming the forms of discourse, what we need to do is not just to change the way of utterance and narration or just to change the words and tones we use—although all these changes are beneficial and necessary. The key to transforming the forms of discourse lies in transforming the styles of working and writing.

Now, the reform of our writing style lies in finding an appropriate way of discoursing with the optimal language to communicate with the general public, namely, the best way to express a specific idea in a specific situation. We must avoid pompous writing and talking so as to have effective communication. Whether we talk with workers, farmers, the youth, or foreigners, we should opt for an appropriate manner of talking so that they can easily understand. Therefore, in cultivating and practicing the socialist core values, we should not simply repeat those values but should learn to use vivid narration of life and action stories to manifest the cultural-ethical glory and ideological power of the socialist core values.

Because any cultural-ethical power is of autonomy and creativity, the process of carrying forward the socialist core values requires the vitality of the whole society and the activeness and creativity of each social member, particularly the involvement of the large number of Party members as leading role models. That is, in cultivating and practicing the socialist core values, we should on the one hand trust the creativity and self-education of the masses because values can never be imposed on people but should be chosen and internalized by them. On the other hand, guidance is needed for the establishment of values. Under the current conditions, just as a lead goose is needed to guide a team of flying geese, members of the CPC as the vanguard, especially those senior leading cadres, should play a guiding and exemplary role in taking the Chinese road and establishing Chinese values by taking the initiative to practice the socialist core values. Cultivating and practicing the socialist core values is a circling process through which we conduct investigations from the masses and then disseminate our decisions to the masses. In activities of social practices, we should mobilize and rely on the masses so as to

unite all their energies to realize the goals in line with our values. The grand practice of socialism with Chinese characteristics and the socialist core values shape each other. That is, from the dream of the great renaissance of the Chinese nation and from the practice of socialism with Chinese characteristics have arisen the socialist core values, which guide and shape the grand dream and practice of socialism with Chinese characteristics.

Postscript

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