



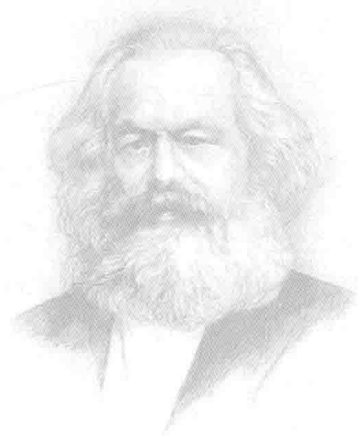
RESEARCH ON MARXIST STATE THEORY

马克思主义国家理论研究

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Abstract

On the 3rd Plenary Session of 18th CPC Central Committee, the idea of “modernization of state governance system and governance capability” was put forward for the very first time in the history of socialist development. This is not only the enrichment and development to the Marxism political theory, but also the answer to the major topic of “how to govern a new society like socialist society”. Xi Jinping pointed out: the state governance system is a system for governing the state under the leadership of the party (communist party of China), including the mechanism, law, and regulation arrangements concerning economic, political, cultural, social, and ecological civilization, and party building fields. In other words, it is a set of closely linked and mutually coordinated state system; The capacity of state governance refers to the capacity of using the state system to govern the affairs of all aspects of society, including steady reform and development, domestic and foreign affairs, national defense, and the ruling of both the party and the country, etc. This clarifies the main aspects and basic orientation of the modernization of state governance system and governance capability. Moreover, the proposing of the idea of national governance modernization by our party actually has very profound theoretical foundation.

In the 19th century, Marx and Engels made detailed discussion on major state theoretical issues based on the theory of historical materialism, including the origin, nature, function and extinction of the state, thus established the Marxist state theory. After Marx and Engels, Lenin as their heir, on the basis of adhering to the basic principle of the state theory of Marx and Engels, enriched and developed the Marxist state theory according to the revolutionary practice and special national conditions of Russia, thus to form several important thoughts about state theory of himself. Though Marx and Engels, as the founders, discussed on the state theory in their works, theory was only fragmentary and scattered in their numerous writings, lacking of theoretical system for state theory.

Based on the above reasons, this book, on one hand, excavates and systematically sorts the important thoughts of Marx, Engels and Lenin on the state theory from their classic works. They believed that the state is hierarchical, so that the state is a tool of class domination, but at the same time, the state has public attributes. Therefore, the state has the dual basic functions of political domination and public affairs management. Therefore, in order to get liberated, the proletariat has no way but to overthrow the bourgeois rule through the violent revolution, seize power, and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. And the dictatorship of the proletariat is only the transition to the classless communism society. The future development trend of the state is to get extincted naturally due to the elimination of both class and division of Labour, and become a world of "community of free individuals". On the other hand, the "modernization of state governance and state governance system" is not only the great breakthrough of Marxist state theory, but also a new realm of the sinicization of Marxist state theory. It has great enlightenment function on exploring the countermeasures for realizing the modernization of state governance by sorting from the Marxist state theory, which is the theoretical origin of modernization of state governance. It makes us realize that, in order to realize the modernization of state governance, we should not only adhere to the people-oriented value, but also change the state governance functions, so as to realize "multi-governance" situation of the country.

Therefore, starting from the discussions on state theory of classic authors of Marxism and Leninism, this book systematically sorted the ideas on state origin, nature, functionality, and future development trend from abundant of classical Marxism works, thus to clarify numerous discussions of Marxism on state, and make the thoughts systematic and theoretic according to the way of Marxism. Based on this, the author studied the modern state form and development trend and tried to make scientific analysis on the practical state governance problems by applying Marxist state theory, thus to explore the path for realizing and promoting the modernization of state governance.

Apart from the introduction and conclusion, the main content of this book is divided into six parts.

The first part is the origin and formation of Marxist state theory. It firstly stipulates the origin of Marxist state theory, including the early state thought of the

west, the theory of the utopian socialism, and the rational state view of Hegel. Second, it analyzes the self – clarifying to Marxist state theory: on the basis of absorbing the western social ideological trends and studying of social and state origin and development, the Marxist state theory realized transition from idealism rational state view to the historical materialism state view, and gradually established the objective and scientific Marxist state theory. At the same time, the historical formation of Marxism theory was also sorted. The formation and development of Marxist state theory is not achieved overnight, instead, it is gradually promoted with the thoughts changes and practical activities of Marx and Engels who are the founders of Marxist state theory. As the founders of the Marxist state theory, they put forward the ideas on state during the continuous criticism and abandonment process.

The second part is the Marxist theory of state essence. If the problem of state is the main and fundamental problem of all politics, then the “most complicated and difficult” problem in the state problem would no doubt be the “essence of state”. What is the essence of state? Different academic schools have made different responses to this theoretical question. And Marx and Engels, as the founders of Marxist state theory, how did they answer this question when they discussed the theory of the state? This part mainly stipulates from the state origin, and summarizes the class nature of state, namely the state is a tool of class domination and oppression. Therefore, the only way for the proletariat to win is to establish the state of the proletariat dictatorship. On the basis of carrying forward the state class nature, Lenin combined with the practice of the Russian revolution, and further put forward the theory of the worker – peasant democratic dictatorship, trying to perform political domination on Soviet Russia through violent revolution.

The third part is the Marxist state theory of public function. In the Marxist state theory, the state not only has the function of class oppression and exploitation, but also balances the interests of all social class, which represents the function of maintaining social public interests and managing social public affairs. The theories of Marx and Engels contain rich social management ideas. In this part, the public functions of the state are summarized through the discussion on the public nature of the Marxist state, and the state has the function of managing society. The proletariat dictatorship state also has the general function of “state – society” management, thus to form the specific thought of the socialist state administration. At the same

time, Marx believed that the dictatorship of the proletariat is the transitional period of human society, and the communist society is the final trend of the mankind. On the communist society, Marx and Engels scientifically predicted some important ideas about communist social management.

The fourth part is the theory of the Marxist state extinction. Marx and Engels believed that the state was not always there, it was produced under certain historical conditions. Therefore, it would inevitably die with the further development of human social history till perish completely. The extinction of the state is associated with a certain historical stage of production development. Classes appear when the production gets certain development but comparatively insufficient. With highly developed productive forces, the social products would be greatly enriched, and the class would lose the material premise of existence and become a direct obstacle of the production development. With the extinction of class, the state will also complete its historical mission and step down from the historical stage. The revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat is the transition stage of the state extinction. The socialist society is right on the stage of "state dying". And till the communist society, all socialist states would all extinct. Therefore, this part mainly discusses on the future development of the state, and summarizes that the final result is state extinction. But the extinction would be completed in stages and last for long.

The fifth part is the sinicization of Marxist state theory. As a scientific system and continuously innovated and developed theory, the Marxist state theory keeps developing with the progress of times and practice. The Marxist state theory entered China with the spread of Marxism in China. The reason why this theory has such powerful vitality is because that, it can satisfy the people's demand on studying and solving practical problems in the fields of state in current stage and a long future time period. The development of China's modernization in modern times needs to adhere to the guiding status of Marxist state theory. And such demand can also back inject new vitality into the Marxist state theory. In the practice of China's modernization, the state plays a role that no other social organization can replace.

The sixth part is the Marxist state theory and modern Chinese governance. Marxist state theory is a series of thoughts of the founders on state origin, nature, function and future development trend. These are extremely valuable theoretical resources for us to know the state governance thoughts and promote the modernization

of state governance. The state governance nature, function, and concept can be summarized from the Marxist state theory by sorting the discussions on state functions in Marxist state theory, thus to provide idea and enlightenment for the way of realizing state governance modernization in current period. Therefore, based on the sorting of Marxist state theory, this section tries to analyze the state problems during current Chinese governance process by applying the Marxist state theory and thus to explore the state governance path.

Key words: Marxism, State Theory, State Governance

Introduction

I. Proposing of Problem

In the 19th century, Marx and Engels established Marxist state theory based on historical materialism, but they did not discuss it in details in special works. These theories were just scattered in numerous of their works, lacking of systematic theoretical system. Therefore, the heated debate about state theory has never stopped. In the new era, facing to the practical problems, the Marxist state theory is confronted with the challenge of the times, which directly or indirectly relates to how to correctly grasp and understand Marxist state theory. On the 3rd Plenary Session of 18th CPC Central Committee, the “*Resolution*” was passed, in which the strategic concept of “modernization of state governance system and governance capability” was proposed. And two years later, the state governance issue has become the hot topic of the theoretical field. Based on this, starting from the classical Marxism – Leninism authorizes’ discussions on state theory, the author of this book systematically sorted the state origin, nature, function, and future development trend from numerous classical Marxist works on one hand, and make it to be systematic and logic, and on the other hand, try to apply the Marxist state theory to analyze the problems that people are confused about currently, such as, does the governance modernization mean to eliminate “the people’s democratic dictatorship”? These analyses not only provide practical guidance on the correct understanding and interpretation the meaning and features of state governance under the background of economic globalization, but also provide the theoretical reference to realize and promote the modernization of state governance.

The Marxist state theory is the theory of the state theory formed based on the discussions of classical Marxism – Leninism authors on state origin, nature, function, and extinction. It has profound guidance significance on the revolutions of the world’s proletariat for seeking for liberation, and the construction and

development of socialist countries which have realized dictatorship of the proletariat. Moreover, it also keeps up with times as world's socialist revolution and construction practice go by. Therefore, the systematic sorting of Marxist state theory can not only provide a more solid theoretical foundation for enriching the Marxist state theory, but also have practical significance for us in studying and analyzing current modernization of state governance.

Firstly, clearly sorting the Marxist state theory lays a theoretical foundation for understanding and correctly grasping the Marxist state theory. Though the state theory founded by Marx and Engels has complex and rich state theory descriptions, they were often scattered in numerous articles or works, rarely seeing systematical description in special works or systematical theory system. This provides vast development space for the followers to understand the Marxist state theory. Also because of this, some scholars only viewed separately or particular side when stipulating this theory, or partition the theory inheritance, thus formed the one - sided understanding of this theory. For example, before October socialist revolution victory, the important leaders of the Second International leaders such as Bernstein and Kautsky, they violated the principle of the proletariat revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat because of one - sided understanding of Marxist state theory, for which, Lenin directly criticized as revisionist. The "Marxists" of western countries often cut off Marx, Engels and Lenin's theory of state, which led to a one - sided conclusion of this theory. Therefore, to accurately grasp the whole picture of Marxist state theory, it must sort the literature of the founders in overall way, thus to rectify the one - sided understandings, and further lay profound theoretical foundation for the innovation and development of Marxist state theory in China.

Secondly, it is of practical significance to sort the Marxist state in promoting and realizing the modernization of state governance. Marx said, "The philosophers have only interpreted the world in various ways, and the point however is to change it". The Marxist state theory has always played a great guiding role in both the proletarian revolutionary movement and the practice of modernization. However, under the current background of economic globalization, the Marxist state theory in the real social practice is challenged, for example, certain trend of opinions that the

Marxist state theory has become inconsequential has been formed based on the economic globalization background, which is implied in the discussions on the state, status and functions of state in globalization progress, and relation between state and global political system; some others think that, even if the Marxist state theory hasn't become out of date, it is hard to use this theory to guide us to know the economy and politics of modern world. They think that the real practice of globalization has surpassed the doctrine of Marxist state theory. "Modernization of state governance" is the enrichment and development of Marxist state theory in practice of China. It also encounters practical problems during the promoting process. It shall sort the theoretical sources of state governance, and make it systematic, theoretic, and logic, and apply the Marxist state theory to analyze various problems that are currently confusing us, thus to get a correct view, adhere to and develop the current significance of Marxist state theory, and further promote and realize the modernization of state governance.

The discussions on state theory made by Marx and Engels classical authors in their works not only initiated the Marxist state theory, but also laid a solid foundation for us to understand the theory. The state governance is the innovation and development of Marxist state theory in China. Sorting of discussions on state theory made by Marxism – Leninism founders could provide scientific basis for realizing and promoting the modernization of state governance. And as the expansion of the globalization, the works of domestic and foreign scholars on the relation between state and globalization emerged abundantly. New ideas and new concepts keep appearing. This, to different extent, expands the study field of Marxist state theory. However, these researches also contain problems: for example, someone performs study by separating Marx, Engels and Lenin's theories of state, someone fails to study the classic writers and their works sufficiently, which results in one – sided understanding, or some others only select specific topic to study, failing to sort the state theories systematically. All these could have impact on the correct understanding about the Marxist state theory. Based on this, also in order to promote sinicization of the Marxist state theory and make the theory follow the times, in this paper, the author made thorough excavating and sorting about the ideas of Marxist classical writers on state, thus to "recover" their opinions on this problem. This is not only helpful for us to accurately know and grasp the Marxism – Leninism theory

founders' opinion on state issue, but also helpful for us to understand state governance, interpret state governance, and explore way to realize modernization of state governance from Marxist state theory.

II. Introduction to Domestic and Foreign Researches

Based on the theory of historical materialism, Marx and Engels made systematic discussion on major topics of state origin, nature, functions, and extinction, thus established the Marxist state theory. Since the founding of Marxist state theory, it has been argued a lot. And with the changes of world pattern and the speeding up of economic globalization, the domestic and foreign scholars have begun to reorient and interpret the Marxist state theory, which makes the argument in study of Marxist state theory become even tenser, and thus form different views and opinions on the state theory.

1. State theory of the Marxist classic authors

Marx and Engels are the founders of state theory. And their discussions on state theory in their works constitute the most fundamental literature basis for studying the Marxist state theory. And Lenin, as the successor, combined with state situations at that time on the basis of Marx and Engels' state theory, made innovation and development to the state theory. In general, Marx, Engels and Lenin made the following major discussions:

(1) Marx and Engels's contribution to state theory: Marx and Engels started the state theory by criticizing the theory of bourgeois state. During this period, main works of Marx and Engels on the state theory include: Marx's *Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right*, *On the Jewish Question*, *An Introduction to Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right*, *Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844*; Marx and Engels coauthored "The Holy Family", "The German Ideology", and *The Manifesto of Communist Party* and so on. In these early writings, Marx and Engels criticized the variety of non-Marxist state outlook, mainly including the Hegel's absolute idealism state outlook, rational state outlook, Saint-Simon and other utopian socialism state outlook. And since the 1850s, Marx and Engels optimized their theory of state, mainly reflecting in the works of *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis*

Bonaparte, *Capital* and manuscripts, *The Civil War in France*, *Critique of the Gotha Program*, *Anti – Dühring*, *The Origin of The Family*, and *Private Property and the State* and so on. In these works, the origin and development of state, the nature of the state, the function of the state, the state machine, the state form, and the relation between state and law are summarized and described in overall manner, which provide abundant and rich materials for the followers in further studying the state theory.

(2) Lenin's innovation and development to the state theory. Lenin's state theory is mainly presented in works of *Marxist Theory of the State*, "The State and Revolution", "The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky", *The State*, and *the Economy and Politics in the Era of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat*. He considered that, the state, speaking of its original meaning, only exists in capitalism which owns the power (bourgeois), it is a kind of machine domination of a class to another class. Democracy itself is also a kind of state. After the extinction of the state, political democracy will disappear as well. Only revolution can abolish bourgeois state. Transition involves transition from state to non – state. The state in transition is no longer a state that is meant to be. The state of the dictatorship of the proletariat is a semi – state that is gradually dying. And the dictatorship of the proletariat must be defended. Lenin thought that, it needs to take advantage of machine which is seized from the capitalists to eliminate all exploitation. The state cannot disappear unless the world's revolution succeeds and no more exploitation. In practice, the political parties need to control the state machine and strengthen the machine.

2. Foreign researches

In foreign countries, the Marxist state theory has been researched since the 1920s. They applied Marx and Engels's theory resources on the state and combined with the reality of foreign countries, thus forming the foreign research achievements on Marxist state theory.

(1) The Marxist state theory based on "cultural analysis" is the study on the state theory made from aspects of culture, ideology and leadership. Based on the adhesion to traditional Marxist state theory, Gramsci, representative of Frankfurt

school considered that the state is just a tool of class domination and oppression, and it combines the political society and civil society together. The Post - Marxism representatives of Laclau and Mouffe also believed that the urgent task of the socialist democratic struggle is to "go back to the leadership struggle".

(2) The Marxist state theory based on "structuralism" is the study on the state issues from the aspects of structure and function. French scholar Althusser and Greek scholar Poulantzas, studied the state issues from the political perspective, "ideological state machine", and economy. Among the three structures, the economic structure plays a decisive role. But the political and ideological structures are both of independent functions, which could transfer as dominative structure of specific production mode. Therefore, the state has autonomy.

(3) The Marxist state theory based on "instrumentalist". British scholar Miliband considered in his works of *Marxism and Politics* (1977) that, in the capitalist society, the state maintains the capitalist production and reproduction, so it is the domination machine of the bourgeoisie. The state is a tool of class domination. This is the fundamental characteristic of capitalist state.

(4) The Marxist state theory based on "institutional platform". The American scholar Douglass C. North studied the state by taking it as the factor that influences the change of economic system. The German scholar Offe studied the "welfare state" system of developed capitalism states; British scholar Jessop considered that the state is a system unity gathering economic system, political system, and ideology, and is a balanced result after the selecting of accumulation strategy, political strategy, and leadership based on struggling of people.

Certainly, in addition to the above studies, foreign scholars also have studied the state theory from other perspectives, such as German scholar Heinrich Cunow's, who understood the state theory from a sociological point of view. The capital logic school, represented by Mill, studied the state problems from the perspective of capital category; American scholar Wallerstein studied the relationship between the world system and the state. In addition, since the 1980s, with the speeding up of economic globalization, some foreign scholars have also discussed widely from the perspective of globalization on the state issues, state status and functions in globalization process, relation between state and global political system, and state governance. For example, in 1985, British scholar Giddens studied on the state

interest during globalization process; in the late 1990s, American scholar Jacques Baudot et. al. published the *Building A World Community — Globalization and the Common Good*, in which, the global governance and common good governance under globalization was studied.

3. Current status of domestic researches

Study and discussion of Chinese scholars on the state issue are based on the absorption of abundant of foreign research findings on state theory. These studies concern state governance in constructing socialist state with Chinese characteristics and the state interests during globalization process, and propose constructive theoretical views. Throughout these studies, the current domestic researches on state issue mainly contain the following aspects:

(1) Set foot on the reality, focus on the text, excavate the ideological resources of the state theory in the classical Marxism works, and reinterpret the state problems according to the reality. For example, Zou Yongxian set the basic framework of Marxist state based on the systematic sorting and summarizing of state theories in various periods of human history, including the Marxist classical works; theory of various periods in the history of the country in humans, including marxist classics to review and summarize systematically on the basis of the scientific framework of the marxist national theory; Liu Jun put forward the “comprehensive line” theory of the state origin by analyzing and sorting the Marxist state origin theories, and discussed modern form of Marxist state origin theory from aspects of economic foundation and superstructure; Huang Liangyi and Guo Baohong, et. al. combined the Marxist state theory with the modernization construction of our nation based on the systematic investigation on state origin and nature of the classical Marxist authors, thus to systematically analyze the new situation and new problems in reality currently with brand new theoretical view angle, propose the opinion to construct and reconstruct the Marxist state theory combining with features of the times and the practical state conditions.

(2) Introducing the western Marxist state theory by using conditions and introducing in thoughts, and comparing with Marxist state theory. Yin Shuguang, Chen Binghui et. al. systematically introduced the basic viewpoints of western Marxists represented by Poulantzas and Miliband. Jiang Hongyi introduced the

viewpoints of western scholars of Poulantzas and Miliband performed comparison study with Marxist state theory thus to conclude that there's certain criticizing, reconstructing, inheritance and development relation among them; Feng Xinzhou and He Zili not only systematically stipulated the innovation and development of western Marxist to the state theory, but also investigated the sinicization process of Marxist state theory in China, and proposed the new topic that the Marxist state theory is facing to.

(3) Discussing theory by combining with the times to study by jointing Marxist state theory with issues like ethnic group issue under globalization and the construction of a harmonious society under current times. Yu Jianxing, Xiao Yangdong systematically analyzed the contemporary possibility of Marxist state theory under the background of globalization, and tried to answer the huge reform brought to human political organization and structure by globalization through referring to and integrating the new concepts of social science based on the investigation of historical progress, basic contents, and new theoretical development and new topics that the country is facing to of the Marxist state theory, and tried to realize the change of consciousness, and establish a new specification for the future of Marxist state theory; Xia Yulong, Huang Liangyi, Wang Guangsen, took Marxist state theory in globalization as the cut - in point, considered that we shall, from the perspective of harmonious society and Marxist state innovation, interpret the Marxist state theory by using the historical experience from the view angle of constructing harmonic society.

(4) The research on the state transformation and state governance of contemporary China, which is based on society, studies governance, and based on the complicated and diversified Chinese social development is attracting more and more attention of scholars from both home and abroad. Some scholars brought in and introduced the theory of governance. For example, Yu Keping performed comprehensive and systematic analysis on governance, and actively promoted the in - depth understanding of the theory of governance in domestic academia; Luo Xucheng analyzed and summarized Marxist state theory in contemporary China based on the governance interaction mechanism of "political party, state and society". Some scholars discussed how to conduct state governance from the perspectives of national transformation, modernization and globalization, such as Zheng Yongnian's discussion on state governance from the perspective of globalization; and other

scholars discussed from the perspectives of state governance system, governance capability connotation, and realizing path of modernization of state governance system and governance capability, such as Xin Xiangyang, Jiang Bixin, and Xu Yaotong defined the connotation of “state governance system” and “state governance capability”. And He Zengke, Hu Angang, et. al. discussed the path for realizing the state governance modernization from layers of state, system, cultural concept and moral value.

Of course, there are other scholars analyzing Marxist state theory from different perspectives. Scholars such as Lin Gang, Zhang Yu and Meng Jie analyzed the Marxist state theory from the perspective of the relationship between individualism and holism. Yu Jianxing et. al. also explored and studied the state theory of Marx and Engels from relative theories of economics. On the basis of the Marxist state theory analysis he explored the significance of Marxist state theory in the modern social and economic development condition and put forward the opinion of going beyond the Marxist theoretical knowledge in the sense of economic determinism, adhere to take economic construction as the center in the new historical period, avoid the ideological errors, and devote in the innovation of culture and ideology.

III. Study Thoughts, Method, and Innovation

Therefore, starting from the discussions on state theory of classic authors of Marxism and Leninism, this book systematically sorted the ideas on state origin, nature, functionality, and future development trend from abundant of classical Marxism works, thus to clarify numerous discussions of Marxism on state, and make the thoughts systematic and theoretic according to the way of Marxism. Only by doing so can we enrich and develop the theory closely combined with China's specific conditions and practice, promote the sinicization of Marxist state theory, so as to realize the possibility of Marxist state theory in contemporary times. And state governance is the innovation and development of Marxist state theory in China's. Clarifying Marxism – Leninism classical authors' theories on state, deeply and systematically researching the contemporary state form and development trend so as to make scientific explanation to the state problems in reality, can not only be helpful for us to correctly understand interpret the connotation and features of state