

Marx's Idea of The People's Subject and Its Value of The Times from the Perspective of The French Civil War

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Abstract: As the first proletarian regime in human history, the Paris Commune put "people" on its banner for the first time, turning Marx's idea of the people's subject from science to reality. In The Civil War of France, Marx scientifically defined the scope of the people's subject and elaborated the concrete embodiment and practical principles of the people's subject in social life from economic, political and cultural aspects. In the new era, it is of great value to dig deeper into the idea of the people's subject contained in The French Civil War, clarify its evolution and connotation, and to deeply understand this idea and implement the concept of "people first".

Keywords: Supremacy of the People, The French Civil War, The People's Subject, The Paris Commune.

1. Introduction

In The Civil War in France, Marx made a scientific summary of the democratic practice of the Paris Commune movement and expounded a rich and profound idea of the people's main body from economic, political and cultural aspects. Throughout the century-long evolution of the Communist Party of China, "the people" has been the eternal theme of the ruling philosophy of successive Party Central Committees. The Sixth Plenary Session of the 19th CPC Central Committee took "adherence to the supremacy of the people" as an important historical experience of the Party's century-long struggle. Xi Jinping stressed, "History has fully proved that the mountains are the people, and the people are the mountains, and that the survival of the Party depends on the people's hearts."^[1] Standing on a new historical starting point, rereading the "French Civil War" and digging deeper into its people's main idea can not only achieve the purpose of learning history and understanding, increasing faith, morality and practice, but also have important contemporary value for implementing and enforcing the concept of "people's supremacy".

2. Adherence to the Subjectivity of The People Is the Core Idea of The Materialistic View of History

2.1. The budding period: from "Doctoral Theses" to "Rheinische Zeitung"

During this period, with the selection of his Thesis and his in-depth understanding of the social situation, Marx gradually elaborated the germ of the idea of the people's subject. In his Doctoral Thesis, Marx's emphasis on self-consciousness and on the unified relationship between philosophical reason and the real world provided the philosophical basis for arguing for the subjectivity of the people. The period of the Rheinische Zeitung was the first time that Marx was deeply involved in social practice in a real sense. At that time, the greatest contradiction in society was between the Prussian government, which was exploiting and oppressing, and the poor, who were suffering from exploitation and oppression.

During his tenure as a newspaper editor, Marx wrote numerous articles criticizing the Prussian authorities for ignoring the living conditions of the poor and defending the interests of the poor masses. During the debate on freedom of the press, Marx realized that the different forces in Parliament represented not the interests of "self-consciousness" but the material interests of different social classes. In his defense of the Forest Theft Act, Marx felt that the idealist philosophical view had become a "shackle" to his study of reality and began to focus on the fundamental role of material interests, which was the reason why he began to pay attention to "real man". His concern for material interests was the prerequisite for his concern for "real people". In "The Defense of the Mosel Reporters," Marx argued that the reason for the poverty of the people in the Mosel region was that the government ignored the laws of economic development when formulating policies and disregarded the economic aspirations of the local residents. This is the germ of Marx's idea that the people create material wealth. The Rheinische Zeitung period marked the beginning of Marx's shift from the philosophical discourse of his university days to the search for the economic and material motives behind social phenomena. Although Marx had not yet explicitly put forward the idea of the people's subject in this period, it existed in various forms in the Rheinische Zeitung.

2.2. Initial Formative Period: From the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law to the Holy Family

During this period, Marx paid more and more attention to the historical role of the masses, and the idea of the people's subject developed continuously. In his Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law, Marx criticized Hegel's theory that "the state determines civil society" and revealed that Hegel's analysis of the state system ignored the subjectivity of the people and essentially defended the ruling class, advocating the implementation of people's democracy and the idea that the real people are the basis of the existence of the state and society. In "On the Jewish Question", Marx criticized the erroneous view advocated by the young Hegelians that "political emancipation can achieve human emancipation" and pointed out that only by combining "the weapon of

criticism" and "the criticism of the weapon" can capitalism be eliminated. It was pointed out that only by combining the "weapons of criticism" and the "criticism of weapons" can the true emancipation of human beings be achieved by eliminating capitalist private ownership. In "Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law <Introduction>", Marx pointed out that "to abolish religion as the people's illusion of happiness is to realize the true meaning of the people's realization of happiness." [2] This is the first time Marx introduced the concept of "people" and pointed out that "people" refers to the masses ruled by religion. Although Marx does not give a class meaning to the people here, it can be seen that Marx has declared war against Hegelian discursive idealism and advocates replacing "false happiness" with "true happiness". In the Philosophical Manuscripts on Politics of 1844, Marx put forward his famous theory of alienated labor, pointing out that private ownership is anti-humanist, that private property is produced by private ownership, and that only by eliminating capitalist private ownership can the subjectivity of the people be realized. Here, Marx's idea that labor is the essence of man and that the people are the subject of history has been clearly revealed. In *The Holy Family*, Marx states, "The people are the creators of history." [3] This shows that any revolutionary struggle can only achieve ultimate victory if the broadest mass of the people is truly mobilized.

2.3. Towards Maturity: From the Syllabus on Feuerbach to the Communist Manifesto

During this period, Marx made it clear that the ultimate goal of the proletariat was to destroy the bourgeoisie and achieve the liberation of all mankind. In his *Outline on Feuerbach*, Marx introduced social practice into the understanding of historical activity, pointing out that people with practical ability create the material means of production necessary for life and promote social development. Here, people with practical ability refer to the people, who can liberate themselves only through practical activities. In *The German Ideology*, Marx systematically examines the social relations and social structure in the process of human social development, pointing out that the premise of human activity in history is that man is an autonomous free man under conditions of freedom from any bondage or oppression. Only when man is in a material, historical and free state, man is the subject of historical activity. In the *Communist Manifesto*, Marx emphasized that only by the outbreak of the communist revolution and the elimination of private ownership and the old division of labor could the power of each subject be brought into full play and conditions be created for the realization of the subjectivity of the people, and thus the liberation of all mankind. At this point, Marx's idea of the people's subject has developed to a new height, that is, the realization of the people's subjectivity must rely on the proletariat to launch a communist revolution.

2.4. The period of deepening and development: The French Class Struggle 1848-1850 and The Eighteenth Day of the Misty Moon of Louis Bonaparte

In *The Class Struggle in France 1848-1850*, Marx pointed out that due to the fundamental contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the bourgeoisie was unable to accomplish the historical task of leading the masses to the

complete elimination of feudalism. Only if the proletariat took the leadership of the revolution, it could complete the bourgeois democratic revolution that had already begun. However, at this stage, the power of capitalist society was still on the rise and the power of the proletariat was relatively weak, so the specific revolutionary strategy still needed to be explored. In *The Misty Moon of Louis Bonaparte*, Marx pointed out that the outbreak of the February Revolution in France marked the intensification of the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and that the proletariat had to unite to smash the bourgeois state apparatus in order to achieve freedom and liberation.

3. The Idea of The People's Subject in The French Civil War

3.1. A scientific definition of the scope of the people's subject

In *The French Civil War*, Marx divided the people's subjects in terms of mode of production and possession of the means of production, specifically including the working class, peasants and middle class, intellectuals and international democrats. First, the working class's mastery of revolutionary leadership is the fundamental guarantee for the realization of people's democracy. In terms of relations of production, the working class was the most revolutionarily motivated class. The brutal suppression of the bourgeois government and the increased political independence of the working class led to an unprecedented intensification of class contradictions, and the proletariat had to completely eliminate the capitalist mode of production by revolutionary means if it wanted to achieve real liberation. Politically, the working class had to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat to eliminate exploitation and oppression. Marx highly praised the high revolutionary enthusiasm of the French workers and emphasized the importance of establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat, while admonishing them to wait for the revolutionary moment and continuously strengthen ideological education and organizational construction. For the overthrow of bourgeois rule before the working class was ideologically and organizationally prepared would be to the advantage of the royalists. Ideologically, under the guidance of the Paris branch of the Communist International and the attention of Marx and Engels, the class consciousness and ideological awareness of the Parisian working class were greatly raised and a large number of leading revolutionary figures emerged. Second, the peasants and the middle class were the revolutionary allies of the working class. At that time, the French peasant class was economically burdened with blood tax and other taxes, politically suppressed by government officials, lawyers and police, and ideologically unable to receive education due to the deception and slavery of religious clergy. The Paris Commune, on the other hand, exempted the peasant class from the burden of harsh taxes, advocated the establishment of cheap government, and removed the threshold of education, truly realizing the fundamental interests of the peasant masses. Marx emphasized that the Paris Commune's claim that the costs of the war should be paid off by the initiators of the war, "above all it represented the interests of the French peasantry" [4](P145). The middle class consisted mainly of craftsmen, shopkeepers in the cities, and individual merchants. The dual characteristics of revolutionary and compromising nature of the middle class led them to either hold the whip and stirrup

for the ruling class or follow the working class in revolution. Faced with internal and external troubles, the incompetence and reaction of the French bourgeoisie aroused the national feelings of the middle class, and the Paris Commune effectively defended the interests of the middle class, which eventually realized that only by openly supporting and uniting around the working class could they achieve their own liberation.

In addition, the French Civil War included intellectuals and international democrats in the scope of the "people. Marx always valued the role of intellectual culture in promoting social development, and pointed out that only by establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat could scientific culture be transformed from the private property of the rulers into the real power of the masses. Marx pointed out that a series of measures in the Commune enabled science and art to break the fetters of class, and every individual in the Commune could become the creator and disseminator of culture. The international outlook was another outstanding merit of the Paris Commune, which united expatriates from Poland, Italy, Hungary, Belgium and other countries in the revolutionary struggle, including foreign generals such as Vrublevski and Dombrowski, fully demonstrating the great internationalist spirit of the Paris Commune.

3.2. Explains the concrete embodiment of the people's subject in social life

For one thing, the people are the main body of economic life. According to the materialistic view of history, workers can achieve political emancipation only if they are economically emancipated. At the beginning of the Paris Commune movement, the aim of leading laborers to economic emancipation was implicit. Marx marveled, "The Commune literally and miraculously changed the face of Paris." [4](P109) Marx praised it so much because these economic measures of the Commune met the economic interests of the proletariat at large and embodied the idea of economic equality. Equality here refers not to the equal distribution of wealth, but to the equal economic rights enjoyed by every member of the Commune, such as the Commune handing over the management of factories left by capitalists to workers, abolishing the overtime system for bread workers, and outlawing employment agencies that exploited workers. Before the Paris Commune, workers had never enjoyed equal economic rights, much less an equal share in the fruits of their labor. Here, they overthrew their "natural superiority" and "re-established individual ownership" so that workers could have equal access to the means of production and the fruits of labor. In Marx's view, the Paris Commune made the people the main body of the economy, and the masses were able to take possession of the means of production, leading to communism based on the communal ownership of the means of production, which was the fundamental reason for the existence of the Paris Commune.

Secondly, the people were the main body of political life. Although the words "people's participation" and "political life" are not directly mentioned in The French Civil War, the idea of "people's participation" is present throughout the text. In the commune, the people had the right to dominate the political organs. In order to prevent public employees from becoming "masters of the state," the commune stipulated that public employees received the same salary as workers, regardless of their position. This measure effectively

prevented some people from trying to get rich by entering government service. In addition, public officials were subject to the supervision of the people. Unlike the bourgeois state's sham democracy, which placed parliament above universal suffrage, the commune elected "people's representatives" to executive, legislative, judicial, and educational positions through universal suffrage, and "social offices were no longer the private property of the central government's foot soldiers." [4] (P99). The people had equal judicial power, and the army belonged to the people. The commune eliminated the two major aspects of the state apparatus that had previously been spent on the standing army and state officials. Judges, like other public officials, were elected by the people and were accountable to them. Judges were no longer tools for maintaining the rule of the exploiting classes, and the role of the law in upholding justice and equity was truly brought into play. The commune replaced the standing army with a national self-defense force, which greatly saved government spending, and the army was transformed from a violent weapon of repression to an instrument of freedom and liberation for the people. In addition, the people enjoyed the supreme right of supervision. Unlike the bourgeois government, which boasted that it never made mistakes, the commune practiced open government and consciously made its words, deeds and shortcomings known to the public, subject to the people's supervision. Representatives at all levels of the commune often attend constituency meetings to report on their work, listen to their opinions and answer their questions. Once there are signs of power deviating from the people's orbit, the people can give timely feedback, which stimulates the people's enthusiasm to participate in politics and draws the government closer to the people.

Third, the people are the main body of cultural life. As early as Marx's youth, he criticized the authoritarian practice of using religion to imprison the people's minds. The separation of church and state adopted by the Paris Commune made Marx's idea a reality, eliminating the church's control over education and returning religion to its puritanical nature, so that people's minds could develop freely. At the same time, the Commune eliminated the threshold of education, advocated equity in education, required all educational institutions to be open to the general public, and implemented free education, so that everyone could enjoy the right to education, realizing the true education of the people. In this regard, Marx praised, "Not only was education available to all, but science was freed from the shackles of class prejudice and governmental power." [4](P99) Whereas in bourgeois society science and culture were seen as the "exclusive goods" of the upper elite, the Paris Commune affirmed that the people created not only material but also spiritual wealth, allowing science and art to break free from the shackles of class. Here, the masses were able to master scientific knowledge through education and to participate freely and consciously in cultural creation. Scientific knowledge and art were no longer the private property of a privileged class, and every individual in the commune could become the creator and disseminator of culture, ultimately achieving the all-round development of everyone's mind and spirit. In addition, the commune opened the Louvre, the Tuileries and other cultural holy places for people to freely visit, guaranteeing the realization of the people's cultural rights and interests and giving them the right to enjoy the fruits of culture.

3.3. Reveals the practical principle of the people's subject

First, the sovereignty of the people is fundamental. The democracy advocated by the commune is a democracy in which form and content are united. According to Marx, although universal suffrage was first proposed by the bourgeoisie, the system of universal suffrage in capitalist countries upholds only the interests of the minority. The commune, on the other hand, played the real role of universal suffrage by electing public officials in the executive, legislature and judiciary through democratic elections, truly realizing that the working people are the masters of their own house, which also made the vision of the working class in the Communist Manifesto of fighting for democracy through revolution a reality. Secondly, people's supervision was used as a means. In the communes, the commune committees were directly elected by the people, responsible to the voters and subject to their supervision, and the people could dismiss incompetent public officials at any time. In addition, openness in government affairs is also an important channel for the people to exercise their right of supervision. The public disclosure of all the affairs and activities of the commune guarantees the people's right to know and participate, and stimulates the people's sense of subjectivity. Third, cheap government is the carrier. Marx pointed out that although the term "cheap government" was first proposed by the bourgeoisie, it was not until the Paris Commune that "cheap government" was really realized. Through democratic elections, dialogue and consultation, equal pay with workers, and open government, the Commune improved the administrative efficiency of the government, reduced operating costs, and ensured the integrity of public officials. In addition, the policy of abolishing the standing army and state officials greatly reduced government spending and lightened the burden of the people. Fourthly, it was supported by the leadership of revolutionary political parties. In The French Civil War, Marx revealed the extreme importance of the leadership of revolutionary political parties from both positive and negative aspects. During the revolutionary period, under the leadership of the Commune, all strata of the Parisian people united to overthrow the rule of the bourgeois government and establish the people's power of the Paris Commune. In analyzing the reasons for the failure of the Paris Commune movement, Marx emphasized that the main reason for the failure of the Commune was not only the joint strangulation of the bourgeoisie, but also the fact that the Commune never formed an authoritative leading core, and that Blanquist and Proudhonist usurped the leadership of the Commune, which ultimately led to the failure of the revolution. It is thus clear that strengthening the organization of revolutionary parties is a fundamental guarantee for the realization of the people's subject status.

4. The Value of Implementing and Enforcing the Concept Of "People First" In the New Era

4.1. Adhere to and improve the system of party leadership

History proves that the leadership of the proletarian party is the fundamental guarantee for the realization of the people's mastery. An important reason for the failure of the Paris Commune movement was the lack of a strong revolutionary

party leadership, and the fact that the Blanquists and Proudhonists worked separately and attacked each other severely scattered and weakened the leadership of the Commune, which eventually led to the failure of the revolution. Xi Jinping emphasized that "the Party, the government, the military and the people, the East, the West, the South, the North and the South, the Party is leading everything." [5] The Party's leadership should be implemented in all areas, aspects and links of national governance. First, adhere to the "two established", to achieve "two maintenance". The Communist Party of China is not a loose "talk shop" or "club", but a revolutionary party with strict organization, strict discipline and serious majesty, which is charged with realizing a great dream. The Sixth Plenary Session of the 19th Central Committee established, in the form of a historical resolution, Comrade Xi Jinping's position as the core of the Party Central Committee and the core of the Party as a whole, as well as the guiding position of Xi Jinping's thought on socialism with Chinese characteristics for a new era. The "two establishments" are the direction of the whole party and the hearts of the people. We must consciously transform the "two establishments" into "two safeguards" to ensure that the whole party maintains a high degree of consistency in thought, will and action. We must consciously translate the "two establishments" into "two safeguards" to ensure that the party remains highly consistent in thought, will and action, and always hold high the banner of "people first" development. Second, insist on ruling for the people and by the people. The people are the deep ruling base of the CPC, ruling for the people is the essential characteristic of Marxist parties, and ruling by the people is the fundamental requirement of the materialistic view of history. Adhering to the "two-way race" of ruling for the people and ruling by the people can gain the support of the masses of the people and bring together the majestic power of ruling the country, and overcome all the "roadblocks" and "obstacles" on the road to national rejuvenation. Roadblocks" on the road to national rejuvenation.

Third, to improve the party's ability to govern and leadership. First, to adhere to democratic centralism, improve the development of internal democracy and the implementation of the correct centralization of the system; second, to improve the decision-making mechanism to ensure scientific decision-making, resolute implementation and strong supervision; third, to improve the Party's leadership and governance, and enhance the level of scientific governance, democratic governance, governance by law. Fourth, improve the system of strict governance of the Party in all aspects. The key to running China's affairs lies in the party. To promote party management from "loose and soft" to "strict and hard", from the adherence to the ideological party building and institutional governance in the same direction, people's supervision and self-revolution combined with each other, comprehensive promotion and focus on complementary, focus on the symptoms and focus on the root of the resonance and other aspects Synergistic efforts to continuously enhance the party's creativity, cohesion and combat power.

4.2. Adhere to and improve the people-centered development ideology

The Paris Commune is supported by the people because it safeguards and realizes the vital interests of social workers in various fields such as economy, politics, culture and education. In the new era, adhering to the concept of "people

first" and the people-centered development ideology is a realistic response to Marx's idea of the people's subject. First, adhere to the political system of the people's sovereignty. On the one hand, to strengthen the foundation, consolidate and improve the basic system of the people's congress system, the multi-party cooperation and political consultation system under the leadership of the Communist Party of China, the system of regional national autonomy, the system of grassroots autonomy and other basic systems, democratic elections, democratic consultation and other important systems as the overall framework of the institutional system. On the other hand, it is necessary to reform and innovate to break the defects and shortcomings in institutions, mechanisms, procedures and technologies, and give full play to the advantages of the system and democratic functions. Second, promote people-centered economic development. "Economic issues are the overriding political issues." [6] In the new era, the extent to which people's aspirations and pursuits for a better life are realized is the goal of our Party's struggle and the yardstick for testing the effectiveness of its work. Only by insisting on vigorously developing the productive forces, promoting the realization of people's good life with high-quality economic development, and ensuring that the people can jointly build and share the fruits of reform and development, can we gain the people's support and trust. Third, the development of advanced culture that unites the spiritual power of the people. "Culture is the field that needs the most innovation." [7] On the basis of profound understanding and grasp of the task of developing socialist culture with Chinese characteristics and the law of construction, we must guide the people to establish a sense of innovation and lifelong learning, give full play to the role of the "Great Civic Education Course" to educate people, and constantly improve the people's foot, eye, brain and pen power in the creation and production of cultural works, so as to inject the development of the great cause of socialism with Chinese characteristics. The fourth is to achieve the goal of satisfying the people's good life.

Fourth, to achieve the people's livelihood to meet the people's needs for a better life. People's livelihood is the biggest politics. To improve people's well-being, we must, on the one hand, continuously improve the quality of public services, thoroughly explore policies on education, employment, medical care, social security and other aspects of people's livelihood, and make efforts to provide education, medical care, health care and housing for the elderly. On the other hand, we must work on fairness and justice, not only to make the "cake bigger", but also to share the "cake well", so as to continuously enhance the people's sense of access and happiness. Fifth, improve the concept of ecological interests of the harmonious coexistence of man and nature. Ecological interests are an important part of people's good life. The realization of ecological interests should adhere to the system of universal ownership of natural resources and set a red line for capital, so as to make it subordinate and serve the needs of the people's good life; to properly arrange the production organization, adhere to the new development concept, strictly control carbon dioxide emissions, and promote the green production of ecological interests; to adhere to a balanced and coordinated arrangement, compensate ecological contributors with corresponding interests, and do a good job of scientific and reasonable distribution. We should insist on "green water and green mountains are golden mountains" and cultivate people's ecological awareness and green consumption

concept.

4.3. Adhere to and improve a clean and efficient service-oriented government governance system

By reforming salaries, abolishing the standing army and state officials, making government affairs public, and supervising dismissals, the Paris Commune greatly reduced the cost of government and effectively prevented public officials from fading from being "servants of society" to "masters of the state". The "cheap government" advocated by the Paris Commune truly realized the value of serving the people, being accountable to the people, and being supervised by the people, which still emits the light of truth today. In the new era, the construction of people's satisfaction of the service-oriented government, must build a clear responsibilities, according to the law, clean and efficient modern government governance system. First, optimize the system of government responsibilities. Economic system reform is the focus of comprehensive deepening reform, the key issue of economic system reform is how to deal with the relationship between the government and the market. At present, there are still some areas of the market system is not perfect, the lack of government responsibilities misplaced offside, supervision is not in place and other issues. This requires clarifying the boundaries of the government and the market, adhere to the "put, management, service" three-pronged approach, focus on the management of the things in place, the services in place, to do something, something not to do, and effectively play a decisive role in the allocation of resources in the market, better play the role of government. Second, optimize the organizational structure of the government. Since the reform and opening up, China has carried out eight large-scale reform of the party and government institutions, making the institutional mechanism more sound, government efficiency greatly improved, but compared with the requirements of effective governance of the state and society, there are still too many institutions, multiple management, cross-functional, inefficient and high. Therefore, it is necessary to insist on the combination of moderate flexibility of government functions and moderate size of government agencies, adjust agency settings according to specific situations, optimize the configuration of functions, and improve the institutionalized synergy and cooperation mechanism of various functional departments. In addition, it is necessary to strengthen the construction of grassroots government organizations, appropriately tilt administrative resources to the grassroots, and enhance grassroots governance capacity.

Third, improve the mechanism of power restraint and supervision. To take the party supervision as the leading, through the supervision of the National People's Congress, democratic supervision, administrative supervision, judicial supervision and other types of supervision, the formation of supervision synergy. Specifically, we should be good at using big data, integrating all kinds of supervision information resources; establish a complete research and referral mechanism, timely handling and solving the problems exposed; regularly listen to reports on the work, and effectively solve the practical problems such as poor information flow, supervision is difficult to put in place. To improve the configuration and operation of power constraints mechanism, to regulate and restrain public power as the focus, so that the power to run under the sun. Specifically, the

scientific configuration of power in accordance with the law, so that the legal duties must be done, the law is not authorized not to do; to ensure the transparency of power and responsibility, the implementation of good party affairs, government affairs, justice and other areas of the public system, the power under close supervision; accurate discipline and accountability, to reduce the power to set rent-seeking space, control the key people, key places, key things, key time, crack the "a hand The "one hand" supervision and peer supervision problems, really put the power into the cage of the system.

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