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HARMONY IN CONFUCIANISM AND HOW THE COMMUNIST PARTY IS USING IT IN CONTEMPORARY CHINA

Centre for East Asian Studies
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Master's thesis

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Abstract: Although Confucianism has a long history of influence in China, it was criticized at the beginning of the PRC and then reintroduced since China's open up policy. The purpose of this thesis is to discuss what is harmony in Confucianism and how the Chinese Communist party is using this tradition to solve social problems and meet the challenges in contemporary time. Empirical research and qualitative methods have been used in the paper. First, method is conceptual approaching the classics to find what is the original meaning of harmony in Confucianism. Then focusing on its use in the PRC: in the Mao's era, class struggle was the key line, and Confucianism was regarded with less value. After Mao's death, and since opening to the world since the late 1970s, China has met lots of challenges inside and outside. Under these circumstances, class struggle has been abandoned. Chinese leaders have reflected on and re-expressed harmony in Confucianism, in order to find the solutions to the problems and challenges inside and outside of China in contemporary age. Finally, as the conclusion of this thesis it is argued that while harmony is not a new concept, the CCP is re-interpreting this tradition to suit the situation in contemporary of China. Unlike classical Confucianism defining harmony based on ritual or cultural context, the CCP has reflected this concept on national perspective, between human being and nature, and on international atmosphere. During Hu Jintao as Party General Secretary, the CCP put forward the concept of socialist harmonious society in handling the relationship between reform, development, and social stability. When Xi Jinping succeed the leadership, he first proposed that "Lucid waters and lush mountains are invaluable assets". The purpose of this concept was to value the harmonious relationship between man and nature in solving environmental problems. Xi further promoted building a community with a shared future of mankind to meet the challenges in international dimensions, as China following a peaceful development for good cooperation and mutual benefits with people of all countries.

Key words: Confucianism, harmony, China, tradition, the Communist Party

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1 Introduction

In history, Confucianism has influenced China and the Chinese people over two thousand years. In ancient Chinese history, there once appeared the various schools of thoughts and their exponents (branches) during the period from pre-Qin times to the early years of the Han Dynasty. Confucianism (Rú 儒) is one of these schools and thoughts, which was developed in Spring and Autumn and Warring States Period by Confucius (551–479 BCE) and his disciples based on Zhou values (about 11th century B.C. – 256 B.C.). Then in Han Dynasty Confucianism became an official ideology instead of other schools.¹ The “Four Books and Five Classics”² are the classic books of Confucianism, which particularly became the tradition of Neo-Confucians, when during the Song Dynasty (960–1279), the “renaissance” of Confucianism led Neo-Confucianism to become the basis of Confucian orthodoxy into the imperial examination system in the following dynasties. The Neo-Confucian sage, Zhu Xi chose to emphasize the Four Books as the core curriculum for aspiring scholars’ officials, and wrote commentaries as new interpretations accepted and recognized in history by the Yuan-Dynasty, nonetheless.

As Chinese civilization developed to the Qing Dynasty (1644–1911), China experienced enormous social, political and economic changes. The Qing Dynasty collapsed in 1911, and in 1912 Dr. Sun Yat-sen founded the Republic of China. In the Second World War, Japan invaded China from 1937–1945. Shortly after the Second World War, the Chinese Civil War lasted from 1945 to 1949, ending in the establishment of the Peoples' Republic of China in 1949; and this was followed by the Cultural Revolution, which started in 1966 and ended in 1976. Since the early 1980s, China has started open policy to the outside, and concentrated on economic development.

China's changes have also affected Confucianism. For example, in the mass petition incident *Gong Che Shang Shu* in 1895³, Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao, the main sponsors of reformists in late Qing Dynasty, submitted a joint letter to the emperor with the *juren*, who were

¹ Confucianism became an official ideology instead of other schools (罢黜百家, 独尊儒术), which was proposed by Dong Zhongshu in 134 B.C. See 《董仲舒传》”Dong Zhongshu Zhuan”, 《武帝纪赞》”Wudi Ji Zan”

² The Four Books were: the *Great Learning* (大学), *Doctrine of Mean* (中庸), *Analects of Confucius* (论语 Lu Yu) and *Mencius* (孟子 Mengzi). “Five Classics” were : the Classic of Poetry (诗经), Book of Documents (尚书), Book of Rites (礼记), I Ching (Book of Changes) (易经/周易), and the Spring and Autumn Annals (春秋)

³ Mao 2005

going to take imperial examination in Beijing that year. At that time, the *juren* were the successful candidates in the imperial examinations at the provincial level. One of their proposals was to reform the imperial examination system, since the content of the imperial examination did not suit the modern world. Later in 1905, the imperial examination system was abolished indicating the end of official Confucianism in China. Then between 1910s and 1920s, there happened the New Culture Movement, criticizing tradition, Confucianism, and classical texts. Instead, the movement promoted Western democracy and science.⁴

Since the early years of last century, scholars in the New Culture Movement blamed Confucianism for China's stagnation and searched for new ideologies replacing Confucianism. The well-known alternative ideologies were Dr. Sun Yat-sen's "Three Principles of People"^{5 6} as the founding ideas of the Republic of China, and Maoism^{7 8} with the establishment of the Peoples' Republic of China in 1949.^[A1] Maoism was not originally the first form of socialist thinking in China; which is Marxism that developed into its Chinese form, Maoism in the 1940s.

From the very beginning of the Peoples' Republic of China, Confucianism encountered criticism and challenges. In the Mao-era, Confucianism was blamed for China's problems and abandoned. More details of this will be explained in Part 3 **Class struggle in Mao-era and Harmony**. After Mao's death in 1976, China started the open doors policy. During the past decades, although there has been fast economic development, there have risen also large challenges politically, socially, economically and in international relations for China. During the last twenty years, not only Chinese intellectuals but also the government have re-approached Chinese traditions in order to solve problems in contemporary China. This thesis discusses how the Chinese Communist Party as a ruling party is using (reflecting and expressing) harmony (和谐 *hexie*^[A2]) of Confucianism for governance of contemporary China.

In 2002, building a 'harmonious society' (和谐社会 *hexie shehui*) was clearly put forward as the strategic task in the 16th National Congress of the Communist Party of China, as well as the third and fourth Plenary Sessions of the 16th CCP⁹ Central Committee. For the first time,

⁴ ["Before and After the May Fourth Movement"](#)

⁵ "Three Principles of People" (三民主义) (Ji 2012:21)

⁶ Remarks

⁷ Maoism (毛泽东思想) (Ji 2012:22-23)

⁸ Remarks

⁹ The Chinese Communist Party

the report of the 16th National Congress of the Communist Party of China set up "a more harmonious society" as an important goal. Then the Fourth Plenary Session of the Sixteenth Central Committee further proposed the task of building a harmonious society.

On November 8, 2002, Party General Secretary Jiang Zemin gave the Party Congress report named as *Building A Well-off Society in An All-Round Way and Creating A New Situation in the Cause of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics*.¹⁰ In this report, harmonious society was raised as one of important goals in building 'a well-off society in an all-round way'. Afterwards, this goal was also strengthened in the Third Plenary Session of the Sixteenth Central Committee, which were held in 11th to 14th of October, 2003.¹¹

Later the CCP¹² officially proposed "building socialist harmonious society" in the party document entitled *Communiqué of the Fourth Plenary Session of the 16th CPC Central Committee*¹³ in 2004, later on in this text "harmonious society" is called as its short form. The explanation of this proposal can be found in another party document entitled *CCP's Resolution on Building Harmonious Society*¹⁴ from 2006. According to this document, China faced new development opportunities and new challenges in the new stage of the new century. There appeared social problems, regardless of improved socialist market economy system, comprehensive national strength, and the level of people's lives. According to the document, since opening up and reform policy had started, Chinese society had become increasingly discorded and lacked harmony, for example, injustice between different social classes had grown. In addition, the trend of world multi-polarization and economic globalization was developing further. The international environment was complex and changeable, and increased instability and uncertainty affected peace and development. How emerging China faced different voices from international community was another important challenge. On the other hand, it was believed that those problems were possible to be solved within the socialist system. Under those circumstances, as Hu Jintao as the new Party General Secretary, the CCP found the Confucian concept of harmony useful and proposed the conception of "building socialist harmonious society".¹⁵

¹⁰ fmpc 2002

¹¹ cnr 2008

¹² Chinese Communist Party 中国共产党

¹³ CPC 2004

¹⁴ CPC 2006

¹⁵ Ibid

After 2012, Party General Secretary Xi Jinping has developed the use of the concept further and proposed the harmony with nature, and win-win shared community for mankind in order to meet the challenges in Chinese environmental problems and also in international community.

1.1 Literature review

During my thesis writing, I read some literature materials, which has helped me to find my thesis topic and focus on my research.

The book *Contemporary Chinese Political Thought*¹⁶ edited by Fred Dallmayr & Zhao Tingyang gives an overview about intellectual debates and perspectives in the fields of politics, economics and culture in contemporary China. Reading this book, it is possible to know the different approaches to Chinese traditions and Confucianism, and arguments about contemporary Chinese politics.

Another relevant book is *The Political Philosophy of Middle Kingdom*¹⁷ written by Bao Tongdong. In chapter 1 (16-27), the author introduces the historical background of traditional Chinese thought and explains the transitional process during the Spring and Autumn and Warring States periods. As he notes, there were similarities between China and Europe's transition to modernity. Next, Bao addresses the nature and problems of modernity. Furthermore, the writer discusses how Classical Chinese political philosophy can be regarded as modern philosophy. The author further argues that traditional Chinese philosophy is relevant to current problems of the modern world. The way CCP has used harmony as part of its own ideology just underlines this.

In Conclusion of the same book *The Political Philosophy of Middle Kingdom*, Bao further discusses what problems the early Chinese political thinkers had, while considering modernity, their critical concerns, and their engagements. Also, as exploring implications from historical and theoretical background, we may notice that traditional Chinese political philosophy helps us to get a picture of China's history, the past and the present; it reminds its relevance to the

¹⁶ Fred Dallmayr & Zhao Tingyang (ed) 2012

¹⁷ Bai 2012

world in contemporary time as well. The author concludes that it may be the time for us to approach to traditional Chinese political philosophy, so as to understand the past, the present, and the others, as the result in leading for a better future.

In Jyrki Kallio 's book *Tradition in Chinese Politics*¹⁸, the author has explained how history and tradition play their role in the People' Republic of China. In current times, the state is approaching history and tradition, particularly Confucianism, in order to solve the problems and support the governance. In his research, Kallio has introduced the debates, voices, and actors related with the state promotion for reinvention of Chinese tradition.

Jiang Qing's book *Political Confucianism*¹⁹ discusses the turn, traits, and development of contemporary Confucianism. For example, in Chapter III *Political Confucianism and Modern Democratic Politics*, Jiang made a conclusion that Confucian unification can be an important resource for the reconstruction of Chinese political culture.

In *Political Legitimacy in China: A Confucian Approach*²⁰, Daniel A. Bell discusses what is the definition for political legitimacy and how the government is viewed as legitimate or not by its citizens. The research mentioned when and why the study related with legitimacy had started in China. Bell points out that the more political legitimacy a government has, the less it needs the oppression.

Through the book *The Mind of Empire, China's History and Modern Foreign Relations*²¹, The author, Christopher A. Ford gives a view that Chinese history and tradition will influence China's foreign policy, as China is rising. From Confucius to modern time, the author explains China's image and role in the world. Ford's argument is that China will make a hierarchy favorable for its own in the international structure and relations.

Universal values about freedom, democracy and human rights are also debated in China for decades. The article *The Debate over Universal Values* reports Chinese debate about universal values.²² The author informs that China is not rejecting the universal values, rather they are

¹⁸ Kallio, Jyrki 2011

¹⁹ Jiang 2003

²⁰ Daniel A. Bell 2016

²¹ Christopher A. Ford 2015

²² The Economist October 2nd-8th 2010

fighting over it. The writer introduces several cases to support his argument. This article mainly refers to the philosophical question of universal values and how it has become a political fight in China. The debate over universal values is dividing scholars, media and even China's leaders according to some analysis. The universal values, *pushi jiazhi*, its conception such as freedom, democracy and human rights have been discussed for 30 years, although the universal values first appeared in a liberal newspaper, Southern Weekend in 2008. In December of same year, hundreds of liberal intellectuals signed a public declaration to support universal values. But the conservatives attacked the idea of universal values in Beijing newspapers, their websites and the People's Daily accusing the supporters of universal values of trying to westernize China and threatening the party's ruling power. Besides, the Chinese fast economic growth has been favorable to conservatives. They have honored Confucius' idea in stressing Chinese own values. The liberals named Mr. Hu Jintao and Mr. Wen Jiabao as supporters in Guangdong newspaper websites. The conservatives were encouraged by a speech from Mr. Xi Jinping, whose speech answered that "highest values are for a communist"²³. The author refers to Chinese scholars' words that there are divisions among top leaders over universal values. Finally, the author concluded that Chinese are not certain about universal values.

In *Research on the Core Socialist Values*²⁴ by Ke Tizu, the writer argues that the CCP promoted the "core socialist values" at its 18th national congress in 2012. Ke explains that the socialist values contain six items: civic rights, common wealth, democracy and rule by law, fairness and justice, unity and harmony, open policy with comprehensiveness. According to Ke's explanation, for example, the CCP has stressed that it is necessary to harmonize the relationship with different parties, religions, ethnic groups, sectors, nationals and nations for harmonious coexistence and common progress. The meaning of harmony is also to bring peace, development, cooperation between Chinese and people of other countries in the world into a lasting peace, common prosperity and harmonious world. The common destiny is the harmony between people and nature, and to strive to build an ecological civilization, economic and social sustainable development. The social harmony, it is argued, is therefore a basic character of socialism with Chinese special characteristics.

²³ The Economist October 2nd-8th 2010

²⁴ Ke 2012

Ralph Weber's article *Confucian Political Philosophy for Non-Confucians*²⁵ is answering the question about how could a Confucian political philosophy take into consideration the views of the world and be committed to pluralism. At first, Weber refers to John Rawls and his concerns. Next, he analyzes some related developments and Rawls' critical concerns. Then Weber discusses the current proposals from a Confucian political philosophy, analyses the issues of pluralism as a challenge, and gives the ideas of how to act in a proper way. In conclusion, Weber has described two main issues which may affect the pluralism of political Confucianism.

1.2 Research questions

Based on the above literature review, I have finalized the thesis topic and developed research questions. For the objective of this study, three questions are asked as follows:

- 1 What is harmony in Confucianism? Or what is definition for harmony in Confucianism in ancient traditional Chinese books?
- 2 How has the Chinese Communist Party as a ruling party reflected harmony in Confucianism with co-opting traditions for governing contemporary China? And why?
- 3 What are the differences in harmony between classical Confucianism and contemporary reflection of the Chinese Communist Party?

About the first research question, I got some reflections from Jyrki Kallio's book *Tradition in Chinese Politics*.²⁶ For example, in his research, Kallio has asked the question what is Confucianism? For answering the question, Kallio introduces how Luo Guojie has described the basis and principles of Confucianism. Meanwhile, Kallio has mentioned one interesting issue about history and tradition in China, the hot debates by the intellectuals and the public, on how the classical Confucian books say and what is the original meanings. Also in 2000s, there have been books published accordingly. Furthermore, he has discussed the 'empirical research' (*kaozheng*, 考证)²⁷ favoring textual study.

²⁵ Ralph Weber 2015

²⁶ Kallio, Jyrki 2011

²⁷ Ibid

In this study, the first question is asking what is harmony in Confucianism? In order to answer this question, I choose *Analects of Confucius* (论语 *Lun Yu*), one of Confucian classics, in a version of a volume published in 2006 in China, so as to take a look what are the ancient texts alike. Chapter 2 is written for this purpose.

For the second question, the discussions are located in Chapter 4 and 5. They will help to answer the question, which is the main research question of this study. The first and third questions are secondary questions, designed to support in answering the main question. The third question will also be discussed in chapter 5.

1.3 Theoretical framework

As noted, the first research question in this thesis is to discuss what is harmony from the traditional point view of Confucianism. In order to answer this question, it is important to find out how harmony has been defined in ancient Confucianism books. In addition, it may be necessary to introduce some traditional Chinese sayings, so that it may show how harmony has influenced Chinese society. For example, most Chinese are familiar with the sayings as “Harmony is good for prosperous business”²⁸, “Harmony is good for all the best of family”²⁹, etc.

Although harmony in Confucianism has influenced China during its the long history, this study is not going to cross the long timeline; it is mainly concentrating on contemporary China, the time starting from the establishment of the People’s Republic of China to the present. Mao Zedong abandoned Confucianism, and used class struggle as the guiding ideological principle at the beginning of foundation of the PRC. So, why has harmony in Confucianism been reflected and expressed again by the CCP during the past decades? The second research question is therefore to approach how the Chinese Communist Party as a ruling party has reflected and expressed harmony in Confucianism for governing contemporary China. Who has first proposed it? Why and how harmony has been proposed by the government for internal and international purposes?

²⁸ 和气生财 *he qi sheng cai*

²⁹ 家和万事兴 *jia he wan shi xing*

Thus, after the introduction, this paper will discuss the traditional definition of harmony in Confucianism, the class struggle in Mao's era, and then how the Chinese Communist Party as a ruling party has reflected and expressed harmony of Confucianism for governing contemporary China. On the other hand, the task is also to compare classical harmony in Confucianism with contemporary expression and reflection of harmony by the CCP. At the end, this study will make some observations and conclusion.

1.4 Research method

This study is going to use empirical research, in which empirical evidence is important for analyzing data and research conclusion. The empirical evidence includes primary and secondary data. Primary data means those data collected by myself. Secondary data is the data already available and collected by others. In order to answer the research questions, data is analyzed with the qualitative method, which is expressed with words. In this method, different kinds of documents and materials may be used, including those of the publicly and personally available ones.

In data collection, primary and secondary data may be used as main sources and references. The materials cover three different parts. The first part may include some ancient and traditional Chinese books in order to find the traditional meanings of harmony in Confucianism. The second part is contemporary documents and resources, for example, public media, propaganda, party documents, newspaper, etc. The first and second parts belong to primary data. The third is other researchers' observations and references, which belong to the secondary data. The contemporary materials may help to find what the situation were in Mao's time and after Mao about Confucianism. Then it is necessary to make analysis about who has first proposed the harmony in Confucianism. And how and why it was reflected and expressed in Chinese policies in the contemporary age by Chinese government.

For qualitative research, discourse analysis may be applied for this study. According to philosopher Michel Foucault, discourse is “an entity of sequences, of signs, in that they are, statements in conversation”³⁰. A statement is not a unit of the meaning of language, signs and symbols in a theoretical framework of semiotics. On the other hand, it is an abstract construction,

³⁰ Foucault, Michel 1969

allowing language, signs and symbols carrying meaning, also delivering particular communications to, between, and among objects, and statements.³¹

Discourse analysis includes analysis of written and visual language of an event. It is not only to see how the language is used 'beyond the sentence boundary', but also to make analysis of 'naturally occurring' in use of the language.³² Rather than focusing on text structure, the aim of this technique is to reveal social- psychological characteristics of a person or persons.³³ For instance, discourse analysis of political speech may find statements on the particular topics, and checking how the language has been used for signifying meanings so as to see whether the statements can be taken as the evidence. As the result, it is possible to find the historical and social context, or the attention of the speech.

There is strength of this methodology. Since I am a native Chinese, Chinese language is my native language, and I had education and working experience in China. Considering this thesis topic, it is easy to access to Chinese language-based text material for me. Meanwhile, learning and experience of Chinese history and society may help my thesis study and writing. The weakness is that only qualitative research is used in the study. According to my original research design, both qualitative and quantitative methods were planned for analysis. Technically, for empirical research, the empirical evidence may be analyzed with both qualitative and quantitative methods in order to better answer the research questions. During the process of thesis writing, I feel it is maybe too much, and the thesis may become too long. Therefore, I finally concentrated on only one research method, that is, qualitative analysis.

³¹ Ibid

³² ["Discourse Analysis—What Speakers Do in Conversation"](#) 2019

³³ [Yatsko's Computational Linguistics Laboratory](#)". 2019

1.5 Sources

In this study, the main primary sources are documentary data, for example, the classic books, the speeches of high leaders, their writings, party documents, and the books written in contemporary time, etc.

Classical books *Analects of Confucius*³⁴, *Zhou Guan Xin Yi (New Explanation of Officials in Ancient Zhou Dynasty)*³⁵, and the book *Lun Yu Yi Zhu (Annotation for Lun Yu)*³⁶ written in present time are useful to explain the traditional meanings of harmony in Confucianism.

About class struggle in Mao's era, his essays *On Contradiction*³⁷ and *On Practice*³⁸ may be used for explanation of this ideology. In addition, sources such as *Criticizing Confucius and Class Struggle: Learn Chairman Mao's Discourse about Criticizing Confucius*³⁹ also can explain how and why Confucianism was criticized in 1970s' campaign.

When the CCP approached the Confucian tradition and proposed the harmonious society, Party General Secretary Jiang Zemin's report *Building A Well-off Society in An All-Round Way and Creating A New Situation in the Cause of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics* at the 16th National Party Congress⁴⁰, *Communiqué of the Third Plenary Session of the 16th CCP Central Committee*,⁴¹ *Communiqué of the Fourth Plenary Session of the 16th CCP Central Committee*,⁴² Party General Secretary Hu Jintao on *Building A Socialist Harmonious Society* (full speech)⁴³ and the party document *CPC's Resolution on Building Harmonious Society*⁴⁴ are used to explain the background of this policy.

Then, as Party General Secretary Xi Jinping started the presidency, his speeches and writings are used explaining how he has proposed to solve the problems in Chinese environment and international relations with 'harmony'. This can be found for example in his speech *Lucid water*

³⁴ 《论语》 *Analects of Confucius* (Lu Yu)

³⁵ Wan Anshi (writer), Yang Xiaozhao (editor), 2016

³⁶ Yang Bojun, 2017 (reprint 2019)

³⁷ Mao (08.1937)

³⁸ Mao (07.1937)

³⁹ Liaoning People's Publisher and Hunan People's Publisher 1974

⁴⁰ fmprc 2002

⁴¹ cnr 2008

⁴² CPC 2004

⁴³ Chinese government 2005

⁴⁴ CPC 2016

*and lush mountains are invaluable assets*⁴⁵, for the protection of the ecological system that strengthens the importance of harmony with nature in energy, resources, ecological and environmental conservation. In addition, Xi Jinping has put forward the proposal to “Adhere to the road of peaceful development and promote building a Community of Shared Future for Mankind” at the 19th National Congress of the Communist Party of China on October 18, 2017.⁴⁶ His speech in this National Congress can be seen as his proposal to meet the challenges in international relations.

Also several sources from existing researches have been referred in this study, such as *Chinese ‘Renaissance’ to a world of shared destiny* by David Gosset, *China’s New Antipollution Push Could Cool Its Growth Engine* by Bradsher, Keith in The New York Times, etc.

These are the main sources. Some may not be listed here during the process of writing, and may be added if necessary.

⁴⁵ “绿水青山就是金山银山”, “*lv shui qing shan, jiu shi jin shan yin shan*”, Xinhuanet 2005

⁴⁶ China Daily 2017

2 The definition of harmony in Confucianism

Definition of harmony in Confucianism can be found in the 《论语 学而》 (Analects of Confucius- Xue Er)⁴⁷, one of classical Confucian books; through which it is possible to take a look at how Confucius, the founder of Confucian school, has defined what is harmony. Of course, in history, there are a large number of interpretations and annotations for 论语. In this study, the cited interpretations and annotations are from the books of those scholars in contemporary age. The concept of harmony (和 *he*) can be found in the passage attributed to Youzi, one of the disciples of Confucius:

有子曰：“礼之用，和为贵。先王之道，斯唯美，小大由之。有所不行，知和而和，不以礼节之，亦不可行也。”⁴⁸

Youzi yue: “*Li zhi yong, he wei gui. Xian wang zhi dao, si wei mei, xiao da you zhi. You suo bu xing, zhi he er he, bu yi li jie zhi, yi bu ke xing ye.*”

At first, it is necessary to explain the meaning of words in this paragraph: 有子 You zi was one of the disciples of Confucius with surname 有 You and given name 若 Ruo.⁴⁹

礼: According to Analects of Confucius -Ba Yi, the discussions are mainly about problems of Li (rites), referring to “周礼 Zhou Li”, an official system of etiquette in ancient Zhou dynasty.⁵⁰ In the Spring and Autumn period (770 – 476 BCE), “礼” typically meant laws, institutions and ethics. “礼” in Confucianism means “Zhou 礼”, which is etiquette and ceremony. It also refers to the code of ethics. Here 和 refers to ‘harmony’, ‘proper’, and ‘appropriate’.⁵¹

小大由之 *xiao da you zhi*: Doing things big and small are both proper.⁵² 先王之道 *xian wang zhi dao* : the road to peace and prosperity in governance of ancient legendary emperors [such as 尧 Yao, 舜 Shun, 禹 Yu, 汤 Tang, 文 Wen, 武 Wu, 周公 Zhongong, etc].

⁴⁷ 《论语.学而》 *Analects of Confucius* (Lu Yu. Xue Er)

⁴⁸ Ibid

⁴⁹ Ibid

⁵⁰ Wan Anshi (writer), Yang Xiaozhao (editor). 2016

⁵¹ 《论语.学而》 *Analects of Confucius* (Lu Yu. Xue Er)

⁵² Ibid

贵 *gui*: 物以稀为贵 *wù yǐ xī wéi guì*⁵³. When a thing is scarce and useful, it is valuable and precious.

The meaning of this paragraph is therefore that the disciple of Confucius says that the role of *li* (rites) is that it is valuable to do everything properly. And this is the precious part of how ancient holy kings had made their governance successful in the past. They did everything, big and small, properly. However, if there is something that does not work, it is not feasible to seek appropriateness for the sake of appropriateness. It is also impossible to control without certain rules and regulations. Not to control within certain rules and regulations is not good.⁵⁴ Here 和 refers to ‘harmony’, ‘proper’, and ‘appropriate’.

In Chinese traditions, people are quite familiar with sayings from harmony in Confucianism. Such tradition includes, for example,

- 和为贵 *He wei gui* - Harmony is most precious;
- 和气生财 *He qi sheng cai* -Harmony brings money;
- 和气致祥 *He qi zhi xiang* - Harmony brings luck;
- 家和万事兴 *Jia he wan shi xing* - If the family lives in harmony, all affairs will prosper.

Besides Confucius, there had been also other thoughts about social harmony in Chinese history. During the Warring States period (481B.C. – 221B.C.), for example, Mozi (墨子)⁵⁵ raised an ideal society as “兼相爱” (“*jian xiang ai*”) “爱无差等” (“*ai wu cha deng*”) that respectively refer to love for different people or things at the same time and advocating that there is no difference in love for people, regardless of their social level and intimacy.

Confucius’ disciple Mencius (孟子 Mengzi)⁵⁶ depicted the state of society as “老吾老，以及人之老；幼吾幼，以及人之幼。” (“*lǎo wú lǎo, yǐ jí rén zhī lǎo; yòu wú yòu, yǐ jí rén zhī yòu.*”) Accordingly, while supporting and honoring your elders, do not forget about other elderly

⁵³ 出自晋·葛洪《抱朴子·明本》 -from (Bao Pu Zi. Ming Ben” by Ge Hong (284~364 AD) in Jin Daynasty (265-420 AD).

⁵⁴ Yang Bojun. 2017 (reprint 2019).

⁵⁵ 墨子 (Mozi) (468 B.C.-376 B.C.), thought representative of 墨家 Mohism, one of schools and thoughts in Spring and Autumn and Warring States Period. His thoughts can be seen in the book *Mozi*.

⁵⁶ Mencius (孟子 Mengzi, 372 B.C.—289 B.C.), one of representative of Confucianism. This idea was described in 《孟子·梁惠王上》 “Mencius-Liang Hui Wang Shang”.

people who are not related to you; when raising and educating your own children, do not forget about other children who are not related to you.

The book 《礼记·礼运篇》⁵⁷ “*Li Ji-Li Yun Pian*” is describing such an ideal society as “大道之行也，天下为公，选贤与能，讲信修睦。故人不独亲其亲，不独子其子，使老有所终，壮有所用，幼有所长，鳏寡孤独废疾者皆有所养。”

What will it look like for an ideal society? As 《礼记·礼运篇》” *Li Ji-Li Yun Pian*” described, when the great way prevails, the world is equally shared by all. The world is for all (public). Select people with high morals and talents, (everyone) emphasizes integrity and cultivates an atmosphere of harmony. Therefore, people not only support their own parents, raise their own children, and the elderly can also live their lives, the middle-aged people can work for society, young children can grow up smoothly. The society can provide support for the old without wives, the old without husbands, the children who lost their parents at young age, the old without children, and the disabled.

Also the late 19th century Confucian reformist Kang Youwei proposed to establish an ideal society in his 《大同书》 “*Book of Datong*”⁵⁸ as “人人相亲，人人平等，天下为公” “*ren ren xiang qin, ren ren ping deng, tian-xia wei gong*”. According to Kang Youwei, if everyone loves each other and helps each other, and everyone is in an equal social system; the world is equally shared by all. These kind of tradition and thoughts have been appreciated and also cited in contemporary Chinese official government documents, such as in Hu Jintao's speech.⁵⁹

According to the discussion above, the central features of classical understanding of harmony include three parts. First, the Confucius defined harmony as valuable and as doing everything appropriate according to certain rules and regulations. Second, traditionally it was seen that harmony is beneficial to people, for example, harmony can bring luck, business, and prosperity to them and their families. Lastly, Mozi, Mencius, the book *Li Ji Li Yun Pian* and Kang Youwei all described in their turn the ideal society with harmony. Mozi pursued love for all despite their social levels and intimacy. Mencius hoped that people took care of all elders and children, no matter who were related to you or not. The ideal society in “*Li Ji Li Yun Pian*” was described

⁵⁷ 《礼记》 *Li Ji* was edited by Dai Sheng (unknown birth and death year) during the Western Han Dynasty.

⁵⁸ 《大同书》 the “*Book of Datong*” by Kang Youwei in 1901.

⁵⁹ Chinese government 2005

as one where everyone could live a decent life, including the elderly, the middle-aged and the children. Kang Youwei proposed that all people were equal, and that the world is equally shared by all. Therefore, we may see that the central features of classical understanding of harmony were doing things that were appropriate, seeing that harmony bringing luck to ourselves and our family, and a way how the ideal society looks like.

3 Class struggle in the Mao-era

Class struggle is one of the important ideological parts of Maoism. Through Mao's writings on *Practice* and *On Contradiction*, it is possible to see how Mao discourses the class struggle. These two articles also have been included in Mao's Selected Works in Five Volumes (Volume 1)⁶⁰.

Mao's essay *On Practice* (1937) follows the dialectical materialism of Marxism; it states there are three stages in the logical process when people acquire knowledge, which are perception, cognition, and conceptualization. And the logical knowledge acquired must be applied to the real life in order to test its truth through practice. Generally, his essay analyzed the relations between knowledge and practice, and between knowing and doing. For example, the essay maintains that people's social practice is the only true criterion for people being aware of the outside world. Also practice is the purpose of knowing, and the purpose for proletariat to understand the world is to change the world. Furthermore, the book tells that the class nature and practicality are two of the most significant features of Marxist philosophy. Nevertheless, Marxism-Leninism is not the over truth; it is possible to open continuously a new road for truth of knowledge through practice.⁶¹

At the end of the book, Mao concludes:

通过实践而发现真理，又通过实践而证实真理和发展真理。从感性认识而能动地发展到理性认识，又从理性认识而能动地指导革命实践，改造主观世界和客观世界。实践、认识、再实践、再认识，这种形式，循环往复以至无穷，而实践和认识之每一循环的内容，都比较地进到了高一级的程度。这就是辩证唯物论的全部认识论，这就是辩证唯物论的知行统一观。⁶²

*Discover the truth through practice, and again through practice verify and develop the truth. Start from perceptual knowledge and actively develop it into rational knowledge; then start from rational knowledge and actively guide revolutionary practice to change both the subjective and the objective world. Practice, knowledge, again practice, and again knowledge. This form repeats itself in endless cycles, and with each cycle the content of practice and knowledge rises to a higher level. Such is the whole of the dialectical-materialist theory of knowledge, and such is the dialectical-materialist theory of the unity of knowing and doing.*⁶³

⁶⁰ Mao 1944

⁶¹ Mao Zedong (07.1937)

⁶² Ibid

⁶³ 360 doc 2008

In his *On Contradiction*, Mao emphasizes the importance of class, contradiction, and struggle. Mao explains that there are classes of antagonism in human history, which is a special manifestation of contradictory struggle. There is a contradiction between the exploiting class and the exploited class whether in slave society, feudal society, or capitalist society. The two contradictory classes coexist in a society for a long time and fight each other. When the contradiction between two classes has reached a certain stage, the two sides take the form of external confrontation; which develop into revolution. In class society, the transformation from peace to war is also true.⁶⁴

Nevertheless, Mao said it is necessary to study specifically the situation of various contradictions and struggles. Contradictions and struggles are universal and absolute, but the way to solve the contradiction, the form of struggle, may be different due to contradictory nature.⁶⁵

Mao's writing *On Practice* put forward that practice is very important during the process of acquiring knowledge. Then the other hand, *On Contradiction* emphasizes class struggle. Both of them strengthen social class, contradiction, and the importance of class struggle. These writings also point out that the theory of contradiction may be able to be applied on practice, which are honored as his unique opinions and philosophical truth. Mao uses this theory to guide Chinese revolution in practice.

Class struggle is one of the main thoughts of Mao's ideology. He divided Chinese people into two camps, the people (人民 *renmin*) and the class enemy (阶级敌人 *jiejidi ren*). What are the people? Mao said, in China, in contemporary age, they are the proletariat (working class), peasant class, urban petty bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie. Under the leadership of the Communist Party, these classes unite together, organize their own country, elect their own government, exercise dictatorship over tools ("hatchet men and running dogs") of imperialism, who are the landlord class, bureaucrat bourgeoisie, etc.

⁶⁴ Mao (08.1937)

⁶⁵ Ibid

This ideology had been used not only in Chinese revolution on practice before the establishment of the PRC, but also in certain periods at the beginning of the PRC. In Mao's 1949 essay *On the People's Democratic Dictatorship*⁶⁶, he first put forward the concept of “people's democratic dictatorship”, which means to apply democracy over the majority of people and to apply dictatorship over the minority of enemy. “People's democratic dictatorship” was written on the Constitution of the People's Republic of China in 1954⁶⁷ and 1982⁶⁸. Although the name “people's democratic dictatorship” seems different, it still focuses on class struggle.

On September 24-27, 1962, the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China was officially held in Beijing. This plenary meeting accepted Mao's basic views on class situation and contradictions, which was written into the Communiqué of the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee. In addition, the Communiqué made a call “never forget classes struggle”. Since then, class struggle was taken as the key link.⁶⁹

Class struggle in Mao's era has met lots of discussions in China and in the international community. Nevertheless, this study focuses on how Confucianism had been criticized and blamed in Mao's time. For example, during the Cultural Revolution, a campaign criticizing Lin and Confucius started in the early 1970s with the approval of Chairman Mao. This campaign was a political movement, focusing on criticizing the two persons, Lin Biao and Confucius. Lin referred to Lin Biao, the vice Chairman of China. Due to a complete break with Mao, Lin Biao died in accident on 13.09.1971.

In 1973, Mao pointed out, “to agree with Confucius and disagree with Legalists (pro-Confucius and con-Legalists), Guo Min Dang is same! Lin Biao is same!”⁷⁰ In September of the same year when Mao met with foreign visitors, he said, “Qin Shihuang was a famous emperor in Chinese history. I am Qin Shihuang, too. And Lin Biao cursed that I was Qin Shihuang. In China, there are always two factions; one says that Qin Shihuang is good, and the other say that Qin Shihuang is bad. I agree with Qin Shihuang, and disagree with Confucius.”⁷¹

⁶⁶ Mao 1949

⁶⁷ Dictionary of The People's Republic of China 44 in the year 1954

⁶⁸ Dictionary of The People's Republic of China 44 in the year 1982

⁶⁹ CPC 2017

⁷⁰ CPC 2009: 04.07.1973 Mao Zedong: *Please Do Not Curse Qin Shihuang*

⁷¹ Ibid

On January 18, 1974, Mao approved the request of his wife, Jiang Qing, and her colleagues, and forwarded an article *Doctrines of Lin Biao, Confucius and Mencius*, which was mainly edited by Jiang Qing, starting the ‘campaign for criticizing Lin and Confucius’.⁷² A large number of Confucius Temples, and related historical sites and cultural relics were destroyed seriously in the campaign.⁷³ In addition, a large number of writings related with the campaign was published. This kind of campaign led to the obstacle of the academic development in the study of Confucius. The scholars who refused to criticize Confucius were ruthlessly persecuted.

In general, Mao's writings *On Practice* and *On Contradiction* are the basis of the ideology of class struggle, which had been the key line of Chinese government at the beginning of PRC. This ideology emphasized there were two camps, people and class enemy. Meanwhile, this main thought was against Confucius, let alone harmony was less important. Under that kind of guideline, large campaigns had been started and so many historical sites were destroyed in criticizing Confucius. So, my argument can be summarized as: Mao advocated class struggle and saw little value in harmony or Confucianism.

⁷² CPC2009: “*Criticizing Lin and Confucius*” Campaign”

⁷³ Kong 1998

4 How is harmony in Confucianism used in contemporary China?

After Mao died in 1976, China started a series of economic-oriented reform measures known as “Internal reform and Opening up to the outside world”; which became a basic national policy since the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on 18-22, December, 1978. Consequently, this meeting may be considered as the starting point of Deng Xiaoping' era and Reform and Opening up.⁷⁴

Since the beginning of the reform and opening up policy in 1978, China has gained rapid economic growth. On the other hand, there have appeared many political, social and ideological problems in China, such as widening gap between the rich and poor, unbalanced urban and rural development, corruption, environmental pollution, etc. For example, in 1989, Tiananmen Square incident broke out, which is also called as Tiananmen Square protests or 89 Democracy Movement accordingly. Chinese Communist Party named it as political turmoil in 1989.⁷⁵

After the Tiananmen Square incident, Confucianism and Traditional Chinese thoughts were reintroduced to schools through the Patriotic Education Campaign starting in 1991; in the new school curriculum, description of class-struggle was removed and instead the description of the patriotic education was added. Chinese traditional culture got very important position during the patriotic education campaign. Aiming for nourishing from traditions, the Central Party School and the China Confucius Foundation (founded in 1984) held an academic conference on Marxism and Confucianism in 1995. Later, since the ideology of communist had collapsed in the world, there emerged liberal and anti-communist attitude. Some liberal intellectuals called on using Confucianism instead of Marxism, saying Marxism did not suit modern situation. Some researchers further proposed that the thoughts of Confucianism may help filling the empty spirit caused by Cultural Revolution and the May 4th Movement.⁷⁶

Also the universal values for freedom, democracy and human rights have been debated for thirty years, though the name of universal values was mentioned first time in newspaper *Southern*

⁷⁴ Xinhuanet 2013

⁷⁵ People 2001

⁷⁶ Kallio 2011

Weekend in 2008. Later Confucianism was honored in emphasizing Chinese values, as this study has included in literature review of introduction.⁷⁷

Therefore, consequently building a socialist harmonious society was put forward as the important task by the 16th CCP Party Congress in 2002, and its subsequent third and Fourth Plenary Sessions.

4.1 The 16th CCP Party Congress and building a socialist harmonious society

In the 16th Party Congress on November 8, 2002, Party General Secretary Jiang Zemin gave the report *Building a Well-Off Society in an All-Round Way and Creating a New Situation in the Cause of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics*. For the important goal of building a well-off society in an all-round way, this report emphasized building a higher-level well-off society, where economy is more developed, democracy is sounder, science and education are more advanced, culture is more prosperous, society is more harmonious, and people's lives are more substantial. It also emphasized the need to strive to form a situation in which all people do their best, get what they can, and live in harmony.⁷⁸ This was the first time that making society more harmonious as an important goal of the party striving for, was mentioned in the reports of the party's congresses.⁷⁹ Also the third plenary session of 16th CCP Central Committee emphasized the goal of more harmonious society in 2003,⁸⁰ but this study focuses more in detail in the Fourth Plenary Session of 16th CCP Central Committee.

4.2 Fourth Plenary Session of the 16th CCP Central Committee

In 19.09.2004, the concept of building a socialist harmonious society was formally proposed in the Fourth Plenary Session of the 16th CCP Central Committee.⁸¹ According to this meeting, the CCP was to lead the people of all Chinese nationalities (all different Chinese ethnic groups) to achieve social harmony, which was one of the CCP's overall objectives. This meeting further determined that the Party's main task and the deployment for certain period in the current and

⁷⁷ The Economist October 2nd-8th 2010

⁷⁸ fmpc 2002

⁷⁹ Chinese government 2005

⁸⁰ cnr 2008

⁸¹ CPC 2004

future, for example, was to build a socialist harmonious society, to coordinate properly the interests of all sides, to maintain social stability, etc.⁸²

As the plenary session decided, in order to maintain social stability, it was necessary continuously to most widely and fully mobilize all positive factors, improve gradually the ability to build a socialist harmonious society, increase gradually the whole national social creativity, coordinate properly the interests of all sides, promote the social management system innovation, strengthen and improve the mass work under the new situation, etc.

For international relations, the meeting stated the need to adhere to an independent and peaceful foreign policy, continuously improve the ability to cope with international situation and handle international affairs, increase scientific judgment for international circumstances and the level of strategic thinking, master the initiative to handle the international affairs, enhance the ability to interact with the international community, and resolutely safeguard national security.

4.3 Hu Jintao on Building a Socialist Harmonious Society

In *Hu Jintao's speech On Building a Socialist Harmonious Society (full speech)*⁸³, Party General Secretary Hu talked about four questions. The first one was how to deeply understand the most importance of building a socialist harmonious society. The second question is that building a socialist harmonious society is a basic task in building socialism with Chinese characteristics. The third question is how earnestly to do a good job. The fourth is to strengthen and improve the party's leadership over building a harmonious socialist society. About Party General Secretary Hu's speech, I agree with Kallio, Jyrki, in order to balance the competition, reform and development, based on a moral focus, Party General Secretary Hu put forward the concept **Building a socialist harmonious society**; The main theme is harmony fundamentally to Chinese tradition, and particularly to Confucianism.⁸⁴

In the following text, I will analyze Party General Secretary Hu's speech particularly in four items; they are harmony in development, harmony in society, fairness and justice as the basic

⁸² Ibid

⁸³ Chinese government 2005

⁸⁴ Kallio, Jyrki 2011

requirements of building a socialist harmonious society, and effective construction and governance in ecological environment.

4.3.1 Harmony in development

In *Hu Jintao's speech On Building a Socialist Harmonious Society (full speech)*⁸⁵, Party General Secretary Hu stated:

保持经济持续快速协调健康发展，创造更丰富的社会物质财富，使国家的整体实力不断增强，使人民群众的生活水平不断提高，是构建社会主义和谐社会的物质基础。⁸⁶

The material basis for building a socialist harmonious society is to maintain effectively sustained, rapid, coordinated and healthy economic development, to create richer social material wealth, to enhance the overall strength of the country, and to improve continuously the living standards of the people.

As Hu Jintao noted, since the beginning of the opening-up policy, China had made rapid changes in national industry, urbanization and economical structure; the country also had rapid reforms in structures of social organization, employment and society. Nevertheless, the country faced some important contradictions and problems. For example, urban and rural development was not balanced. And regional development was uneven. The contradiction of unbalanced economic and social development had become more prominent. It was important to bridge the development gap, and promote coordinated economic and social development.

Party General Secretary Hu strengthened that economical development needed to be not only sustained and rapid, but also coordinated and healthy. It was necessary to adhere to **scientific outlook on development**⁸⁷, in order to control the overall economic and social development. The measures could be to continuously enhance scientific regulation capabilities for economic and social development. Accordingly, through reform and innovation, the goal was to build institutional mechanisms for improving and guaranteeing stable and relatively rapid economic

⁸⁵ Chinese government 2005

⁸⁶ Ibid

⁸⁷ List of Terminology

⁸⁷ Chinese government 2005

development, promoting economic restructuring, and transforming the way of economic growth. The most important was to pay more attention to the rural areas and rural population. The overall plans should be made continuously for urban and rural development, giving full play to the role of urban radiation and its driving forces on the rural areas, and making the most industrial support and feeding back effect to agriculture. For example, the policies were to be improved, strengthened and stabilized in order to support agriculture, accelerate agricultural and rural economic development. Efforts were to be made to achieve a steady increase in peasant incomes, promoting benign interaction and common development between urban and rural areas.

4.3.2 Harmony in society

Party General Secretary Hu emphasized in his speech that:

“ 构建社会主义和谐社会的过程，就是在妥善处理各种矛盾中不断前进的过程，就是不断消除不和谐因素、不断增加和谐因素的过程。社会主义社会并不是没有矛盾的社会。 ”⁸⁸

The process of building a socialist harmonious society is to eliminate constantly discord factors, and increase constantly harmony factors, moving forward in the proper handling of various contradictions. A socialist society is not a society without contradictions.

After the beginning of the opening-up policy, there had emerged many and diverse contradictions among Chinese national society. The reform and open-up in the institutional innovation had touched on deep-seated contradictions and problems; as the employment structure and measures were constantly changing, social organization and management had faced new problems. These social contradictions and problems had affected the country's reform, development, and stability. There were many dissatisfactions and complaints in society. It was therefore necessary to make policy measures and work deployment, which investigated contradictions in deep grassroots and in reality. Accordingly, it was possible to identify possible contradictions early, and take effective measures to solve them as early as possible, Hu argued, adding that it was important to solve problems that harmed the interests of the masses during

land acquisition, towns demolition, corporate restructuring and bankruptcies. Mechanisms should be established and improved for judicial, administrative, people's mediation. The purpose was to handle problems in a timely and reasonable manner according to the law. Therefore, it was not only to safeguard the legitimate interests of the masses, but also to maintain social stability and unity in accordance with the law.

4.3.3 Fairness and justice as the basic requirements of building a socialist harmonious society.

Mr. Hu further said in his speech:

“在促进发展的同时，把维护社会公平放到更加突出的位置。”⁸⁹

While promoting development, maintaining social equity should be in a more prominent position.

After China had opened up to the world, Chinese people were influenced by many different cultures from outside. People's minds and concepts have become more independent, selective, multilateral and different. There was more demand for democracy, the rule of law, and political participation. Democratic politics and governing the country according to law had become a new requirement.

According to Hu, the Chinese government had realized that fairness and justice involved the fundamental interests of the broadest masses of the people. It was important to create a fair social environment from the legal, institutional, and policy aspects. The practical measures should be made in income distribution, interest regulation, social security, civil rights guaranteed, government policy, law enforcement justice, etc. The purpose was to ensure that members of society could receive education, carry out labor creation, and participate in market competition and social life on an equal footing, relying on laws and systems to protect their legitimate rights and interests.

⁸⁹ Chinese government 2005

In short, besides rapid economic development, the Chinese Communist Party realized that “social equity and justice is a basic condition of social harmony”⁹⁰.

4.3.4 Effective construction and governance in ecological environment

In his speech, Hu also addressed harmony from the environmental point of view. A lot of facts show that disharmony between man and nature often affects the relationship between people, and between people and society as well.

As Hu argued, if the ecological environment was severely damaged, there would be appearing deterioration of people's production and living environment. If resources and energy supplies are highly tight, there will be quite possible to come sharp contradiction between economic development and resources and energy. The result is that harmony between people, and between people and society are difficult to achieve. At that time, the situation was quite grim in China's ecological environment, for example, environmental pollution problems were quite serious in some places. As the population grew and people's living standards improved, contradictions were becoming more prominent between economic growth and resources and environment. In near future, people may not be possible to have clean drinking water, fresh air and safe food. This would inevitably lead to serious social problems. So, Mr. Hu insisted on legal measures to forbid all practices of plundering and destroying nature, as well as focusing on optimizing resource utilization, improving resource output and reducing environmental pollution. Meanwhile, the speeding up the promotion of cleaner production, vigorously developing a circular economy, and speeding up construction for the conservation-oriented society were also set as a goal.

According to Mr. Hu's speech, since the beginning of the opening-up policy, China had met new challenges, such as the imbalance of development between city and countryside and different regions, the contradictions between different social interests, different thoughts and ideologies from outside China, etc. Under these circumstances, the CCP proposed Building Harmonious Socialist Society in order to handle various relationships and challenges. With this guideline, harmony was supposed to be achieved in Hu's time with stability overriding

⁹⁰ Ai 2008, 32. Bell 2008, 9. Shambaugh 2008, 115.

everything as a policy, with correctly handling the relationship between reform, development and stability. That was “to promote reform and development amidst social stability, and promote social stability through reform and development.”^[LP3]⁹¹

On the other hand, Building Harmonious Socialist Society was quite different from Mao's notion of class struggle. And since the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee of CCP, class struggle was considered as a wrong approach, and was abandoned. Instead, the new theme of building socialism with Chinese characteristics was put forwarded, in which the emphasis had been transferred to economic development, reform and opening up. In Mao's era, classes and confrontations were emphasized, but the aim of Building Harmonious Socialist Society was to handle various relationships, unite the people across the country, so that it was possible to mobilize all positive factors for Chinese socialist construction.

Meanwhile, Building Harmonious Socialist Society has some similarity with Confucius and Chinese tradition. Confucius first put up with conception of harmony. Then the social harmony in an ideal society had been elaborated by Mozi, Mencius, the book 《礼记·礼运篇》 “*Li Ji Li Yun Pian*”, and Kang Youwei. Thus, harmony is Chinese tradition, not a new concept; which has been developed as different themes in different Chinese historical times. And according to circumstances of Chinese contemporary age, this traditional concept has been implemented and developed as building harmonious socialist society.

4.4 CCP's 2006 Resolution on Building a Socialist Harmonious Society

On October 11, 2006, the sixth plenary session of the 16th CPC Central Committee issued *CCP's Resolution on Building a Socialist Harmonious Society*⁹², in which there are comprehensive analysis of the current situation and tasks, and discussions about several major issues on how to build a harmonious socialist society. The resolution reviewed the importance, urgency, guidelines, goals, tasks and principles of building a harmonious society.

Based on Party General Secretary *Hu Jintao on Building a Socialist Harmonious Society*, the resolution made specific arrangements and clarified several major issues for the near future.

⁹¹ Chinese government 2005

⁹² CPC 2006

For example, what is the most important, the basic condition, the ideological and moral foundation, and the inevitable requirement for building a harmonious society.

First of all, Hu argued, development is the most important for building a harmonious society, depending not only on social productive forces, but also on coordination of development. The resolution elaborated about how to carry out coordinated development, such as building a new socialist countryside, promoting educational equity, coordinating developments between the rural and urban, the overall development of different regions, etc.

The next is about social equity and justice, which is the basic condition of social harmony. The resolution made specific plans in improving human rights, and systems in the legal and judicial sectors, the public finance, income distribution, and social security. These systems were going to guarantee the social fairness and justice.

The third part is the importance of building a harmonious culture, which is the ideological and moral foundation of social harmony. For this purpose, the socialist core value system was specially emphasized.

Then Hu argued that keeping social order and stability is the inevitable requirement for building a socialist harmonious society. In the resolution, building a service-oriented government, promoting community construction, improving social organizations, and coordinating the interests of all parties were defined in detail. And measures were also made to realize in near future.

The socialist harmonious society received positive reactions from the public, since the government seemed to pay more attention to fairness, equality and justice. On the other hand, there were negative voices, criticizing that the party issued the harmonious society for “stability at all costs”, suppressing the dissent and controlling the information in China. Even some social comments mentioned that harmonious society has not got the results as the party supposed to. And Chinese society became worse in fairness, equality and justice.⁹³

⁹³ Hu, Xingdou. 2011

4.5 “Lucid waters and lush mountains are invaluable assets”

This concept has been proposed by Xi Jinping, who has succeeded Hu Jintao as Party General Secretary of the CCP since 2012. Xi Jinping is the first Party General Secretary who was born in the PRC. His father is Xi Zhongxun, one of the important colleagues of Mao Zedong. Xi Jinping studied chemical engineering and wrote his PhD thesis on rural development.^[LP4] He has long experience working as Chinese politician in many different places and positions of China.

Since his succession as President of China, Mr. Xi Jinping has become the most important leader in China. From time coming to power, he has promoted different influencing measures to the party, national and international policies. His thoughts have been included in the party and national constitutions named as Xi Jinping's socialist ideology with Chinese characteristics in the new era.⁹⁴

Not only is Xi Jinping well-known in China, but also internationally. In the politics and academic, the observers often regard Xi Jinping as a dictator or an authoritarian leader, or a cult of the leader, because of his measures to human rights, treatments to the diffident political thoughts, network monitoring the Chinese, etc.⁹⁵ On the other hand, *The Economist* in 2017⁹⁶, then *Forbes* in 2018⁹⁷, listed Xi Jinping as the most powerful person in the world.

The concept “**Lucid waters and lush mountains are invaluable assets**” was put forward on 2015. When Mr. Xi Jinping, then secretary of the Zhejiang Provincial Party Committee, visited Yucun, Tianhuangcheng town, Anji county, Huzhou city in Zhejiang province on August 15, 2005, for the first time, he proposed that *lucid waters and lush mountains are invaluable assets*.⁹⁸ He said “we used to say that we need not only green water and mountains, but also mountains of gold and silver. In fact, the green water and green mountains are mountains of

⁹⁴ List of Terminology

⁹⁵ Brady 2015, Amako 2018, Seib 2021

⁹⁶ The Economist 2017

⁹⁷ Ewalt 2018

⁹⁸ Xinhuanet 2005

gold and silver, in which there are gold content themselves.”⁹⁹ After his proposal, on August 24, 2005, Mr. Xi Jinping posted a comment on column of *Zhi Jiang Xin Yu* on *Zhe Jiang Daily* newspaper. He pointed out that lucid waters and lush mountains can become invaluable assets if eco-environmental advantages can transform into ecological economy such as eco-agriculture, eco-industry, eco-tourism, etc.¹⁰⁰

Now I am going to analyze this concept in three perspectives as harmony relationship between economic development and ecological environment protection, green production lifestyle, and harmony between human being and nature.

4.5.1 Harmony relationship between economic development and ecological environment protection

In July 2023, General Secretary Xi Jinping delivered an important speech at the National Conference on Ecological Environment Protection. He said,

“要站在人与自然和谐共生的高度谋划发展，通过高水平环境保护，不断塑造发展的新动能、新优势，着力构建绿色低碳循环经济体系，有效降低发展的资源环境代价，持续增强发展的潜力和后劲”。¹⁰¹

“We should plan development from the perspective of harmonious coexistence between human beings and nature, continuously shape new momentum and new advantages for development through high levels of environmental protection, focus on building a green, low-carbon and recycling economic system, effectively reduce the cost of resources and environment for development, and continue to enhance the potential and strength of development.”

Chinese^[LP5] reform and opening up policy have brought development dividends, meanwhile a series of problems arising from development as while. For example, the traditional development mode based on resource consumption has brought serious ecological and environmental

⁹⁹ zhejiang xinwen 2015

¹⁰⁰ Xinhuanet 2005

¹⁰¹ Cnr2023

problems. The general development of productivity is constantly compressing the survival and profit margins of industries like high-energy consumption, high-polluting, high-emission; which kind of production are backward and must be transferred or phased out.

This concept has refuted two extremes of mechanistic development thinking. One is to protect the ecological environment at the expense of economic development. The other is to give up the environment in exchange for economic development. In the picture of this concept, not only Green Water and Green Mountain, but also Golden and Silver Mountain are both objective needs of human social development. These two objectives are not opposites of one or the other. On the other hand, they are in a unity that can coexist harmoniously and in parallel.

Under the guideline of this concept, it is important to promote the optimization and upgrading of industrial structure, such as through developing green, circular, and low carbon economy. The purpose is to transform the way of economies and promote sustainable economic development; it is also possible to create a better quality of life for the masses. Then both of the economic development and ecological environment protection can support and progress each other. In near future, the material productivity and economic efficiency can come to a full development in balance. The growth of personal material wealth can bring good quality life to people. And the expectation of a beautiful and harmonious living environment with production can come true.

4.5.2 Green production [lifestyle](#)^[LP6]

The following passage is from the important speech delivered by General Secretary Xi Jinping at the first session of the 13th National People's Congress on March 20, 2018.

我们要以更大的力度、更实的措施推进生态文明建设，加快形成绿色生产方式和生活方式，着力解决突出环境问题，使我们的国家天更蓝、山更绿、水更清、环境更优美，让绿水青山就是金山银山的理念在祖国大地上更加充分地展示出来。¹⁰²

We must promote the construction of an ecological civilization with greater vigour and more practical measures, accelerate the formation of green modes of production and lifestyles, and make efforts to solve outstanding environmental problems; so as to make our country bluer in the sky, greener in the mountains, clearer in the water and more beautiful in the environment, and to allow the

¹⁰² News 2018

idea that green water and green mountains are golden mountains to be more fully displayed on the motherland's land.

The Chinese environmental problems caused by economic development need to be paid urgent attention. Although Chinese government always emphasizes the importance of environmental protection, there are still some areas and fields where pure economic growth is the value orientation; which has caused serious ecological damage and imbalance of overall social development. The excess demand of economic development for natural resources has led to the deterioration of the ecological environment. And the relative balance between man and nature is broken.

Starting from realizing the all-round development of human beings and the overall and long-term interests of human society, this concept has seized the main aspects of the contradiction between the economic development and ecological environment protection. “Lucid waters and lush mountains can bring mountains of gold and silver”, but gold and silver cannot buy clear waters and green mountains. It is necessary to resolutely reject the development model that sacrifices the environment for economic and social progress, and the thinking method of exchanging immediate benefits for long-term benefits.

Focusing on extending the basic value dimension of social development, for example humanistic, resource, and environmental indicators, this concept is to help achieve a better economic structure, a better ecological environment, and a better quality of life. By implementing this concept, not only it is possible to create a good production and living environment, but also capable of building the green production and lifestyle; which can also break through the environmental protection bottlenecks that restrict economic and social development, and people's living standards, in order to promote economic structural optimization and transformation.

4.5.3 Harmony between human being and nature

This concept was written in the report of the 19th CPC National Congress of the Communist Party of China on October 18, 2017.^{103 104} In this report, on workload 9 of item 3: the basic strategy of upholding and developing socialism with Chinese characteristics in the new era, President Xi explained clearly this concept as:

“坚持人与自然和谐共生。... 必须树立和践行绿水青山就是金山银山的理念，坚持节约资源和保护环境的基本国策，像对待生命一样对待生态环境，统筹山水林田湖草系统治理，实行最严格的生态环境保护制度...”¹⁰⁵

Adhere to the harmonious coexistence of man and nature. ...It is necessary to establish and practice the concept, of which lucid waters and lush mountains are invaluable assets. While insisting on the basic national policy of saving resources and protecting environment, treat the ecological environment like our own lives. Therefore, in order to coordinate the management of landscape, lake, grass and forest systems, it is important to implement the most stringent ecological environmental protection system. ...

According to Xi Jinping's speech, in China, the environmental arrears accumulated by economic development need to be paid off urgently. There are regions and sectors that value pure economic growth; which has caused serious ecological damage and imbalanced overall social development.

Since the reform and opening up, the economy has sustained high-speed growth and enriched material wealth. People's practical needs are gradually increasing from the material level of "seeking food and clothing" and "survival" to the spiritual level of "seeking environmental protection" and "seeking life". Satisfying people's demands for a higher quality of life has become important new interests and ideas that must be explored.

Under these circumstances, it is possible to create a good production and living environment for Chinese people. According to this concept, man and nature are one community of life. And human being must respect, follow, and protect nature.

¹⁰³ Xinhuanet (2017)

¹⁰⁴ 中国共产党第十九次全国代表大会报告摘编, Extracts from the Report to the 19th National Congress of the Communist Party of China, 2018.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid

The modernization Chinese want to build is that of the harmony between man and nature. It is not only necessary to create more material and spiritual wealth to meet the people's growing needs for a better life, but also to provide more high-quality ecological products for the people's growing needs to the beautiful ecological environment. It is important to insist on the principle of conservation, protection, and natural restoration priority. Through forming a spatial pattern, industrial structure, production methods, and lifestyles that conserve resources and protect the environment, nature can become naturally quiet, harmonious, and beautiful.¹⁰⁶

This concept has been focusing on how to handle China environment protection. As Bradsher¹⁰⁷ in his article introduced the pollution situation in China, government measures, and president Xi's supports to environment protection. He said that China has got enormous economic growth during the past forty years, but its costs are very serious, for example, Chinese lakes, streams and lakes are polluted seriously. At present, China is taking severe efforts to control pollution, which may influence economics and global markets. If this campaign of environment protection could be successful, it may bring the result that the sky becomes bluer, and water cleaner in whole China; which may benefit whole Chinese people's health in future. In the report of the 19th CCP National Congress, President Xi said that *lucid waters and lush mountains are invaluable assets*.¹⁰⁸ According to Bradsher, from Mr. Xi's speech, China is necessary to solve a serious new problem: "Between unbalanced and inadequate development and the people's ever-growing needs for a better life."¹⁰⁹ This means that more attention needs to be paid to environmental protection.

Compared with the Mr. Hu's concept *Building a Socialist Harmonious Society*, and Mr. Xi's concept *lucid waters and lush mountains are invaluable assets*, there is one similarity. Both of these two concepts have applied the traditional culture of harmony in Confucius, in order to handle problems and challenges in contemporary time of China. The difference is that these two concepts have their own different approach.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid

¹⁰⁷ Bradsher 2017

¹⁰⁸ Ibid

¹⁰⁹ Ibid

The concept *Building a Socialist Harmonious Society* is to balance the development between different regions and fields, and interests of different social classes. The purpose is to achieve harmony in social relation during Chinese reform and development.

On the other hand, the concept *lucid waters and lush mountains are invaluable assets* pays more attention to environmental protection. It is planning to solve the serious environmental problems created during development; in order to balance relationship between development and environment, achieving harmony between man and nature, and improving Chinese life to a green production lifestyle.

4.6 “A Community with A Shared Future for Humanity”

Another central notion introduced by Xi Jinping and making reference to harmony is that of building the “Community with A shared Future for Humanity”. In January 2017, President Xi Jinping delivered a keynote speech named as *Jointly Build A Community with A Shared Future for Mankind* at United Nations Office at Geneva.¹¹⁰ Then in his report of the 19th National Congress of the Communist Party of China, President Xi Jinping first clarified this concept on workload No.13 of Item 3 entitled the basic strategy of upholding and developing socialism with Chinese characteristics in the new era, and “Promoting building a community with a shared future for humanity”¹¹¹

习近平总书记说：“人类命运共同体，顾名思义，就是每个民族、每个国家的前途命运都紧紧联系在一起，应该风雨同舟，荣辱与共，努力把我们生于斯、长于斯的这个星球建成一个和睦的大家庭，把世界各国人民对美好生活的向往变成现实。”¹¹²

President Xi said, “A community with a shared future for humanity, its name implies, the futures and destinies of every nation and every country are closely linked. That’s why we are in the same boat through wind and rain, sharing weal and woe. It is necessary to strive to build this

¹¹⁰ Ibid

¹¹¹ 中国共产党第十九次全国代表大会报告摘编, Extracts from the Report to the 19th National Congress of the Communist Party of China, Foreign Languages Press, Beijing, China, 2018, p. 81

¹¹² Ibid

planet, where we were born and raised, as a harmonious family; so that the yearning of the peoples of the world for the good life becomes reality.”

The following part is to analyze this concept in three items: from ancient Chinese culture of harmony, extract the greatest common divisor of human value identity, advocating a new type of fair and reasonable international relations, and helps to solve the world's problems and work together for a better future

4.6.1 From ancient Chinese culture of harmony

This concept absorbed the idea of harmony from the soil of traditional Chinese culture. The ancient Chinese themes “协和万邦” (*xiehe wanbang*), “天下大同” (*tianxia datong*), “和而不同” (*he er bu tong*) reflected the ancient Chinese concept of harmony.

协和万邦 means in English that all people under the heaven are of one family and all nations should live in harmony. This term is from 《尚书》 [*Shàng shū*], a compilation, a work that traces the deeds of antiquity.¹¹³

天下大同 means the great harmony in the whole world. Confucianism has preached that the whole world is fair, an ideal society as the basic ideological underpinning of ancient Chinese society. “天下 (*tianxia*) The world” was the ancient Chinese expression for the world. “大同 (*datong*) the great harmony”, from 《礼记》 *The Book of Rites*, refers to the absence of differences and wars, and is the final destination of “benevolence”. It is said that *The Book of Rites* have been made by seventy-two disciples of Confucius and their students and compiled by Dai Sheng of the Western Han Dynasty.¹¹⁴

和而不同 (*hé ér bù tóng*) means to get along harmoniously, but not just to agree casually.¹¹⁵ One of the earliest sayings, it came from the pre-Qin period – from Confucius' disciples and re-transmitted disciples in 《论语·子路》 *The Analects of Confucius - Zilu*.¹¹⁶ Another saying

¹¹³ Li 2006

¹¹⁴ NAS 2016

¹¹⁵ Han Dian (Chinese Dictionary) 2023

¹¹⁶ *Analects of Confucius* 2006

was that it was from pre-Qin 左丘明《左传·昭公二十年》 Zuo Qiu Ming “*Zuo Zhuan - Zhaogong twenty years*”.¹¹⁷

Drawing theoretical nourishment from harmony, the concept of *A Community with A Shared Future for Humanity* believes that the international community as a whole can rise or fall together, although there is a diversity of civilizations and multiple cultures. It is possible to live in harmony and peacefully, realizing the sharing of advantages, resources, and development.

4.6.2 Extract the greatest common divisor of human value identity, advocating a new type of fair and reasonable international relations

According to this concept, the system of values can be same and different as well, advocating the harmonious development of multiple civilizations; It may be the foundation of values for building a community of human destiny and the greatest common denominator for all peoples of the world. The concept has advocated, for example, for a world of lasting peace, towards a universally secure world, and towards a world of shared prosperity.

For a world of lasting peace, this concept has emphasized the equal status of states, focusing on defending the rights of weak and small states, adhering to multilateralism, and creating new paths of engagement among the great powers and between the great powers and the small powers; which is to commit to building a world of lasting peace.

Towards a universally secure world, the concept has strengthened its insistence on resolving disputes through dialogue and differences through consultation. It is also to integrate response to traditional and non-traditional security threats and oppose all forms of terrorism, cold war thinking and zero-sum thinking. At the same time, China proposes the creation of a fair, just and shared security pattern and is committed to building a universally secure world.

For a world of shared prosperity, the idea of a community of human destiny, at the economic level, advocates “the need to be in the same boat”. It means to promote the liberalization and facilitation of trade and investment, and push economic globalization in a more open, accepting, inclusive, balanced and win-win direction”. The purpose is to call that all countries take the

¹¹⁷ Wang Tao et al., eds.2007

initiative to shoulder their responsibilities, building an open world economy, in order to committee to building a world of common prosperity.

4.6.3 Helps to solve the world's problems and work together for a better future

The world is facing a serious crisis of governance, with financial risks, populist ideologies on the rise, deepening gap between the rich and the poor and the development differences between regions and countries.

Responding to the crisis in global governance, the concept of a Community with A Shared Future for Humanity proposes measures to problem-solving, for example, in promoting world development, maintaining global security, addressing climate change or combating terrorism.

Indeed, development and security are mutually reinforcing, and backwardness and imbalances are the root causes of instability in many countries and regions, which in turn exacerbate the backwardness of those countries and regions.

The concept advocates win-win cooperation and common prosperity; which is dedicated to strengthening policy coordination and industrial cooperation among countries, expanding trade and investment, and sharing the dividends of economic development, so as to eliminate the root causes of backwardness and poverty, and resolve the sources of instability.

Emphasizing equal consultation, equal dialogue and equal treatment among countries, this concept does not engage in confrontation or alliances, but rather proposes to establish a partnership of mutual respect and win-win cooperation, so as to transcend the traditional zero-sum mentality and the logic of power and build a new model of international relations. In dealing with various non-traditional security challenges, the concept emphasizes shared and common construction and universal security, in order to achieve common and sustainable security through the enhancement of mutual trust, coordination, consultation and cooperation.

The concept has brought together a common global vision. At a time when the world is facing a major change, countries are generally seeking security, development and stability, aspiring for a better life and desiring for a good governance of the country and the world; which are the

current common global vision. Under these circumstances, this concept has both a general idea about optimizing the international landscape and improving the world order; meanwhile a detailed design about maintaining peace and security, and achieving stable development. Therefore, this concept may have the long-term, and historic significance.

Analyzing the concepts in “*Lucid waters and lush mountains are invaluable assets*” and “*A Community with A Shared Future for Humanity*”, there are the common and different things .

First of all, there are two commons. One is that both concepts are proposed by the same person, President Mr. XI Jinping. The other is that the basis of these concepts is according to traditional Chinese culture in harmony of Confucianism.

Although there is the same basis, the two concepts are developed for solving different problems. The concept “*Lucid waters and lush mountains are invaluable assets*” is aiming to solve environment problems in order to achieve harmony between man and nature in China. On the other hand, the concept “*A Community with A Shared Future for Humanity*” is proposed to show Chinese view in international dimensions.

5 Comparison of harmony in classical Confucianism with contemporary reflection from the Chinese Communist Party

5.1 Harmony in classical Confucianism

According to Confucius, “礼之用，和为贵”，Li (礼) may mean 周礼 *Zhou Li*, one of classic Confucius books. From Confucianism, rites (礼 Li) in *Analects of Confucius- Ba Yi*,¹¹⁸ refers to *Zhou Li*, which Confucius respected and upheld. *Zhou Li* refers to the patriarchal hierarchy and a complete set of etiquette norms embodying [this system] of the Zhou dynasty. For example, the main content of this chapter of the *Analects of Confucius- Ba Yi* is related to the problem of rites, and advocates maintaining the various rules of etiquette and regulations.¹¹⁹

The book *Zhou Li* (周礼) belongs to the classic Confucian book. *Zhou Li* is the origin of ancient Chinese etiquette culture, a document recording Zhou Dai official system. It is a book describing the royal official system, which described the titles of more than 300 officials. These system norms were also divided into six categories of officials, who were separately responsible for court affairs, civil affairs, clan affairs, military affairs, penalty affairs, and affairs of construction engineering and equipment production. For every office, this book summarized the significance of setting up this office, introduced the office's position, and the number of staff, etc.¹²⁰ From this book, it is possible to recognize the social and political system of the Zhou dynasty.

The book offers the theoretical form of the ancient Chinese culture including rituals, etiquette, musical rites, etc. It has the most authoritative records and interpretations of ritual law and etiquette and it had the most profound impact on the ritual system of the past dynasties. In *Zhou Li*, there were records of politics, economy, culture, customs, etiquette in pre-Qin periods' society. It is a book that expresses the plan of governing the country through the official system, covering all aspects of social life. The system of recorded rituals was very systematic. There are not only national ceremonies for sacrifices, pilgrimages, vassals, patrols, funerals, etc., but also specific specifications such as using the tripod system, the music instrument suspension

¹¹⁸ *Analects of Confucius- Ba Yi*, p17-26

¹¹⁹ Wan Anshi (writer), Yang Xiaozhao (editor), 2016

¹²⁰ Sun Yirang (writer), Wang Wenjin and Chen Yuxia (editors), 1987

system, the riding system, the clothing system, the etiquette system, etc. In addition, the level, combination, shape and degree of various ritual utensils used by ancient Chinese nobles in holding different ceremonial activities were also recorded in this book.¹²¹ ¹²² Classical Confucianism therefore made the discourse of harmony in the context of rites. Logically, we may see that harmony in classical Confucianism is from the perspective of culture.

We can see that harmony in classical Confucianism is based on following the rites. It refers the official system and the complete set of etiquette norms embodying this system in ancient Zhou dynasty. The basic purpose of rites not only was to maintain patriarchal hierarchy, but also attempt to eliminate the phenomenon of social fraud (such as bitter dispute, angry argument, criminal deception, etc.), power struggles and mutual killings. Therefore, harmony in classical Confucianism was to be established through the application of rites. Only thus was it to be possible to achieve harmony in family, society, politics, etc. This may be to explain Confucius's consistent thinking.

Therefore, the meaning of harmony in classical Confucianism was that it was valuable to do everything properly based on rites, referring to the *Zhou Li*, the official social system in Zhou dynasty. In the classical Confucian book of the *Zhou Li* and *Analects of Confucius*, rites were described in detail, respected and advocated alike as the basis of the proper social order. Thus, harmony in classical Confucianism may refer to the ideal state of proper social order.

5.2 Interpretations and reflections about harmony from the Communist Party in the reform era

At the beginning of the PRC in the Mao era, the ideological key was class struggle (see chapter III), which saw less value in, or was even against harmony and Confucianism. Class struggle was the key line of that time. All the political and social activities were focusing on this key line. Harmony or Confucius were less important or criticized.

Mao died in 1976 and the CCP started the reform and opening to the world policy since 1978, focusing on the economic development. Although China's economy was growing rapidly since

¹²¹ Zhang Yachu and Liu Yu, 1984

¹²² Yang Tianyu, 2004

the open policy, there appeared serious problems in politics, society, ideology, etc. Meanwhile, debates for universal values about freedom, democracy and human rights lasted for decades. Under these circumstances, post-Mao leaders rehabilitated Chinese traditions in order to solve those challenging problems. In the time of Party General Secretary Jiang Zemin, the description of class-struggle was removed from the new school curriculum; and Chinese traditions and Confucius were reintroduced instead.

The concept of building a socialist harmonious society first appeared in the Party congress in 2002. Then the concept was put forward formally in the Party' Central Committee in 2004. Later Hu Jintao, the new Party General Secretary, made a speech on *Hu Jintao on Building a Socialist Harmonious Society* in 2005. It is said that this concept was used for solving the social problems of stability maintenance. Furthermore, President Xi Jinping, the successor of Hu Jintao, promoted “Lucid water and lush mountains are invaluable assets”. This concept is aiming to solve the environmental problems and maintain the harmony between man and nature. Also Xi proposed the other concept of building a Community of Shared Future for Mankind; expressing the view of harmony about China's peaceful development and mutual benefits of cooperation in the world.

Compared with classical Confucianism from the cultural perspective, the Chinese Communist Party has reflected harmony from different point of view in temporary age. The expression and representation about harmony by Hu Jintao focused mainly on Chinese national context, while Xi Jinping has promoted harmony with nature, and harmony in international dimensions.

5.2.1 From Chinese national context

After the Tiananmen Square protests in 1989, Chinese leaders have been very concerned about national stability of the country. According to Ian Bremmer¹²³, the CCP is trying their best to balance between a very controlled social system with more openness in order to avoid any incidents and keep stability. As Bremmer explains, Hu Jintao's promotion of “Socialist Harmonious Society” proposed a measure on how to develop political reform, and meanwhile to maintain national stability.

¹²³ Bremmer 2006

Besides the government still focusing on harmony in socialism with Chinese Characteristics in a new era, Xi Jinping has put forward two new concepts. One is harmony with nature, the other is for international relations.

5.2.2 From nature

In early 2005, Mr. Xi Jinping already proposed that “lucid waters and lush mountains are invaluable assets”. Later, on October 18, 2017, he put forward this concept with a “new model of modernization” in report of 19th National Congress. This concept may explain how Chinese government is planning to achieve green development with sustainability during the growth of production, living standards and health problems. “The modernization that we pursue is one characterized by harmonious co-existence between man and nature,”¹²⁴ Xi said in the work report of the 19th National Congress. He introduced the measures about how to make determined efforts to advance the green development, address the pollution problems and make tougher rules by law for environment protection. According to this concept, the Chinese government in Xi's time has put their emphasis on environment protection for solution of polluted skies, waters, and lands, committing to bring the nature back. For example, in 2016, 6,000 officials were punished due to their work failure in environment protection. Further, the government increased the usage of clean energy, such as hydro, wind, solar and nuclear energy.¹²⁵

5.2.3 International dimension

In the international dimension, the promotion of the concept of building “a community with a shared future for mankind” indicates China's strategy in the foreign policy and external relations in three aspects: China's foreign policy, idea of building a new type of international relations, and national and international security.

5.2.3.1 China's foreign policy[LP8]

The concept of building “a community with a shared future for humanity” is considered as a new direction of Chinese diplomacy, shifting the context from national to external.¹²⁶ Its aim is

¹²⁴ The Straits Time 2017

¹²⁵ Ibid

¹²⁶The Rising Nepal 2018

to provide the world with a "Chinese plan" in order to improve international relations and global governance.^{127 128} This idea is also regarded as the inheritance and development of the major diplomatic thoughts and ideas in the different periods of new China. The concept is guiding Chinese multifaceted work, participating actively in international governance, peaceful development path, and other international affairs.¹²⁹

Under the guidance of this concept, Chinese leaders also position China more often as peace builders, development contributors, and order maintainers on diplomatic occasions.¹³⁰ China is more active in areas such as economy, climate change, and the reform of the global governance system.¹³¹

According to David Gosset, the idea of "a community with a shared future for humanity" has been interpreted from the Chinese historical and cultural context, echoing the Chinese universalism, a constitutive cell of how the ancient Chinese understood the world. The concept is "a 21st century re-interpretation of the classical concept of *da tong*, or great unity or harmony". Gosset argues that this concept may for example bring more opportunities for Europe and China to work together for cooperation. Comparing with the version of "China threat", his article shows that there may be a tendency in the world, awaring that "a community with a shared future for humanity" need to be built with all cooperated together.¹³²

5.2.3.2 Building a new type of international relations[LP9]

In the report of the 19th National Congress of CCP, Mr. Xi said that it is possible to promote coordination and cooperation in the international community, in order to build a framework of relations of major powers with overall stability and balanced development for a community of shared future for mankind.¹³³

¹²⁷ Ding; Cheng 2017

¹²⁸ BJQX 2018

¹²⁹ Han 2018

¹³⁰ Xinhuanews 2018

¹³¹ People 2018

¹³² Chinawatch 2018

¹³³ 中国共产党第十九次全国代表大会报告摘编, Extracts from the Report to the 19th National Congress of the Communist Party of China, Foreign Languages Press, Beijing, China, 2018

Meanwhile, a new type of international relations and a community of shared future for mankind have been written in the resolution of the United Nations Human Rights Council. On March 23, 2018, in Geneva, the 37th United Nations Human Rights Council passed a resolution about “promoting win-win cooperation in the field of human rights”, which was proposed by China. This resolution calls on all countries to work together, for building a new type of international relations with mutual respect, fairness and justice, and win-win cooperation, and for building a community of shared future for mankind. Emphasis is also made that countries must adhere to multilateralism, strengthening dialogue and cooperation in the field of human rights to achieve win-win cooperation.¹³⁴

In addition, both of a new type of international relations and a community of shared future for mankind are regarded as two aspects of diplomacy with Chinese characteristics.¹³⁵ At the same time, they are also the important content of Xi Jinping's socialist ideology with Chinese characteristics in the new era.¹³⁶

5.2.3.3 National and international security[LP10]

Based on the theme of a community of shared future for mankind, China has made several proposals related with national and international security. Since human beings have only one earth, all countries live together in a world, China's new national security concept focuses on the problems faced by all countries, designed to contribute to the solutions to the conflicts.¹³⁷ Early on May 21, 2014, in the Conference on Interaction and Confidence-Building Measures in Asia (CICA), Xi Jinping proposed the new Asian security concept that contains the idea of a community of shared future for mankind,¹³⁸ and the concept of “universal security in the world”; which emphasize the importance of dialogue and settlement, development equal on security¹³⁹. Then in 2017, at Wuzhen Internet Conference, Mr. Xi brought forward “a community of shared future for mankind in Cyberspace”¹⁴⁰, expressing the hope that countries respect cyber sovereignty in the internet governance, necessity for promoting security governance cooperation, and demands promotion for fairness and justice. Later Xi Jinping raised the notion

¹³⁴ xinhuanet 2018

¹³⁵ xinhuanet 2017

¹³⁶ CIIS 2017

¹³⁷ cnki 2018

¹³⁸ Ibid

¹³⁹ Zheng 2018

¹⁴⁰ Legal Daily 2017

of “security community” against power politics, hegemonism, unilateralism, war and "absolute security", and also against zero-sum game and cold war thinking, requiring joint response to traditional and non-traditional threats.¹⁴¹

On October 30, 2017, First Committee of 72th United Nations General Assembly passed two resolutions about *preventing an arms race in outer space*. The concept “building of a community with a shared future for mankind” has been written into the Security Council resolutions of the General Assembly of United Nations.¹⁴²

¹⁴¹ Chen 2018

¹⁴² Zhang 2017

6. Observations and conclusions

Harmony is not a new conception in Chinese history. It is possible to be traced back to classical Confucianism, which has a long history for over two thousand years. The Chinese Communist Party as a ruling party is reflecting and expressing this theme in their governance of contemporary China.

The difference about harmony between classical Confucianism and CCP may be due to their discourses from different perspectives. Confucianism' discourse is from the perspective of rites or cultural context. The Chinese government may reflect harmony from national point of view, from natural and in international dimensions. At first, socialist harmonious society has been proposed in order to handle the relationship between reform, development and social stability. Later, the concept “Lucid waters and lush mountains are invaluable assets” was added in valuing the harmonious coexistence between human being and nature, developing an ecological civilization. And building a beautiful China is further put forwarded for achieving green and sustainable development. In order to follow a path of peaceful development with people of all countries, building a community with a shared future of mankind was promoted by Xi Jinping. The basic goal of this foreign policy is argued to be working for world peace, good cooperation, common development and mutual benefit in international community.

Therefore, as we may see, both classical Confucianism and CCP have their own discourses about harmony, their different concerns maybe due to historical and actual situation. Since Confucianism is a classical concept from thousand years ago, the Chinese government may reflect and express this classical concept according to actual circumstances in contemporary China. While coping with history, tradition, and classical Confucianism conception, the interpretations and reflections from the party have received different voices from China and in international community.

List of Terminology

Rites (li) 礼

The character was first discovered from seen oracle bone inscriptions, an ancient Chinese character. It can also be seen in “Shuowen”, 《说文》¹⁴³: 礼, 履也。所以事神致福也。(ancient Chinese language); while in explanation of modern Chinese language as: 举行仪礼, 祭神求福 (ju xing li yi, ji shen qiu fu). The meaning of this word is to “offer sacrifice to gods”.¹⁴⁴ The extended meaning is to respect:

“色愈恭, 礼愈至, 不敢出一言以复”¹⁴⁵

“Sometimes when he [teacher] scolds loudly, his [pupil] face is more respectful and polite. He [pupil] doesn't dare to say a word to reply (him) [teacher]”.¹⁴⁶

It also means ceremonial rites and regulations. For example:

“导之以德, 齐之以礼”¹⁴⁷ meaning “Guide the people with morality and assimilate them with etiquette.”

It also means the etiquette and Law: 礼法: 等级社会的典章制度, 规定社会行为的规范、传统习惯。“The rules and regulations of hierarchical society, which stipulates the norms and traditional habits of social behaviour.”¹⁴⁸

Harmony (he) 和

There are different meanings for the word harmony.

1 harmonious, coordinated¹⁴⁹

《礼记·乐记》：“其声和以柔。”

Harmonious rhythm gives people a feeling of beauty, and the sound is gentle and gentle.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴³ Shuowen 2010

¹⁴⁴ <https://baike.baidu.com> 2021

¹⁴⁵ Song1310—1381

¹⁴⁶ <https://baike.baidu.com> 2021

¹⁴⁷ Analects of Confucius 2006

¹⁴⁸ <https://baike.baidu.com> 2021

¹⁴⁹ Xh 2021

¹⁵⁰ Wenku 2021

2 moderate ¹⁵¹

《论语·学而》：“有子曰：‘礼之用，和为贵。’”

According to rites(li), it is valuable to do everything properly.¹⁵²

Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence 和平共处五项原则

They are mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual nonaggression, mutual noninterference in other's affairs, equal and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence.¹⁵³

Three Principles of People 三民主义

The democratic revolutionary program advocated by Sun Yat Sen, which includes principles of nationalism, principles of democracy, principles of people's livelihood.¹⁵⁴

Maoism 毛泽东思想

According to the official definition of the Communist Party of China, Mao Zedong's thought is the product of the combination of the basic principles of Marxism Leninism and the specific reality of the Chinese revolution, and the crystallization of the collective wisdom of the Chinese Communists.

The important content of Mao Zedong Thought can be summarized as three basic aspects. An ideological line has been established (the ideological line of seeking truth from facts). Three roads have been explored: the unique revolutionary road of Chinese style, encircling the city from the countryside and seizing power by armed forces, Chinese style socialist road, and Chinese style socialist construction road. Three sets of theories have been formed, which are new democratic revolution theory, the theory of Chinese style socialist transformation, and theory of social contradiction of Chinese socialism.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵¹ Xh 2021

¹⁵² Analects of Confucius- Xue Er 2006

¹⁵³ 中国共产党第十九次全国代表大会报告摘编,

Extracts from the Report to the 19th National Congress of the Communist Party of China, Foreign Languages Press, Beijing, China, 2018, p119

¹⁵⁴ Sun 1981

¹⁵⁵ CPC 2020

Maoism is a political, military and development theory advocated by Mao Zedong and widely practiced in the 20th century Chinese revolution. It is generally considered as the development of Marxism Leninism in China. The CCP's recognition of Mao Zedong thought is an important theory to win the new democratic revolution, the war of resistance against Japan, the civil war between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party, and the establishment of the people's Republic of China.¹⁵⁶

On Contradiction and *On Practice* were representative works of Maoism.

Deng Xiaoping' s Theory 邓小平理论

According to the official definition of the Communist Party of China, Deng Xiaoping's theory is a theory with Deng Xiaoping as the main founder and the theme of building socialism with Chinese characteristics. Deng Xiaoping's theory is regarded by the Communist Party of China as a major theoretical achievement of the Sinicization of Marxism and a theoretical summary of the socialist construction experience different from that of the Soviet Union.¹⁵⁷

This theory is mainly reflected in Deng Xiaoping's various speeches, reports and conference resolutions after the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee in 1978. In September 1997, the 15th National Congress of the Communist Party of China referred to Deng Xiaoping's theory of building socialism with Chinese characteristics as Deng Xiaoping's theory. At the meeting, Deng Xiaoping's theory was written into the party constitution and became one of its guiding ideologies.¹⁵⁸

“Three Represents” 三个代表

According to the concept of “Three Represents”, the Party must always represent the requirements of the development of China's advanced productive forces, the orientation of the development of China's advanced culture, and the fundamental interests of the overwhelming majority of the people in China.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁶ Ibid

¹⁵⁷ CPC 2013

¹⁵⁸ Ibid

¹⁵⁹ People 2013

“Three Represents” was put forwarded by Party General Secretary Jiang Zemin on February 25, 2000.

Scientific outlook on development 科学发展观

Hu Jintao, Party General Secretary of the CCP Central Committee, proposed Scientific outlook on development in his speech on July 28, 2003. That is to adhere to people-oriented, establish the concept of comprehensive, coordinated and sustainable development, and promote the all-round development of economy, society and people; carry forward the methodology of reform and development of various undertakings in accordance with the requirements of developments in "coordinating the urban and the rural, the regional, the economic and the social, harmony between man and nature, the domestic and the opening to the outside world".¹⁶⁰

Xi Jinping's socialist ideology with Chinese characteristics in the new era

习近平新时代中国特色社会主义思想

In October 18, 2017, General Secretary Xi Jinping put forward at the first time the "China's characteristic socialism in the new era" in the 19th National Congress of the Communist Party of China.¹⁶¹ In October 24, 2017, this congress adopted the resolution *On the Constitution of the Communist Party of China (Amendment)*. Xi Jinping's socialist ideology with China's characteristics in the new era was written into the party constitution.¹⁶²

Xi Jinping's socialist thought with Chinese characteristics in the new era can be summarized as the “eight clears” and the “fourteen insistences”¹⁶³

The “eight clear” are the basic connotation of Xi's thought:

According to the concept of “Three Represents”, the Party must always represent the requirements of the development of China's advanced productive forces, the orientation of the

¹⁶⁰ hprc 2016

¹⁶¹ Xinhuanet 2017

¹⁶² Ccdi 2017

¹⁶³ Xinhuanet 2017

development of China's advanced culture, and the fundamental interests of the overwhelming majority of the people in China.¹⁶⁴

The "fourteen insistences" are the basic strategy of Xi Jinping's socialist thought with China characteristics in the new era. The "fourteen insistences " means to adhere to the followings as: the party's leadership over all work, people-centered, an expanded in-depth reform agenda, new development concept, the people as the masters of the country, a comprehensive framework for promoting the rule of law, socialist core value system, ensuring and improving people's livelihood in development, harmonious development between man and nature, a holistic view of national security, the party's absolute leadership over the people's army, "one country, two systems" and promoting the reunification of the motherland, promoting the construction of a community with a shared future for mankind, and seeing party self-governance exercised fully and with rigor.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶⁴ People 2013

¹⁶⁵ Xinhuanet 2017

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