**Will Non-Public sector of Economy (Private Economy) End after the Achievement of the "Two Centenary Goals" in 2049**

**May, 2022**

**The following article is from Jia Kang Academic Platform , authors are Jia Kang, Liu Wei, Wu Bingbing**

**This article is excerpted from the third and fourth parts of "Theoretical Research on the Long-term Existence and Development of Private Economy in the Primary Stage of Socialism after the Achievement of the "Two Centenary Goals"**

**III. The misunderstanding that “the primary stage of socialism will end after achieving the goal of building a modern and powerful country in 2050” and the approach we should take**

**(I) Based on the principles of Marxist historical materialism and the reality of human society, we know that there will still be a long period after 2050 when we need to further promote the construction of the "five-in-one" system, the development of productive forces and social progress before we can hope to welcome the "upgrade" of socialism from the primary stage.**

**Marxist historical materialism reveals the general laws of human social development that are hidden in the vast history and run through the past and present. In 1883, Engels brilliantly explained the basic connotation of historical materialism at the tomb of Marx: "Just as Darwin discovered the law of development of the organic world, so Marx discovered the law of development of human history, namely, the simple fact that has always been obscured by the tangled ideologies: people must first eat, drink, live and wear clothes, and then they can engage in politics, science, art, religion, etc.; therefore, the production of the immediate material means of subsistence, and thus a certain stage of economic development of a nation or an era, constitutes the basis, and people's state institutions, legal views, art and even religious concepts develop from this basis, and therefore must be explained by this basis, and not the other way around, as in the past" [1].**

**In short, the productive forces determine the production relations, and the sum of the production relations constitutes the social and economic structure. As the economic base, it fundamentally determines the superstructure such as laws, institutions, and the state apparatus. The historical materialist thought innovation represented by the principle that productive forces determines production relations and economic base determines superstructure, with its deep and rigorous logic combined with history, has formed the source of truth for Marxists to correctly understand the world and advocate the transformation of the world. It is based on this cognitive framework that the classical Marxist writers examined and analyzed the basic contradictions inherent in the social form formed by capitalist production relations, revealing that the development of productive forces will eventually determine that it will be replaced by a new social form, that is, the core concept expressed in the Communist Manifesto - the "association of free men" in the ideal society of the future, which will replace the production relations dominated by the capital employment relationship examined and analyzed by Marx and Engels with new production relations, because if the production relations (the decisive factor is the ownership of the means of production) are adapted to the level of development of productive forces in a specific period, it will promote the development of productive forces. On the contrary, it will constitute an obstacle to the development of productive forces and will be adjusted and changed by the objective historical process sooner or later. The historical destiny of capitalism is on this trajectory.**

**Classical Marxist writers applied the objective law that production relations must adapt to the development of productive forces and created a theory of social morphology that reflects the substantive categories of human social development stages and social types. That is, based on the understanding of the relationship between things and things, which is reflected in and contains the relationship between people, they can summarize the "three social forms"[2] based on the exchange relationship and the evolution of the subject relationship of human society; and summarize the "five social forms"[3] based on the investigation of ownership relations and the evolution of production relations between the owners of the means of production and between the owners of the means of production and the workers.**

**The “Three Social Forms Theory” takes the evolution of human beings in history as the main line, reflecting the characteristics of human social forms in various historical stages based on different levels of productive forces. The first stage, “human dependence”, is the initial social form. “Individuals either naturally or historically expand into individuals of families and clans (later communities), directly reproducing themselves from nature” [4]. Social groups are connected by blood relations and directly act on nature to maintain their own survival. Exchange is subordinate to the direct production of social subjects and occurs due to direct needs. Human production capacity develops within a narrow range. The second stage develops into “object dependence”. “The mutual and comprehensive dependence between unrelated individuals constitutes their social connection. This social connection is manifested in exchange value” [5].**

**Unlike the first stage, the communication relationship between people in the second stage is more and more isolated under the background of the development of commodity economy and the refinement of division of labor, and the emergence of currency further consolidates people’s dependence on objects. Free personality based on the comprehensive development of individuals and their common social production capacity becoming their social wealth is the social form of the third stage. Previously, under the capitalist mode of production, the development of wealth and communication objectively laid the foundation for the all-round development of man, but at the same time, under the domination of capital, production and labor became alienated, and the reality that a few people owned most of the means of production and social wealth continued to intensify social contradictions, so that labor ultimately eliminated alienation by resisting the changes of capital, so that the means of production and wealth in society were ultimately owned by all members of society as the main body of workers.**

**The “Five Social Forms Theory” takes the formation and evolution of social systems as the main line, with the core being the ownership of the means of production. The “Asiatic Form” is the original social form, manifested as a natural or tribal community, in which social members realize the unity of the owners of the means of production and the workers, and production is mainly for self-sufficiency. The “Roman and Greek (i.e. classical ancient) forms” as the second social form and the “Germanic ownership forms” as the third social form are representatives of slavery and serfdom respectively. Under the third social form, the land is divided and ruled by the commune and its members. The land is the private property of the commune members, and the public land owned by the commune is a supplement to private property. On this basis, exchange value gradually develops and “disintegrates production that is mainly aimed at direct use value and the ownership form corresponding to this production”, “leading to the formation of the labor market” [6], thus giving birth to capitalist society - the foundation of the fourth social form - wage labor [7]. The fifth social form is the future goal of human struggle - communism, when society can realize “free exchange between individuals united on the basis of common possession and common control of the means of production” [8]. The "three social forms" and the "five social forms" have a profound internal connection: "human dependence" roughly corresponds to the first three of the "five social forms", "material dependence" is prominent in capitalist society, and communist society (including socialist society as its primary stage) is the best institutional choice orientation to achieve "the all-round development of individuals, and the common production capacity of social members becomes common social wealth". These two social form theories concretize the abstract general laws of human social development in combination with human history, forming a cognition condensation and theoretical explanation of "from the particular to the general".**

**The only revolutionary practice that Marx and Engels could observe during their lifetime, in which a new social form replaced the old social form, was the Paris Commune, which lasted for 83 days. Based on the principles derived from their research, they estimated that the decisive success of the revolution would be achieved when the productive forces further developed and the major developed countries in Europe emerged together in a revolutionary situation. The subsequent practice was the creative application of Marxist principles in the Leninist era to first establish the Soviet regime of workers and peasants in Russia, the weakest link in the capitalist world, and develop communism (i.e. socialism) as the primary stage of the transition to communism. Guided by the October Revolution, a series of major progress was made in China and other backward Eastern countries entering the socialist stage by revolution. Unfortunately, the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union experienced a major split in the early 1960s. The Soviet regime collapsed after more than 70 years of existence, and the world communist movement entered a low ebb. The profound experience and lessons contained therein are worthy of our in-depth analysis and serious summary.**

**It is particularly noteworthy that after the collapse of the Soviet Union, the Chinese Communists continued to hold high the banner of socialism, followed the basic principles of Marxist historical materialism, and sought to substantially liberate productive forces by "self-revolution of production relations" to adapt to the objective requirements of the development of productive forces, and achieved remarkable economic development and social progress. The existing practice of establishing a socialist system with Chinese characteristics has formed a further breakthrough and innovation of the above-mentioned Marxist law of "from general to specific". The Marxist theory of social formations believes that the transition to a socialist system should be completed through revolution in capitalist countries with extremely developed productive forces. The transformation of the social form of New China to complete the "three major reforms" and establish a socialist system was based on the new democratic revolution and was born on the objective conditions of the extremely underdeveloped productive forces of old China.**

**In other words, China was still in the immature stage of "material dependence" at that time, or even the transition stage from "human dependence" to "material dependence" (this judgment can be made based on the complex economic foundation of semi-colonial and semi-feudal society). It did not have the basis of highly developed productive forces and conscious social division of labor, and after capitalist society. After the transition to a fully developed social form, a socialist system based on public ownership of the means of production is established. This practice has greatly enriched the Marxist theory of social forms and also embodies the diversity of social form changes. As Lenin said: "The general laws of world historical development not only do not in the least exclude the peculiarities of individual stages in the form or sequence of development, but on the contrary presuppose them."[9] But at the same time, the general laws revealed by Marx and Engels clearly tell us through a series of summaries in China's practice that we should not replace the process with the goal, and avoid trying to skip the stage and rush to transition out of good intentions or "left-wing childishness". Otherwise, we will be obviously restricted by objective laws and even ruthlessly punished.**

**In the past China's socialist practice was far from smooth sailing.**

**In the early days of the founding of the People's Republic of China, China comprehensively referred to the Soviet model for socialist construction. Although a series of construction achievements were made during the planned economy era, it also experienced major twists and turns during the "Great Leap Forward" and the "Cultural Revolution". In particular, since the criticism of "The Biography of Wu Xun", dozens of large and small ideological criticisms, purges of intellectuals and various specific targets have been launched almost non-stop. Within the Party, the "cruel struggle and ruthless blows" of "smashing anti-Party groups" have been launched several times, and the guiding ideology and basic line of "taking class struggle as the key link" and further upgraded to "continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat" have made major mistakes. The "Ten Years of Disaster" brought the national economy to the brink of collapse, and people's food and clothing became a problem. When China's socialist cause was facing the critical moment of how to avoid a dead end, Hua Guofeng and others crushed the Gang of Four, and then the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the Party decided to implement reform and opening up through "self-revolution of production relations". The historical and important contribution of reform and opening up was that the second generation of the Party's central leadership with Comrade Deng Xiaoping as the core emancipated their minds, realistically denied "taking class struggle as the key link", and clearly defined the Party's basic line of "taking economic construction as the center" and grasping the "hard truth of development" to liberate productive forces. They also accurately put forward the important conclusion that China is in the primary stage of socialism, clarified the primary issue of the productive forces supporting the construction of socialism with Chinese characteristics, and systematically expounded the theory and tasks of the primary stage of socialism for the first time at the 13th National Congress of the Communist Party of China: "Precisely because our socialism was born out of a semi-colonial and semi-feudal society and the level of productive forces lags far behind that of developed capitalist countries, this determines that we must go through a very long primary stage to achieve the industrialization and commercialization, socialization and modernization of production that many other countries have achieved under capitalism"[10].**

**This understanding is a principled inheritance of Marx's idea of ​​dividing social stages and an innovation that keeps pace with the times and adapts to local conditions. In Critique of the Gotha Programme, Marx proposed that the transition from capitalism to communism requires a transition period of proletarian dictatorship, and emphasized that communist society itself is also divided into the first stage and the advanced stage; Lenin proposed in State and Revolution that the two stages of communist society have been divided into socialist society and communist society, and proposed that the transition to socialism requires "long pains"; Mao Zedong believed that the new democratic society in China is a necessary transitional form.**

**After the completion of socialist transformation, China has just established but not fully built a socialist system. In terms of concept, he proposed to divide socialism into two stages, namely underdeveloped socialism and relatively developed socialism. However, after the founding of the People's Republic of China, especially after the mid-1950s, Mao Zedong's guiding ideology went in the wrong direction of rushing to transition, being divorced from reality, and blindly emphasizing class struggle and a large number of so-called "productive forces theory".**

**The primary stage of socialism in China mentioned at the 13th National Congress of the Communist Party of China "does not refer to the initial stage that any country will go through when entering socialism, but specifically refers to the specific stage that my country must inevitably go through in building socialism under the conditions of backward productive forces and underdeveloped commodity economy." This formulation is consistent with the basic principles of Marxism, a concrete reflection of the inheritance and development of the scientific truth of Marxism under China's specific historical conditions, and is the fundamental basis for China to formulate and implement correct lines and policies.**

**The successive Party Central Committee leaders, with Deng Xiaoping, Jiang Zemin, Hu Jintao and Xi Jinping as the core, have evolved and implemented the strategic goal of "reform and opening up - building a moderately prosperous society - building a moderately prosperous society in all respects - embarking on a new journey of building a modern socialist country in all respects in two steps", constantly adjusting production relations and improving superstructure in line with the needs of productive forces development, and satisfying the people's hopes and needs for a better life with sustainable economic growth, thus creating the world-renowned "Chinese miracle". At the same time, the connotation of the theory of the primary stage of socialism has been implemented, enriched and deepened in different stages of development, reflecting the historical materialist attitude emphasized by the leadership that "practical development is endless, emancipating the mind is endless, and reform and opening up are also endless"[11].**

**In this process, what has changed is the production relations adjusted by gradual reform based on the level of productive forces development and the phased key points of the "three-step" modernization development strategy implemented to deal with the main social contradictions. What has not changed is the firm grasp of the "development of productive forces" as the bull's nose, so that the judgment that China will be in the primary stage of socialism for a long time has always been consistently upheld.**

**At a critical moment when socialism with Chinese characteristics enters a new era, our party, on the basis of achieving the goal of achieving a generally well-off standard of living for the people, further proposed the "Two Centenary Goals" (2021-2049 goals). This is a strategic deployment based on the basic national conditions that China will be in the primary stage of socialism for a long time.**

**The development achievements have given the Chinese people great confidence and encouragement, but they must also further clearly recognize the objective inevitability that China will remain in the primary stage of socialism for a long time.**

**First of all, based on the historical origins and current situation of China's socialist development, the task of developing productive forces is long and arduous. China's socialist "three major transformations" began with a semi-colonial and semi-feudal social foundation with a very low degree of commercialization and socialization of production and a considerable proportion of natural economy. It was established on the basis of not achieving industrialization and highly socialized production, which was actually "not qualified (Deng Xiaoping's words)" socialism. It intended to use the superiority of the socialist system to attach the "active reaction" of production relations to develop productive forces and establish the material and technological foundation of socialism. This objectively determined that China must go through a long-term development process of the primary stage of socialism. Compared with the lofty ideal of communism, this belongs to the "primary stage of the primary stage". After 70 years of development, especially thanks to the baptism of more than 40 years of reform and opening up, China's economic aggregate has jumped to the second place in the world, a number of major achievements have been made in scientific and technological innovation, people's livelihood has been greatly improved, and the comprehensive national strength and international influence have been steadily improved. This time, the Party Central Committee led the people of the whole country to win the battle against the new crown Kovit pneumonia epidemic, which further highlighted the superiority of the socialist system of concentrating forces to accomplish major events. These achievements are hard-won and inspiring.**

**But at the same time, we must be aware of the significant development gap between China and developed capitalist countries. According to World Bank statistics, China's per capita GDP in 2016 was US$8,123, which was higher than the per capita GDP of middle- and high-income countries for the first time, which was US$7,939. It was equivalent to the US, Germany, France, and Japan in the late 1970s, the UK in the early 1980s, and South Korea in the early 1990s.**

**In 2018, China's per capita GDP was US$9,770.8, equivalent to 21.81% of high-income countries, ranking more than 70th in the world. The per capita gross national income (GNI) measured by purchasing power parity (PPP) was US$15,320, which was only 30.19% of high-income countries; the urbanization rate of registered population was 59%, which was 7% lower than that of middle- and high-income countries in the same period, and 22% lower than that of high-income countries[12].**

**If the urbanization rate of registered population without debt is used as the measure, the gap will be widened by about 15 percentage points. Whether in terms of major per capita economic indicators or the overall level of urbanization development, there is still a considerable gap between China and high-income countries.**

**Many areas are in an awkward situation of being big but not strong, big but not excellent. For many aggregate indicators, such as calculating per capita based on a population of 1.4 billion, the true face of a developing economy is immediately reflected.**

**Since 2019, China's economic downward pressure has increased again. From the perspective of internal development, the structural imbalance problem has not been fundamentally improved, the market-oriented development between regions is unbalanced, and the gap between per capita income and basic public service supply between urban and rural areas has not been significantly narrowed. The effective supply of institutional reforms lags behind, and political system reform is difficult. The long-term growth potential has not been fully released; from the perspective of the external environment, the global economic situation is unclear, the Sino-US trade friction has caused a significant drag on China's imports and exports, and the long-term depreciation pressure of the RMB cannot be ignored. Before the major social contradictions in China are fundamentally alleviated, we still need to enhance our comprehensive productive forces, focus on optimizing the supply-side structure of industrial production capacity, promote scientific and technological innovation to become a powerful tool for promoting development and benefiting people's livelihood, promote cultural productive forces to better meet people's diverse and personalized needs, make up for the shortcomings of ecological productive forces and achieve green and harmonious development. In the process of working with other countries to build a community with a shared future for mankind, we must always keep a cool head and maintain strategic patience and determination.**

**Secondly, looking back at the history of proletarian revolutionary struggles, a bright future is often accompanied by twists and turns. Utopian socialism, born in the 16th century, nurtured and catalyzed the ideological buds of socialism. Since then, there have been two leaps in the history of socialist development, namely the birth of scientific socialism marked by the publication of the Communist Manifesto in 1848, which realized the first leap from idealism to science in socialist thought, and the second leap from ideological development to practice in Russia after the victory of the October Revolution in 1917, which demonstrated and guided the vigorous development of national democratic revolutions in semi-colonial and semi-feudal countries. The world socialist movement was once thriving, and after the Second World War, a socialist camp was formed, covering Eastern Europe and parts of Asia and Latin America. However, socialist construction and development are facing internal and external troubles. In order to curb the rapid rise of socialist forces, the United States proposed and secretly established the Paris Coordinating Committee organized by 17 developed capitalist countries in 1949, restricting member countries from exporting strategic materials and high-tech to socialist countries, and blocking the socialist countries' foreign learning and assistance channels. At the same time, as the "leader" of the socialist camp, the Soviet Union's development model had gradually become exposed to drawbacks. Its ideological leftism and reckless pursuit of catch-up, its highly centralized planned economic direct control system, its political lag in democratic rule of law, and its ideological monopolization and extremism violated the objective law that production relations adapt to the development of productive forces, resulting in a rigid operating mechanism, insufficient economic vitality, swelling bureaucracy, a powerful privileged class, and no benefits for the people. It implemented brutal internal struggles and ideological suppression, the masses were alienated and disloyal, and the road was full of political jokes. In formal occasions, everyone was double-dealing, and ultimately the situation collapsed, leading to a subversive change in the political and economic system of socialist countries marked by the upheaval in Eastern Europe and the disintegration of the Soviet Union in the late 1990s. The global bipolar structure collapsed, the Cold War ended, and the world socialist movement entered a low ebb.**

**In view of this reality, we must not generalize that the development of world socialism has entered a desperate situation because of the weakening of the power of socialism in certain regions and scopes. We should not use the twists and turns of the socialist movement to deny the inherent superiority of the socialist system and the scientific nature and strong vitality of the great faith of communism. On the one hand, under the guidance of the socialist and communist ideals, the construction and development of socialism with Chinese characteristics has confirmed the correctness and scientific nature of the basic principles of Marxism, which will guide and promote the socialist forces to gradually develop and grow again; on the other hand, the series of measures taken by capitalist countries to ease class and social contradictions have already contained rich socialist factors. The Nordic developed economies have actually become a model type of "democratic socialism". We should base ourselves on the classical theories of Marxism and the basic national conditions of various countries, fully and accurately understand and develop Marxist historical materialism in line with the times while adhering to it, constantly adapt to the changing environment and practice through self-adjustment and innovation, and while holding firm faith in the bright future of socialism and communism, fully learn from historical lessons, cultivate strategic thinking, patience and determination to continuously improve the level of productive forces with economic construction as the center, maintain a high-spirited spirit of struggle and revolutionary enthusiasm, and lay every brick and tile of the socialist building firmly, firmly grasp the development of human social productive forces and people's quality of life under the wave of globalization and new technological revolution to achieve a qualitative leap, which will logically lead to the trend of major economies jointly building a "community of human destiny". Looking forward to the arrival of the mature, developed and communist stages of socialism in the future, mankind must not repeat the mistakes of blindly advancing in deviating from objective development conditions and ignoring the general laws of human social development.**

**Third, looking around the capitalist camp, it is a basic fact that its internal self-adjustment and improvement have led to its rejuvenation to a certain extent. Capital accumulation based on the private ownership of the means of production has led to the rapid increase of social wealth and the growth of the bourgeoisie, but in this process, capitalists have continuously used the surplus value they have appropriated for free to expand their exploitation of the working class in order to squeeze out more surplus value, which has gradually intensified the contradiction between them and large-scale socialized production, as well as the opposition to the group of hired laborers. At a certain stage, as Marx said: "The greater the wealth of society, that is, the capital that performs its functions, the greater the scale and capacity of its growth, and thus the absolute number of the proletariat and their labor productive forces, the greater the industrial reserve army... But the larger this reserve army is compared with the active labor army, the greater the standing surplus population will be, and he will "Their poverty is in inverse proportion to the torment they endure from their labour..."[13] However, in the process of the accumulation and intensification of social contradictions, in order to adapt to the development of large-scale socialized production, capitalist countries generally made partial adjustments to production relations. Especially after World War II, with the rapid development of state monopoly capitalism, there emerged forms such as "nationalization", "state planning", the "welfare society" with the improvement of the social security system as the main body, and the issuance of small stocks to promote "capital democratization". As a result, the ownership of the means of production by individual capitalists was negated, which significantly eased the basic contradictions of capitalism and promoted the further development of production and the improvement of labor conditions in various developed capitalist countries. Since the mid-20th century, a series of new social movements have taken place in Western developed capitalist countries, including the feminist movement against gender discrimination, the civil rights movement against racial discrimination, and the anti-war and peace movement against nuclear weapons. These movements further reflect the powerful resistance of the capitalist world's people to the existing capitalist order in order to realize their demands for fairness, justice, and human rights protection. They have forced the capitalist world to learn from and introduce socialist system factors to a certain extent, and have infiltrated the concepts and propositions of different social classes and different political parties through ideas and spiritual power, injecting the values ​​of fairness and justice into the partial adjustment of capitalist production relations, and to a certain extent easing the class contradictions in the capitalist world and the social conflicts that had once worsened. For example, after World War II, the "cradle-to-grave" welfare system of developed capitalist society has made great progress, the social service system has been gradually improved, trade unions have fought for more legitimate rights and interests of the working class, and expanded the space for development rights while protecting citizens' right to survival. The implementation of more powerful redistribution measures such as high progressive taxes has suppressed the gap between the rich and the poor. The universalization of industrial workers and ordinary members of society holding shares has caused the number of proletarian groups to shrink greatly, and its concept and social role have been seriously marginalized. For example, in the face of the global spread of the new coronavirus epidemic, the British government launched a "mandatory leave" plan, allowing employers to apply for up to 2,500 pounds in cash each month to pay employee wages; the German government directly issued 50 billion euros in subsidies to small and micro enterprises and self-employed households; the Canadian government provided interest-free loans and wage subsidies to enterprises, and provided universal relief to the unemployed; the Japanese government issued 100,000 yen in cash to each citizen... Capitalist countries selectively absorbed socialist ideas and values ​​without endangering the foundation of their own rule, and repaired the ruling foundation of capitalism and extended its ruling life by improving the ruling methods and means of capitalist society. This has undoubtedly greatly reduced the "decadent" and "dying" characteristics asserted by Lenin in the early stage of state monopoly capitalism (imperialism), and has historically delayed the trend and rhythm of capitalist countries toward socialism and communism.**

**Faced with the volatile international situation, the "self-help" measures of capitalist countries and the objective fact that China's comprehensive national strength is still difficult to compete with capitalist powers, the 19th National Congress report warned: the changes in the main contradictions in our society have not changed our judgment on the historical stage of socialism in China. The basic national conditions that China is still in and will remain in the primary stage of socialism for a long time have not changed, and China's international status as the world's largest developing country has not changed.**

**Even after achieving the "two centenary" goals in 2049, it is still necessary to promote the construction of the "five-in-one" system for a considerable period of time at the new starting point of "medium-level-developed" to meet the qualitative leap in the development of productive forces and the possible "upgrade" of socialism from the primary stage.**

**(3.II) The understanding that "the primary stage of socialism will end in 2050" is a concrete manifestation of the deep-rooted "leftist erroneous trend of thought" of "rushing to transition", which once again confirms the great guiding significance of Deng Xiaoping's aphorism "we must be vigilant against the right, but mainly prevent the left". This kind of leftist erroneous trend of thought has caused the most serious harm in the development history of our party and our country. The "elimination theory", "exit theory" and "new public-private partnership theory" of the private economy have also been deeply affected by it.**

**1. Don’t easily conclude that “the primary stage of socialism will end in 2050”**

**In the internal discussions, there is a kind of understanding in the current society that after the establishment of a socialist modern power in 2050, the primary stage of socialism will end. What will happen to the existence and development of the private economy and the basic economic system of China?**

**This 30-year prospect and outlook will directly relate to the current understanding of the development of the private economy and the confidence of private entrepreneurs in development, and it needs to be given enough attention and serious discussion. In fact, there are more "radical" new views in the direction of thinking similar to this view.**

**For example, before the 19th National Congress of the Communist Party of China (2017), an internal Journal published an article proposing that China has passed the primary stage of socialism and entered the "intermediate stage of socialism" (from the Central Party School's Journal of "Theoretical Dynamics"). Of course, this view was denied by the political report to the 19th National Congress of the Communist Party of China.**

**Looking back to the report of the 13th CPC National Congress, it was clearly pointed out that "under the specific historical conditions of modern China, it is a mechanical theory on the issue of revolutionary development and an important cognitive source of rightist errors to refuse to recognize that the Chinese people can embark on the socialist road without going through the stage of full development of capitalism; it is a utopian theory on the issue of revolutionary development and an important cognitive source of "leftist" errors to think that the primary stage of socialism can be skipped without a huge development of productive forces." We believe that it is necessary to review the classic scientific exposition of "two nevers" in the Marxist masterpiece "Preface to the Critique of Political Economy", namely, "No social form will ever perish before all the productive forces it can accommodate have been brought into play; and new and higher production relations will never appear before the material conditions of their existence have matured in the womb of the old society", and it is necessary to review the golden sentence in Deng Xiaoping's Southern Tour, "We must be vigilant against the right, but mainly guard against the left", and we must never easily make the judgment that "the primary stage of socialism will end in 2050" to avoid falling into utopian theories on the issue of revolutionary development.**

**First, this judgment ignores the fact that "productive forces determine" and is not subject to human will. The replacement of social forms and historical development stages ultimately depends on the results of the mutual influence and interaction between productive forces and production relations, economic base and superstructure, among which the productive force factor has the ultimate decisive significance. Since productive forces have social and historical characteristics, they can only progress with the improvement of people's cognitive level and practical ability. Therefore, even if people choose advanced production relations and superstructures through social changes in order to try their best to produce their active reaction, the level of development of productive forces is relatively fixed in a certain period of time, that is, the elastic space corresponding to production relations is limited after all. The "transcendent expectation" of production relations that exceeds the level of development of productive forces in a specific period will only increase the disharmony between productive forces and production relations, and thus cause damage to the original productive forces. For example, during the period of comprehensive exploration of socialist construction, China launched the "Great Leap Forward" movement with the utopian idea of ​​"running into communism rushedly" and political mobilization, which proposed that the whole party and the people of the whole country strive to "surpass Britain and catch up with the United States" in the output of major industrial products within 15 years or even shorter.**

**"High targets, blind command, false reporting, exaggeration, and communist style" prevailed. In agriculture, it was proposed that "the bolder the people, the more productive the land." In industry, a "national steel-making movement" was launched, which resulted in serious waste of resources and environmental damage. The national economy was seriously unbalanced, and the people were short of food and clothing until a large-scale abnormal population reduction occurred, causing heavy losses to the socialist cause and the lives and property of the people. As pointed out in the report of the 15th National Congress, "One of the fundamental reasons for our mistakes in building socialism before the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee was that some of the tasks and policies put forward went beyond the primary stage of socialism." Therefore, we must be soberly aware that China's productive forces level has not yet reached the level of classical socialism contained in the framework of the basic principles of Marxism.**

**After embarking on the Leninist October Revolution path of "first using revolutionary means to achieve a certain cultural level for building socialism, and then catching up with the people of other countries on the basis of the workers' and peasants' regime and the Soviet system," we must not mistakenly believe that we have acquired a fully supportive foundation for the development of productive forces that is necessary to accelerate the upgrading of socialism just because we have established a socialist system. Productive forces is a comprehensive reflection of objective conditions that are not subject to human will. Based on the currently available information, even if China achieves the goal of building a modern powerful country by 2050, the main per capita indicators can only reach the level of moderately developed countries (for example, the per capita national income gap between China and the United States is estimated to narrow from the current 1:6.5 to around 1:2, and there is no hope of reaching the level that Lenin said could "provide higher labor productive forces than capitalism"; at the same time, although China's modern democratic rule of law system construction will be more mature than it is now, it is difficult to imagine that China's modern democratic rule system will reach a more modern "state" than the developed capitalist countries which have hundreds of years of institutional development history).**

**Second, this judgment ignores the complex relationship between productive forces and production relations.**

**There is a very complex relationship between productive forces and production relations, and between economic base and superstructure, with a real process of action and reaction, not a simple linear logic of determination and determination. Our party has proposed a "five-in-one" overall layout, through the overall planning and design in the economic, political, cultural, social and ecological fields, to enhance the relevance, systematicness and coordination of various reforms, so as to improve the adaptability of production relations and superstructure to productive forces and economic base. However, on the one hand, after China's reform entered the critical period and deep waters, some top-level designs were not in place, grassroots innovations were not open, and some reform plans were heavily colored by departmental interests, which was not conducive to forming a coordinated and efficient reform force; and the problems of intertwined and concentrated fiscal and financial risks, large gap between the rich and the poor, and excessive environmental costs of economic development during the period of prominent contradictions have plagued the domestic social and economic development. The tasks of "releasing, managing, and serving", optimizing the business environment, promoting household registration system reform, and improving the social security system are still seeking suitable Chinese solutions. Therefore, it is necessary to really make a real effort to overcome difficulties, "break through the barriers of interest solidification (Xi Jinping's words)", and open up to the stubborn diseases for many years, touching the deep-seated interest relations and contradictions, so as to carry out the reform to the end. On the other hand, the reform plan and specific measures need to be flexibly adjusted and optimized according to the level of productive forces development and the social characteristics and prominent problems at each stage. In terms of time, during the period of reform and transition in China, problems in various fields are complicated and have affected the whole body. Changes in form or quality may occur at any time. The contradictions in income distribution and wealth allocation of diverse social groups have led to a very arduous historical task of optimizing the distribution system and structure. Some old, backward factors and new, advanced factors have a process of substitution and transcendence in the collision and game. This normal movement denies the unchanging solution to the problem. In terms of the geographical dimension, the regional diversity and the differences in economic foundation, cultural form, and social demands in the vast territory determine that the "one-size-fits-all" reform path will not work. It is necessary to adapt to local conditions and balance the relationship between central authority and local autonomy under the centralized state. In the next few decades, until 2050, China will face unprecedented breadth and depth of reform.**

**By then, the situation is likely to be "reform is still on the way" and "there is only a present tense but no past tense". It is necessary to further implement the "five-in-one" overall layout, continue to realize the self-adjustment and improvement of production relations, and better adapt to the development of productive forces. In this process, we must objectively assess the comprehensiveness, complexity and difficulty of the reform, test the effectiveness of the reform within a period of time after the completion of the goals of each stage, consolidate the reform results, objectively and scientifically assess the level of development of productive forces after the reform, and then use this as a basis to judge the development level of the primary stage of socialism. As the report of the 15th National Congress said, "To consolidate and develop the socialist system, it will take much longer, and it will require several generations, dozens of generations, or even dozens of generations of unremitting efforts."**

**Third, this judgment easily regards the new starting point in the primary stage of socialism as a high-tech stage that transcends the primary stage. The 19th National Congress report proposed that "by the middle of this century, China will be built into a prosperous, democratic, civilized, harmonious and beautiful socialist modern power. By then, China's material civilization, political civilization, spiritual civilization, social civilization, and ecological civilization will be comprehensively improved, the modernization of the national governance system and governance capacity will be realized, and China will become a country with leading comprehensive national strength and international influence, and the common prosperity of all people will be basically realized." By then, the main contradictions in society will be significantly alleviated, and we may take a decisive step towards the goal of realizing the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation. However, it is too early to think that China has entered the level of classical socialism described by Marx: it cannot be ruled out that there is still a significant gap between China and developed capitalist countries in major per capita indicators, and productive forces still needs to be developed and production relations still need to be adjusted. As analyzed above, the achievements of socialist construction need to be tested in practice, and conclusions that have not been tested in practice cannot become true knowledge. We believe that in the next long period of time in China, the indicators of change are the characteristics of different historical stages and the alleviation of the main social contradictions, rather than the repositioning of the primary stage of socialism.**

**If we want to characterize the nature of the social stage, we should return to the fundamental criterion, that is, the level of development of productive forces. The primary stage of socialism, the basic national condition of China, is the fundamental basis for the formulation and implementation of all lines, principles, and policies. A more rigorous positioning of the social stage after the realization of the goals in the middle of this century can be regarded as the entry of socialism with Chinese characteristics into a new stage of development. However, it is arbitrary to regard it as the starting point of the high-tech stage beyond the primary stage of socialism, which is very likely to lead to the error of transcending the historical stage, and may form the leftist errors that have repeatedly ruined the overall situation in history, bringing serious harm to the party's cause and the people's well-being.**

**The understanding that "the primary stage of socialism will end in 2050" is not a conclusion that can be drawn simply by achieving the "two centenary goals". If we go back to the basic principles of Marxist historical materialism and the founder's foresight of "the major developed countries entering socialism together", it is a logically inconsistent understanding to first enter the advanced stage of socialism in only one single country. Some scholars have returned to the logical context of Marxist classic writers and pointed out that in order to realize the communist society in the 21st century, the following three basic conditions must be met. The first is that the Communist International must be rebuilt; the second is that a broad revolutionary united front must be established throughout the world; and the third is that non-peaceful revolutionary methods must be used. These three basic conditions are indispensable for the realization of communism in the 21st century, and they are also indispensable and crucial basic conditions for the realization of communist society in the world in the future. These three basic conditions are consistently advocated and emphasized by Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought (Tian Di Yao Xin published on "Baidu Knows" on July 30, 2017). Although the three listed items are internally consistent, they have obviously fallen into the state of "contemporary fantasy" and cannot be used as a goal that can be persisted in practice. It can be seen that around 2050, the realization of China's modernization goals must not be confused with "the end of the primary stage of socialism and the entry into the advanced stage". The emergence of this judgment once again confirms the great guiding significance of Comrade Deng Xiaoping's aphorism "We must be vigilant against the right, but mainly prevent the left". This left-leaning erroneous trend of thought has caused the most serious harm in the development history of our party and our country. The "elimination theory", "exit theory" and "new public-private partnership theory" of the private economy are also deeply influenced by it and are closely related to it.**

**2. Analysis and refutation of the “elimination theory”, “exit theory” and “new public-private partnership theory” of the private economy**

**When Marx elaborated on the “reconstruction of individual ownership,” he proposed that “on the basis of the achievements of the capitalist era, on the basis of cooperation and common possession of the land and the means of production produced by labor itself, individual ownership will be re-established.”[14] This will be the ownership form that exists after the capitalist private ownership of the means of production is upgraded to public ownership. The realization path is that the development of productive forces has led to the socialization of capital and the emergence of the shareholding system, which can abandon the private ownership of capital. Therefore, in the new world of the future “association of free men” derived from the basic principles of Marxism, the socialized capital factor and the clear property rights of individual members of society can be organically combined in an internal and harmonious manner. Following this thought, observing the development of the private economy in China's socialist market economy and the main line of the "mixed ownership" system construction that it will further integrate, we can see that the essence of the development and growth of private enterprises is by no means to "rebuild private ownership" in China, but to cut into the private capital production organization mode based on the private ownership of means of production to meet the requirements of productive forces development, and gradually connect with the shareholding system to "sublate" capital ownership, make up for the functional defects of public capital that cannot be fully covered or does not need to carry out large-scale and centralized production, give play to the relative advantages of private capital in terms of flexible organization mode, extensive absorption of labor, promotion of free flow of production factors, and providing diversified realization paths for the free and comprehensive development of individual workers. In this primary stage of socialism, it is precisely the basic economic system with public ownership as the main body of ownership that embodies the common interests of all workers and conforms to the trend of socialized production. It not only provides a solid and stable development foundation and broad growth space for China's private economy, but also continuously forms the organic integration and integration of China's private economy in the process of connecting with the socialization and upgrading of capital and the basic economic system. The positioning of private enterprises as "insiders" is not expedient, but a permanent process of institutional progress in the development of socialism. The so-called "exit theory" and "new public-private partnership theory" that have emerged in recent years are actually based on the rigid viewpoint of the extreme left, which still regards the private economy as the "capitalist tail" and "opposes" the main economic elements of public ownership. By lowering the status and role of the private economy in the national economy, it alienates it and regards it as an "object of elimination." These erroneous remarks are in stark contrast to the policies and guidelines of the Party Central Committee and the Constitution and Party Constitution. They are not only wrong at the current stage, but also in the future context of building a modern and powerful country by 2050.**

**First, this erroneous statement theoretically ignores or deliberately distorts and negates Marx's ideological guidance of "rebuilding personal ownership". Marx's core understanding of private ownership can be summarized into two negations, namely "the negation of small production ownership by capitalist private ownership" (the first negation) and "the negation of capitalist private ownership by rebuilding personal ownership" (which is the "negation of capitalist private ownership itself", thus forming a "negation of negation"). The realization of the second level of negation must be based on "cooperation and the common possession of land and means of production produced by labor itself". It negates capitalist private ownership, but it is by no means the reconstruction of substantive private ownership, but the reconstruction of personal ownership, or the reconstruction of a form of personal ownership with "social ownership" as the substantive outcome. Marx pointed out that "private property, as the antithesis of public, collective property, exists only where the means of production and the external conditions of labor are privately owned. But the nature of private property differs according to whether these individuals are laborers or non-laborers."[15] Here, "private" refers to "laborers", that is, "individual, small private property based on their own labor", and "private" refers to "non-laborers", that is, "private property of the means of production owned by the exploiters". Both of these are opposed to "individual property" based on "cooperation and the common possession of the land and the means of production produced by labor itself", that is, "ownership of united social individuals". Therefore, the "reconstruction of personal property" should be based on the realization of the public ownership of the means of production under the framework of the shareholding system by abandoning the private ownership of capital and making "capital socialized" and the economic environment dominated by it.**

**At this stage, the development of China's private economy cannot be said to be fully practicing the second level of negation, because China, which has transitioned from a semi-colonial and semi-feudal society to a socialist society, has not generally established a complete and sufficient capitalist private ownership, and lacks the basis for "self-negation".**

**And because the development of China's private economy skips the full development of capitalist private ownership and directly takes root and grows in the environment with public ownership of the means of production as the main body, this "symbiotic state" is more likely to give China's private economy and public ownership economy a thousand threads of connection, so that it can better connect and integrate with the internal mechanism of "personal ownership", and then gradually achieve the ideal result of "rebuilding personal ownership".**

**China's private economy can gradually grow into a form of personal ownership with "social ownership" as the substantive outcome, which not only abandons the narrowness and exploitative nature of private ownership of the means of production, but also can break through the limitations of individual power with the help of shareholding and mixed ownership, realize the development and growth of private entities and private capital, and become an indispensable internal element for the development of socialist economy.**

**Therefore, the private economy in the socialist market economy is guided by Marxism, which scientifically reveals the laws of human economic and social development, and in China's practice of creatively applying the basic principles of Marxism. It will integrate the prosperous development of China's private economy into the win-win development of modernization in the whole society, and will naturally achieve its own sublimation from a cocoon to a butterfly.**

**Second, this erroneous statement completely deviates from the framework of China's basic economic system and interferes with and undermines the implementation of the Party's line, principles and policies. Marx's expectation that the socialist revolution should break out universally in developed countries implies that the premise of socialist construction is the full development of social productive forces. Therefore, the practice of socialist construction in backward countries that actually emerged after Marx's death should, most importantly, stimulate the potential of workers, the vitality of enterprises and the enthusiasm of market entities for entrepreneurship and innovation through the reasonable arrangement of the ownership of the means of production, so as to promote the development of productive forces to the greatest extent and create the necessary material and social conditions for the voluntary combination of free people and the means of production, the abandonment of capital private ownership and the reconstruction of personal ownership. Therefore, the basic economic system formed for the development of the socialist market economy with Chinese characteristics should conform to the general laws of human social development and make necessary innovations in combination with the specific national conditions, and must not stick to the traditional thinking mode and institutional model. China has actively explored and tried in this regard. From the 15th National Congress report which first proposed that "a basic economic system in the primary stage of socialism is based on public ownership and the common development of multiple ownership economies", to the 16th National Congress report which proposed that "we must unswervingly consolidate and develop the public economy, and we must unswervingly encourage, support and guide the development of the non-public economy", to the Third Plenary Session of the 18th Central Committee which proposed that "all kinds of ownership economies equally own the means of production, fairly participate in market competition, and are equally protected by law", to the 19th National Congress which wrote "two unshakable" into the basic strategy for upholding and developing socialism with Chinese characteristics in the new era, our party's understanding of the status and role of the non-public economy has been continuously deepened, reflecting the continuation and sublimation of China's guiding ideology on the development of the non-public economy. Xi Jinping has repeatedly stressed that "the status and role of the non-public economy in China's economic and social development have not changed, the policy of unwaveringly encouraging, supporting and guiding the development of the non-public economy has not changed, and the policy of creating a good environment and providing more opportunities for the development of the non-public economy has not changed", that is, there are "three unchangeds".**

**On this basis, he proposed the strategic thinking basis of "the private economy is an inherent element of China's economic system, and private enterprises and private entrepreneurs are our own people", [16] and regarded the private economy as an important internal basis of China's basic economic system. Faced with the basic national conditions that China is still in and will remain in the primary stage of socialism for a long time, the development of productive forces is the material basis and objective requirement for solving all problems in China. The non-public sector of economy is an important part of the socialist market economy.**

**non-public sector of economy and the public economy can contribute to the support of the economy and society in their respective areas of relative advantage. They can be organically combined in the diversified forms of realization of the basic economic system, complement each other, develop together, and move towards mixed, integrated and win-win situations. This is conducive to better giving play to the decisive role of the market in resource allocation, mobilizing the enthusiasm of the vast majority of workers, and taking advantage of the trend to continuously develop socialism with Chinese characteristics in terms of stabilizing growth, promoting innovation, increasing employment, and improving people's livelihood. To oppose the development of the public economy to the growth of the non-public economy, to believe that the two are in a contradictory relationship of one growing at the expense of the other, and to advocate that the private economy should be allowed to exit the market now or after 2050, is a fundamental misunderstanding of China's basic economic system, a complete deviation from the Constitution, Party Constitution, major national policies, basic lines and policies, and a serious interference and destruction of China's implementation of the correct line and policy for economic development.**

**Third, this erroneous idea deviates from the logic of liberating productive forces through the self-revolution of production relations since 1978 in China, and forms a reaction to the great cause of reform.**

**As an important component and form of realization of the "multi-ownership economy", the private economy suffered a devastating blow in recent years in the early days of socialist construction, especially under the left-leaning erroneous guiding ideology of "continuing revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat with class struggle as the key link". However, after the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee, our party broke the shackles of traditional concepts on the ownership issue, proactively opened up a great ideological liberation and brought a spring breeze to the development of the private economy. "It doesn't matter whether the cat is black or white, as long as it can catch mice, it is a good cat." This not only shows that the planned economy and market economy as a means of resource allocation have nothing to do with the social and political system, but also has the same persuasiveness for the public economy and non-public economy with different ownership bases. Labels of social basic institutional forms. Since the reform and opening up, the private economy has continuously enriched and deepened the Party Central Committee's understanding of the non-public economy with its inherent relative advantages in organizational methods and its remarkable achievements in promoting the development of productive forces, and its positioning has also changed from "supplement to the public economy" to "an important part of the socialist market economy."**

**However, in recent years, the development of the private economy has indeed encountered many difficulties represented by the "three mountains", namely "the iceberg of the market, the mountain of financing, and the volcano of transformation". If we analyze the reasons comprehensively, in addition to the international environment, protectionism and unilateralism have clearly risen in the process of globalization, which will inevitably affect the foreign trade and international market expansion of the private economy; and from the domestic environment, in the great changes in China's economy from high-speed growth to high-quality development, the slowdown in economic expansion, the change in development mode, the improvement of development requirements, and the increasingly fierce market competition will bring transformation and upgrading and survival of the fittest pressure to all market players, including the private economy. It should also be pointed out that the private economy, which is mainly developed at the grassroots level at this stage, is naturally not as capital- and resource-advantaged as the public economy and large state-owned enterprises.**

**China's legal system for protecting the equal development and fair competition between the non-public economy and the public economy is absent to a certain extent and the law enforcement is not in place. After the relevant policies and measures are transmitted layer by layer, they have not met expectations and even have distorted effects. These problems should be actively resolved by deepening comprehensive supporting reforms. However, the emergence of the "exit" theory, with its erroneous guidance of "accepting you is a helpless choice, eliminating you is a lofty ideal", has hung the "sword of Damocles" over the private economy, becoming a reaction to China's arduous reform cause, and denying the reform logic of liberating and developing productive forces that has arisen from the "self-revolution of production relations". It will only shake the private economy's "insider" positioning and development confidence, and undermine market expectations and the hard-won development situation.**

**As General Secretary Xi Jinping said, “For some time, some people in society have made some remarks that deny and doubt the private economy. For example, some people have put forward the so-called ‘private economy exit theory’, saying that the private economy has completed its mission and should withdraw from the historical stage; some people have put forward the so-called ‘new public-private partnership theory’, misinterpreting the current mixed ownership reform as a new round of ‘public-private partnership’; some people say that strengthening party building and trade union work in enterprises is to control private enterprises, and so on. These statements are completely wrong and do not conform to the major policies of the Party. In the new journey of building a moderately prosperous society in all respects and then building a modern socialist country in all respects, China’s private economy can only grow stronger, not weaken. It must not ‘exit’ but must move to a broader stage.” [17]**

**(III) The development path of the private economy guided by Marx's thought principle of "rebuilding personal ownership" requires us to make long-term explorations on the "win-win" path of mixed ownership under the premise of adhering to the "two unshakable" major policies, and resolutely resist the unrealistic "rush to transition" and "non-self" erroneous thoughts. After building a modern and powerful country, we still need to encourage the healthy and innovative development of the private economy.**

**1. Return to Marx’s “reconstruction of personal ownership” thought principle to scientifically understand the private economy**

**Marx's ideological guidance of "rebuilding personal ownership" was realized in the historical process of "negation of negation" in which productive forces determines private ownership of means of production, that is, the great development of productive forces brought about by capitalism led to the socialization of private capital by the shareholding system (the representative form of the current "modern enterprise system"), forming a historical trend of "rebuilding personal ownership" on the basis of labor union and capital union by abandoning private capital ownership, and logically connecting to the original intention of the Communist Party declared in the Communist Manifesto - the "association of free people" in the future ideal society. If our thinking is focused on the essence of socialism profoundly pointed out by Deng Xiaoping, "liberating productive forces, developing productive forces, eliminating exploitation, eliminating polarization, and ultimately achieving common prosperity", we can better understand the profound meaning of "personal ownership". "Liberating productive forces and developing productive forces" is the first priority of our party in governing and rejuvenating the country, and is the material premise and foundation for "eliminating exploitation and eliminating polarization" and gradually achieving the lofty ideal of communism of the future "association of free people", and is the fundamental goal of the socialist basic economic system. The socialist public ownership of means of production conceptualized as "all owned by the whole people" under the traditional system and the private ownership within a certain scope developed by reform and opening up have formed a unity of multiple ownerships that are compatible with the development of the socialist economy, reflecting the balance and unity of public interests and personal interests in the process of social progress of "ultimately achieving common prosperity". The development of the modern enterprise system of shareholding system will be used as a path to form a mixed ownership docking and reconstruction of the individual ownership form of social members, so as to achieve the ideal state of substantial upgrading in the future. Therefore, under the guidance of the basic principles of Marxism, China's basic economic system realizes the compatibility of multiple ownership forms, which not only realizes the socialist economic prosperity of diversified ownership economy and flourishes, but also breeds the material basis and social conditions for socialized capital to abandon private capital and gradually build an ideal society in the future.**

**Xi Jinping's important assertion that the private economy is an "internal element" and "our own people" should be deeply understood in combination with such logical relationships and historical perspectives. Based on this, it can be considered that the "multiple ownership economies" included in the socialist market economy established according to the basic national conditions of the primary stage of socialism, with public ownership of the means of production as the main body and multiple ownership economies developing together, are essentially different from the capitalist economic elements based on private ownership of the means of production. Therefore, the private economy developed after China's reform and opening up is fundamentally different from the "private economy" that existed in my country's history. First, the former is the "inherent element of China's economic system" based on the socialization of production and the establishment of the dominant position of public ownership, while the latter is a production form in which non-public capital is based on the private ownership of the means of production and is organized in the form of individual control (such as individual economy, one-person company, etc.) or joint control (such as partnership company, limited liability company, etc.).**

**Second, private capital, as the carrier of the private economy, can not only exist in the form of private ownership of the means of production in the socialist market economy with Chinese characteristics, but also in the form of mixed ownership in the form of public ownership of the means of production. It participates in the socialist economic construction in multiple roles, diversification, multiple fields, and multiple stages, which is different from the latter that only exists in the form of private ownership.**

**Third, the former aims to jointly promote the development of socialist production under the framework of complementary advantages and organic combination of various ownership economies, and thus lay a solid foundation for the realization of the all-round free development of people, while the latter is limited to the general form of capital private ownership and has withdrawn from the historical stage in China with the "three major reforms". Therefore, the understanding of the private economy in the socialist market economy should return to the scientific understanding of Marx's "rebuilding personal ownership" thought principle, and see clearly that the development of the private economy after reform and opening up has the scientific guidance of Marx's classical theory and the inevitability of the objective needs of economic and social development.**

**It is an important force to promote the development of socialist productive forces and ultimately promote the "upgrade" of socialism from the primary stage along the gradual development path of China's basic economic system and the creation of a modern enterprise system. We should base ourselves on the development practice of the private economy after reform and opening up, and continue to promote the innovation and improvement of relevant theories and policies of the private economy in the primary stage of socialism.**

**2. Adhere to our major policy of "two unshakables" and make full use of the advantages of shareholding and mixed ownership enterprises to achieve the long-term development of the private economy**

**"Two unshakables" means upholding and realizing the dominant status of public sector of economy plus supporting and guiding non-public sector of economy in tandem**

**The shareholding system, which emerged with the improvement of the socialization of production in capitalist society and the development of the credit system, broke through the limited scale of individual capital and achieved rapid capital aggregation. It also achieved the separation of capital ownership and use rights based on standardization and legalization, promoted the professional division of labor between owners and operators within enterprises, and came onto the historical stage by helping capital accumulation, enhancing capital stickiness, and promoting the rapid development of the capitalist economy, thus opening a development process that has lasted for more than a hundred years. It is worth noting that Marx keenly realized during his lifetime that this enterprise system, which is endogenous to the private ownership of the means of production, has the power to transcend the private ownership of the means of production, that is, the "increasing resistance of the working class, trained, united and organized by the mechanism of the capitalist production process itself"[18] that emerged under the conditions of private ownership, as well as the "capitalist joint-stock enterprises" and "cooperative factories established by workers" that emerged against the background of this resistance. In the process of evolution, they can achieve the internal harmony of "sublation" of private equity with "social capital". Judging from the actual performance of the development of the global shareholding system over the next 100 years, corporate employees, general workers in society, public institutions, and even governments at a certain level of the "state" have gradually revealed the characteristics of the diversified and public ownership of the company's property rights and the "mixed" characteristics that transcend simple private ownership through the shareholding system and its upgraded form - company listing. In addition, increasingly stringent legal regulations, improved social supervision mechanisms, and transparent market rules have made the social characteristics of companies more obvious, thus forming a substantive process of capital socialization. Therefore, Marx's forward-looking judgment on "rebuilding personal ownership" is gradually paving the historical path of "rebuilding personal ownership" in the evolution of the shareholding system as an innovative form of institutional arrangement.**

**As an important form of realization of China's basic economic system, mixed ownership is a key innovation mechanism that is gradually approaching the "reconstruction of personal ownership" by "mixing together" state, private, public, private, domestic and foreign capital under the framework of the shareholding system, while clearly defining property rights and responsibilities to mobilize the enthusiasm and creativity of all parties, and form a release of the potential vitality of market entities. The mixed ownership economy can enable all interest relations to achieve safe cooperation under the rule of law, free cooperation under the market mechanism, and low-cost win-win cooperation under the mechanism of "sharing risks and sharing benefits". It not only enhances the ability of state-owned capital to amplify its functions and maintain and increase its value, and stabilize and regulate the macro-economy, but also enables various ownership capitals to gather strengths, learn from each other's strengths, promote each other, and develop together. If the shareholding system can promote the standardized development and orderly expansion of the private economy by forming transaction constraints between shareholders through "rule of law and standards" and adaptability to the socialization of production through the "sand grains make a tower" mechanism, the mixed ownership system can further build a bridge of cooperation between capital of different natures through the bond of property rights, better realize resource allocation and efficient operation under a unified market, and allow the private economy to find its correct position, seize opportunities, enhance its strength, and gain recognition among more choices, thus achieving long-term development from quantitative change to qualitative change.**

**"Three unchanged" and "two unshakable" are the highly condensed guidance of our party on the relationship between the development of the public economy and the non-public economy. We should adhere to this guiding ideology and continue to make long-term plans and scientific explorations for the development of the private economy in the primary stage of socialism. At this stage, China's economy has shifted from a high-speed growth stage to a high-quality development stage. It needs to face challenges such as changing the economic development model, promoting supply-side structural reforms, improving innovation capabilities, and deeply tapping into the momentum of improving total factor productive forces. It is even more urgent to promote the development of the private economy. In this process of taking advantage of the situation, the private economy can take the shareholding system as the standard and the mixed ownership system as the upgrade. On the basis of consolidating its own development foundation, it can seek integration and win-win results with the state-owned economy in technology, management, capital, talents, innovation and other aspects, and promote the improvement of the top-level design and legal system of mixed ownership reform through practice, break the obstacles to the development of the private economy caused by unfavorable factors such as "glass doors", "revolving doors" and "spring doors", and extract the beneficial reform experience into long-term progress and sublimation in the interaction between systems and ideas.**

**3. Resolutely resist the unrealistic erroneous thoughts of "private sector is not being of our kind", "rushing to transit" and "new public-private partnership", and we should insist on the long-term development of the private economy in the primary stage of socialism**

**The "exit theory" (Tr. Exit the primary stage) inherently regards the private economy as "not our kind"( not as part of the great family).**

**It simply equates the private economy with the private ownership of the means of production and regards it as the opposite of the public ownership economy. It leads to the erroneous left-wing trend of thought that is eager for transition, ignores the social and historic nature of productive forces that is not subject to human will, and hopes to complete the development tasks of the primary stage of socialism as soon as possible and enter the mature stage of socialism and the stage of communism. It feels very safe and fearless, puts on the mask of "revolution", and puts forward the operational concept of "new public-private partnership", which must be refuted.**

**First of all, it should be pointed out that mixed ownership and "new public-private partnership" should not be confused. "Public-private partnership" was originally a form of state capitalism adopted after the founding of New China to implement socialist transformation of private capitalist industry and commerce. Through the injection of state-owned shares into private enterprises, the dispatch of state cadres to gradually disintegrate the management and operation rights of capitalists over enterprises, and the implementation of a "fixed interest system" for capitalist private shares during the rapidly approaching climax of socialist transformation, after the two stages of public-private partnership of individual enterprises and public-private partnership of the entire industry, national capitalist industry and commerce completed its historical mission in the process of China's transformation to a socialist society. After the reform and opening up, our party broke through the shackles of traditional concepts on ownership issues and untied the development of non-public ownership economy. After Comrade Deng Xiaoping's Southern Tour in 1992, a wave of development of private economy arose, nurturing and gradually strengthening the private economy components in China's "multiple ownership economy". Looking back on this period of history and analyzing the so-called "new public-private partnership", we can see that it has the following fallacies:**

**FALLACİES**

**First, the historical basis is misinterpreted.**

**The proponents of the “new public-private partnership” believe that China achieved the “negation of negation” on the basis of negating “private” during the socialist transformation in the 1950s and negating “public” after the reform and opening up, and then achieved a “spiral return” to the property rights system in the “new public-private partnership”. [19] However, the non-public economy that has developed after the reform and opening up is the objective need of the new era and new stage of the socialist basic economic system dominated by public ownership of the means of production to seek sustainable development. It is also the product of the correct line, concept, direction and path established after the tortuous exploration and ups and downs of socialist development and construction. The development foundation and internal imprint of the private economy have been different from the old national bourgeoisie industry and commerce in a series of important aspects. The development of the private economy is an innovation in the development of the socialist market economy under the scientific guidance of “Marxism in China”, and it will have a broad prospect for the coexistence, win-win and common development of multiple ownership economies on the path of “capital socialization”. Therefore, in the new era, there is no historical basis for simply negating the non-public economy and promoting the “new public-private partnership”.**

**Second, they misunderstood the general trend behind the institutional choice. Based on the resource bottlenecks and social ecological injustice faced by the private economy, the "new public-private partnership" theorists proposed a general idea that is not to promote equal cooperation between private capital and public capital to achieve resource and capacity complementarity, but to strongly promote the integration of the property rights and stock resources of the weak private economy by the state-owned economy. They completely misunderstood the general trend of seeking long-term development after the common development of multiple ownership economies in China.**

**In contrast, if we recognize that mixed ownership can achieve the coexistence and prosperity of multiple ownership economies, it will not only help to enhance the strength and regulatory power of the socialist state-owned economy, consolidate and strengthen the public ownership of the means of production, but also help to alleviate the pressure and difficulties in the development of private enterprises. In equal cooperation, it will give birth to a new institutional form and new development momentum that combines the endogenous long-term development of state-owned enterprises and private enterprises and eventually returns to integrated development. The foothold can be firmly established on the development of socialist productive forces, creating conditions for achieving common prosperity and connecting to the reconstruction of the future society of personal ownership. The "new public-private partnership" that runs counter to this is by no means a clear path for the development of the private economy, but will only lead to a subversive regression of the private economy.**

**In short, private enterprises, which have played a significant role in China's economy and society, will also go through a long period of innovative development. In order to connect with the modernization vision of the "Chinese Dream" of realizing the great national rejuvenation through extraordinary development strategies, private enterprises need to continue to make great progress in the direction and path guided by Marxist principles and relevant important expositions of General Secretary Xi Jinping, until they can connect with the beautiful future of the "association of free men" of "rebuilding personal ownership" through the path of capital socialization in the long river of history. We must firmly establish strategic patience and forward determination based on the basic principles of Marxism in "not forgetting our original aspirations and keeping our mission in mind", establish a correct concept of the private economy, and resolutely resist the wrong thoughts of "rushing to transition" and "not being of our kind" that are divorced from reality. After China will become a socialist modern power, we should still adhere to its long-term, standardized and healthy development in the primary stage of socialism and promote its upgrading and development on the path of mixed ownership.**

**IV. Conclusions and basic suggestions**

**(I) After the realization of the two centenary goals, China is still in the primary stage of socialism. The long-term existence of the private economy and its "coexistence, win-win and common development" with the state-owned economy and the improvement and sublimation of mixed ownership are inevitable historical trends. After 2050, the integrated development of private and state-owned enterprises on the path of "mixed ownership" will be linked to the subsequent longer-term and higher-level goals.**

**(2) Only by fully recognizing the long process of the primary stage of socialism and the necessity and importance of the long-term existence of the private economy in the long-term strategic vision can the Communists maintain a clear mind, strategic patience and extremely strong forward determination, and resist the interference and sabotage of deep-rooted leftist erroneous ideas.**

**3. Suggestions:**

**——Study deeply and understand the theory of the primary stage of socialism in light of reality.**

**——In light of the actual situation, we should deeply analyze and understand the significance, role and historical trends of the development of the private economy, especially deeply understand Marx’s brilliant ideological guidance on the transcendence of capital private ownership by the shareholding system and on the “reconstruction of personal ownership” in the historical process of “negation of negation”, as well as the foresight and profound connotation of General Secretary Xi Jinping’s important assertion that the private economy and private entrepreneurs are “our own people”.**

**——In the process of promoting comprehensive reform and modernization, we should proactively warn and guard against the periodic interference of erroneous "leftist" thoughts, adhere to the original intention of pursuing the "association of free people" under the guidance of the long-standing and generation-by-generation Marxist essence of "seeking truth from facts", and with the strategic patience and strategic determination to leave footprints on stones and forge ahead, we will actively promote the healthy development of the private economy, the common prosperity and win-win development of private and state-owned enterprises, and the continuous promotion of the liberation of productive forces, and strive for the ideal society of the future.**

**References**

[1] Quoted from Xi Jinping. Adhering to historical materialism and constantly opening up new horizons for the development of Marxism in contemporary China [J]. Qiushi, 2020(2).

[2] The Complete Works of Marx and Engels (Volume 46) [M]. Beijing: People's Publishing House, 2003.

[3] Engels. The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State[M]. Beijing: People's Publishing House, 2018.

[4] The Complete Works of Marx and Engels (Volume 30) [M]. Beijing: People’s Publishing House, 1995.

[5] The Complete Works of Marx and Engels (Volume 30) [M]. Beijing: People's Publishing House, 1995.

[6] The Complete Works of Marx and Engels (Volume 30) [M]. Beijing: People’s Publishing House, 1995.

[7] Li Xiaohong, Miao Guishan. On the theory of social formation in the manuscript of Capital[J]. Journal of the Party School of Zhengzhou Municipal Committee of the Communist Party of China, 2017(06):49-54.

[8] The Complete Works of Marx and Engels (Volume 30) [M]. Beijing: People’s Publishing House, 1995.

[9] Selected Works of Lenin (Volume 4) [M]. Beijing: People's Publishing House, 1995.

[10] Marching along the road of socialism with Chinese characteristics. The 13th National Congress of the Communist Party of China, 1987.

[11] “Decision of the CPC Central Committee on Several Major Issues Concerning Comprehensively Deepening Reform”. Third Plenary Session of the 18th CPC Central Committee, 2013.

[12] Data source: World Bank, https://data.worldbank.org.cn/.

[13] Capital (Volume 1) [M]. Beijing: People's Publishing House, 2004.

[14] Capital (Volume 1) [M]. People’s Publishing House, 2004.

[15] Capital (Volume 1) [M]. People’s Publishing House, 2004.

[16] Xi Jinping. Speech at the Symposium on Private Enterprises (November 1, 2018) [N]. People's Daily, November 2, 2018.

[17] Xi Jinping. Speech at the Symposium on Private Enterprises (November 1, 2018) [N]. People's Daily, November 2, 2018.

[18] Capital (Volume 1) [M]. People’s Publishing House, 2004.

[19] Chen Mingjian. The new road to public-private partnership: Rethinking the Delong incident [J]. Business Celebrities, 2004(11):61-62.

**References:**

[1] Chen Mingjian. The new road to public-private partnership: Rethinking the Delong incident [J]. Business Celebrities, 2004(11):61-62.

[2] Engels. The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State[M]. Beijing: People's Publishing House, 2018.

[3] Jia Kang, Su Jingchun. The developing shareholding system: achieving the positive transcendence of private capital ownership through the socialization of capital through “rebuilding personal ownership”[J]. Globalization, 2019(04):74-88+135-136.

[4] Jia Kang, Su Jingchun, Sheng Zhongming. Theoretical interpretation of General Secretary Xi Jinping’s important remarks on the non-public economy[R]. Research Group of Huaxia New Supply-side Economics Research Institute, April 2020.

[5] Li Xiaohong, Miao Guishan. On the theory of social formation in the manuscript of Capital[J]. Journal of the Party School of Zhengzhou Municipal Committee of the Communist Party of China, 2017(06):49-54.

[6] Selected Works of Lenin (Volume 4) [M]. Beijing: People's Publishing House, 1995.

[7] The Complete Works of Marx and Engels (Volume 1) [M]. Beijing: People's Publishing House, 1972.

[8] The Complete Works of Marx and Engels (Volume 30) [M]. Beijing: People's Publishing House, 1995.

[9] The Complete Works of Marx and Engels (Volume 46) [M]. Beijing: People's Publishing House, 2003.

[10] Xi Jinping. Speech at the Symposium on Private Enterprises (November 1, 2018) [N]. People's Daily, November 2, 2018.

[11] Xi Jinping. Adhering to historical materialism and constantly opening up new horizons for the development of Marxism in contemporary China [J]. Qiushi, 2020(2).

[12] Marching Along the Road of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics. Proceedings of the 13th National Congress of the Communist Party of China, 1987.

[13] “Decision of the CPC Central Committee on Several Major Issues Concerning Comprehensively Deepening Reform”. Third Plenary Session of the 18th CPC Central Committee, 2013.

[14] Capital (Volume 1) [M]. Beijing: People's Publishing House, 2004.

[15] Zhou Quan. The World Historical Orientation of the Primary Stage of Socialism: An Analysis Based on the Theory of “Marx’s Three Major Social Formations”[J]. Journal of South-Central University for Nationalities, 2019(05):125-130.

[16] Zhang Zhiqing, Luo Meng. Marxist social morphology theory and the theory of the primary stage of socialism [J]. Henan Social Sciences, 1998(06):28-32.