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Leonid CHUPRIY, DSc (Polit.), Prof.
ORCID ID: 0000-0001-7221-5703
e-mail: chupriy2006@ukr.net
State Tax University, Kyiv, Ukraine

Liudmyla YEVDOKYMOVA, PhD Student, Junior Researcher
ORCID ID: 0000-0002-3214-037X
e-mail: levdokimova81@gmail.com
Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv, Kyiv, Ukraine

FEATURES OF THE MODERNIZATION OF MARXISM IN THE PRACTICE OF THE CCP

Background. *The article focuses on the study of modern adaptations and modifications of Marxist principles in the context of the practice of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). Focusing on the process of modernization, the article explores how Marxism developed and adapted to China's unique socio-political and economic landscape. Through an in-depth analysis of the CCP's policy and ideological changes, the article sheds light on the distinctive features characterizing the modernization of Marxism in the Chinese context. The study covers not only theoretical aspects but also practical aspects, providing a refined understanding of the specifics of the relationship between Marxist ideology and the dynamic realities of Chinese governance.*

Methods. *The article uses an in-depth analysis of the politics, ideological changes, and practical aspects of the CCP. The research is based on an analysis of primary sources, including official documents, political speeches and ideological narratives.*

Results. *The authors found that the ideology of the CCP is based on Marxism, but adapted to the unique historical context of China, often framed in the concept of "socialism with Chinese characteristics". This adaptation reflects the CCP's recognition of China's special conditions, cultural heritage, and development needs. At its core, Marxism provides the theoretical foundation for the ideology of the CCP, emphasizing class struggle, historical materialism, and the ultimate goal of achieving a classless communist society. However, the CCP recognizes that the application of Marxist principles must take into account the specific realities of China, distinguishing its path from the classical Marxist trajectory.*

Conclusions. *The study highlights that the CCP recognizes the importance of adapting Marxist principles to the specific conditions of China. Acceptance of the concept of "socialism with Chinese characteristics" defines a pragmatic approach to the integration of Marxist ideology with the conditions of the country, taking into account its path of economic development and modernization.*

Keywords: *Modernization, Marxism, Chinese Communist Party (CCP), Sinicized Marxism, Marxist Ideology, Marxist Principles, Ideological Adaptations.*

Background

The relevance of this study is determined by the growing trend towards multipolarity in the world; in the context of globalization, a significant question arises about the central outgoing principle. In conditions of leveling of geographical space from the point of view of modern philosophy, the world becomes motley in terms of politics, economics, culture and philosophy. Various philosophical systems and ideas find new life in other cultures and societies.

Methods

The research methodology is determined by the goal, namely not to create a clear history of the assimilation of the ideas of Marxism in China, but to demonstrate the key events, the main narratives, without which the modern historical and philosophical picture will be incomplete.

Over the last twenty years, Marxism has experienced a notable resurgence both as a scholarly research program and in terms of its expanding influence among diverse audiences. This revival is intricately linked to the renewed surge of anti-capitalist activism, which gained momentum notably during the Seattle protests in 1999 (Adler, 2021). Moreover, the global economic and financial crisis of 2007–2008 has significantly contributed to the rejuvenation of Marxist discourse. This resurgence in Marxist thought also intersects with the concurrent emergence of Post-Marxism, a theoretical framework that has evolved since the 1980s. Influential thinkers such as Jürgen Habermas, Chantal Mouffe, Ranajit Guha, and Alain Badiou have played crucial roles in shaping and expanding the contours of contemporary Marxist discourse. The CCP's ideology emphasizes the principle of "continuous revolution" and the importance of adapting Marxist theory to evolving circumstances. As Yiu-chung Wong wrote in *From Deng Xiaoping to Jiang Zemin. Two Decades of Political Reform in the People's Republic of China* (2005): "Marxism-Leninism – the ruling ideology of the CCP" (Wong, 2005, p. 104). This adaptability has allowed the party to navigate various challenges, including economic reforms, globalization, and social transformations, while maintaining its overarching commitment to socialism. The Chinese Communist Party's ideology is a blend of Marxist principles and the pragmatic application of these principles to China's historical context. "Socialism with Chinese characteristics" symbolizes the party's commitment to adaptability and development, ensuring that its ideological foundation remains relevant in the face of changing realities. As Kerry Brown writes in *The Communist Party of China and Ideology* (2012): "China has been called a 'post-Communist society'. Marxism and the other dominant thought forms on which the Chinese Communist Party (CPC) came to power, and exercised that power from 1949, have been buried. It has been described as a system now guided by pragmatism and by simply finding what works to deliver the allimportant economic growth" (Brown, 2012, p. 52).

Results

The Evolution of Marxism and its Impact on Political Economy. Marxism is a socio-economic and political philosophy based on the ideas and theories of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. This ideology critiques capitalism and introduces the concepts of historical materialism, dialectical materialism, and class theory. The main thesis of Marxism posits that social development leads to a struggle between social classes, ultimately culminating in the establishment of a communist society. In such a society, there will be no private ownership of the means of production, and resources will be distributed according to the principle of from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs. Marxism has exerted a significant influence on philosophy, economics, politics, and sociology. "The concept of Socialism with Chinese characteristics has its roots in

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Chinese Marxism, which has evolved to adapt to the realities of China's unique social, cultural, and political conditions. Various philosophical and ideological influences have shaped Chinese Marxism, including traditional Chinese thought, Marxist theory, and Mao Zedong's works" (Rudenko, & Yevdokymova, 2022, p. 35).

In the formative years of the CCP, the socio-political landscape of 1910s China was profoundly influenced by prevailing currents of nationalism and populism. Pioneering figures among early communists, such as Li Dazhao and Mao Zedong, navigated the complex interplay between Marxist ideals and indigenous sentiments. This ideological confluence manifested as both a visionary utopia and a pragmatic adaptation of communist doctrines, demonstrating a synthesis that was simultaneously spiritual and nationalist. Marxist-Leninist ideology was cultivated and supported in China thanks to the will of the authorities "…the more general objective was to weaken the influence of all intellectual currents that strayed from the CCP's version of Marxism-Leninism" (MacFarquhar, 1997, p. 39).

The early communists viewed Marxism as a transformative force, a spiritual utopia that could offer a radical solution to China's pressing issues. However, recognizing the need for a tailored approach to resonate with the Chinese context, they undertook a process of "Sinicization" wherein certain tenets of communist ideology were modified to align with the realities and nationalistic aspirations of China. This nuanced ideological amalgamation aimed to garner support for the revolutionary cause within the specific socio-cultural milieu of the nation.

The trajectory of the CCP's ideological evolution was marked by key phases, including the process of party establishment, land reform initiatives, and the subsequent push towards collectivization. This ideological synthesis culminated in transformative movements, most notably the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution, which were characterized by a fusion of Marxist principles, nationalist fervor, and pragmatic considerations. These movements, while embodying the essence of communist ideology, were also shaped by the imperative to address local conditions and cultivate mass support.

In the context of land reform and collectivization, the synthesized ideology played a pivotal role in shaping the CCP's policies. The Great Leap Forward, propelled by the vision of rapid industrialization and agrarian collectivization, reflected the party's commitment to Marxist ideals fused with nationalist aspirations for accelerated modernization. Similarly, the Cultural Revolution, with its emphasis on class struggle and revolutionary zeal, demonstrated the enduring influence of this synthesized ideology on the CCP's transformative agenda. The early CCP's ideological landscape was a dynamic interplay between the ethereal allure of Marxism and the practical imperative of adapting these principles to the nationalist aspirations of 1910s China. This intricate synthesis laid the groundwork for subsequent revolutionary movements, shaping the course of Chinese history through the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution. Maurice Meisner in his book *Li Ta-chao and the origins of Chinese Marxism* (1967) describes the dynamic processes in the modern intellectual history of China. "The early successes of the Chinese Communists were all the more remarkable in that they occurred in a country which lacked a Marxist Social-Democratic tradition and in which the material prerequisites for the realization of the Marxist program were almost totally absent" (Meisner, 1967, p. XI).

The *Encyclopedia of Political Economy*, a two-volume set compiled by Phillip O'Hara and published in 1999, serves as a comprehensive and authoritative resource in the field of political economy. O'Hara, a respected scholar in economics, has gathered a wealth of information, insights, and analyses from various contributors to create a valuable reference work. Covering a broad spectrum of topics within political economy, the encyclopedia delves into economic theories, systems, and their intersections with political ideologies. The two volumes provide a thorough exploration of historical perspectives, contemporary issues, and emerging trends in the realm of political economy. *The Encyclopedia of Political Economy* provides a unique comparison of various political-economic systems, such as Marxism, feminism, and others, and does so from the perspective of the applied aspect of knowledge: "Marxist political economists differ over their definitions of capitalism, socialism and communism… Marxism's interactions with many diverse cultures only increased the range of different conceptions of Marxist political economy. Here we can only sketch some of the major tendencies important today" (O'Hara, 1999, p. 107).

Over the course of time, Marx underwent a transformation in his perspective, particularly in recognizing the robustness of the mode of production in nations such as China. Unlike India, where the colonizers had successfully seized control of the state apparatus, China stood out as a unique case. Marx, in a shift of opinion, reached the conclusion that the prospects of Western colonialism making inroads into China were considerably diminished.

In the article titled *Revolution in China and in Europe* (1853), Marx elucidated the detrimental outcomes stemming from the involvement of European capital in the domestic affairs of Asian nations. He highlighted the deleterious impact of British products competition on the local industry in China. "Now, England having brought about the revolution of China, the question is how that revolution, will in time react on England, and through England on Europe. This question is not difficult of solution" (Marx, & Engels, 2010, p. 95). This shift in Marx's understanding reflected a nuanced acknowledgment of the distinct historical and socio-political dynamics at play in different regions, influencing his assessment of the trajectory of colonialism in China. As written in the *Routledge Handbook of Marxism and Post-Marxism* (2021) edited by Alex Callinicos, Stathis Kouvelakis, Lucia Pradella "Marx's interest in forms of social organization and resistance in non-Western societies" (Routledge Handbook of Marxism and Post-Marxism, 2020, p. 29).

Utopian Visions: Mapping the Transformations of Marxist Ideology in Philosophical Landscape. Marxism, in its theoretical underpinnings, often assumes the characteristics of a utopian vision within the realm of socio-economic and political philosophy. Rooted in the ideas and theories of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, Marxism propounds a transformative worldview that envisions an idealized societal structure emerging through historical processes. This utopian dimension is inherent in several key aspects of Marxist thought. Central to Marxist utopia is the concept of historical materialism, which posits that the development of human societies is fundamentally shaped by material conditions, particularly the means of production. The teleological trajectory envisioned by Marx and Engels foresees a historical progression from primitive communism to feudalism, capitalism, and eventually culminating in communism. The utopian aspect lies in the depiction of communism as the ultimate stage, characterized by the abolition of class distinctions, private property, and the establishment of a classless, stateless society. Dialectical materialism, another foundational tenet of Marxism,

contributes to the utopian dimension by presenting a method for understanding societal development through the dynamic interplay of contradictions and conflicts (Jordan, 1967). The envisaged resolution of these contradictions in a classless communist society constitutes a utopian vision of societal harmony and equilibrium. The principle of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs", often attributed to Marx, encapsulates the utopian essence of Marxist communism. This vision anticipates a socio-economic structure where resources are distributed based on individual capacities and societal requirements, fostering a sense of equality and social justice.

While acknowledging the utopian aspirations of Marxism, scholars have critiqued the feasibility and practical implementation of these ideals. The inherent tension between the utopian vision of communism and the complexities of real-world dynamics, governance, and human nature has been a subject of scholarly inquiry. The utopian dimension of Marxism, therefore, exists as an idealized endpoint that guides the transformative aspirations of Marxist theory, even as its realization remains contingent on navigating the intricate realities of historical and social contexts.

Ideology refers to a set of beliefs, values, ideas, and principles that form the basis of a social, political, or economic system. It often provides a framework for understanding the world, guiding behavior, and justifying actions and policies. Ideologies can encompass various aspects of human life, such as morality, politics, economics, and culture. Ideology is a "map the political and social worlds for us. We simply cannot do without them because we cannot act without making sense of the worlds we inhabit" (Freeden, 2003, p. 2).

Marxism is considered an ideology because it offers a comprehensive set of ideas and principles that pertain to social, economic, and political organization. Developed by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, Marxism provides a theoretical framework for understanding historical development, class struggles, and the dynamics of capitalist societies. It not only analyzes existing social structures but also proposes a vision for a future society, particularly a classless communist society. "There could be forms of social consciousness which were non-ideological. either in the sense of not helping to legitimate class-rule. or in the sense that they were not particularly central to any form of power-struggle. Marxism itself is a form of social consciousness. but whether it is an ideology depends on which meaning of the term one has in mind" (Eagleton, 2007, p. 81).

As an ideology, Marxism shapes the way its adherents perceive and interpret the world, influencing their views on power, class relations, and social justice. It serves as a guide for action, informing strategies for social change and political transformation. While different individuals may interpret and apply Marxist ideas in various ways, Marxism, as an ideology, remains a foundational and influential perspective in the realms of philosophy, sociology, and political thought.

Basic ideas and principles in their dynamic development. The May 4th Movement, which emerged in China in 1919, marked a pivotal moment in the nation's intellectual and cultural history. During this transformative period, the Chinese intelligentsia underwent a mass reorientation, shifting from traditional cultural values to embracing Western influences. This profound change had far-reaching consequences across various spheres of Chinese society. One of the notable outcomes was the revision of Confucian ethical norms. The movement, fueled by a desire for modernization and reform, challenged the entrenched Confucian moral framework that had long shaped Chinese societal norms. Intellectuals sought to reassess traditional values and explore new ethical paradigms better aligned with contemporary aspirations.

Simultaneously, the May 4th Movement saw a robust criticism of traditional historiography. Scholars and thinkers questioned the prevailing narratives of Chinese history, seeking a more objective and critical understanding of the past. This critical stance aimed to break free from historical narratives that were perceived as constraining and to foster a more dynamic engagement with China's historical identity. In tandem with these developments, the May 4th Movement witnessed the spread of new political theories, including nationalism, social Darwinism, socialism, and Marxism. These ideologies became sources of inspiration and contention as intellectuals sought frameworks that could guide China through its modernization process. Marxism, in particular, gained traction, eventually influencing the Chinese Communist Party and shaping the trajectory of the country's political landscape. "However, the more we know about how the May Fourth context contributed to the rise of Communism, the better prepared we will be to study the conversion of the later generations" (Ip, 1994, p. 61).

After Mao Zedong's demise in 1976, Deng Xiaoping orchestrated the reunification of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) under the framework of the "Four Basic Principles". This event signified a shift in Mao Zedong Thought while maintaining the conviction that the ideological essence of China's socialist system must be safeguarded against any form of alteration, be it originating from within or outside influences. "The Four Basic Principles to be 'resolutely upheld' were: the socialist path; the dictatorship of the proletariat; the leadership of the CCP; and Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. Along with 'reform and opening' and modernization, they represented the quintessence of Dengism as a system of political thought" (Johnson, 2020, p. 9).

Deng Xiaoping's "Four Basic Principles", introduced in the late 1970s, played a pivotal role in shaping the ideological direction of the CCP. These principles served as a framework for guiding the CCP's policies and actions, providing a foundation for China's socialist system during a period of transformation. 1. The first principle emphasized the CCP's commitment to the fundamental tenets of Marxism-Leninism. While Deng Xiaoping pursued economic reforms and opening up to the world, he maintained the importance of Marxist ideology as the guiding force for the party. 2. Deng emphasized the concept of a "people's democratic dictatorship", which, in practice, meant the continued one-party rule by the CCP. While economic reforms introduced elements of market socialism, political power remained concentrated within the party. 3. Deng reinforced the centrality of the CCP's leadership in Chinese society. This principle emphasized the irreplaceable role of the party in steering the nation's development, maintaining stability, and guiding the socialist construction. 4. Despite the shifts in economic policy and a departure from certain aspects of Mao's radical ideology, Deng Xiaoping maintained the importance of upholding Mao Zedong Thought. This principle aimed to preserve the legitimacy of the CCP's historical role and Mao's contributions to the Chinese revolution. These Four Basic Principles were designed to provide ideological continuity while allowing for pragmatic economic reforms. Deng's intent was to modernize China's economy and increase its global engagement without compromising the CCP's grip on political power. The principles served as a cohesive framework during a period of significant change, helping to

navigate the complexities of economic reform and development while preserving the party's authority.

The outstanding researcher of China, Roderick MacFarquhar, had very far-sighted views about this country, so in 1978, in a big speech in parliament, he claimed that China is the main contender for a superpower. More than once, he emphasized the growth of China's power in political, economic, and philosophical terms: He was convinced that the People's Republic of China was modernizing very quickly, that in two decades it would become an industrial giant and a political leader. However, China was not only an economic challenge; it was also a philosophical experiment: "China tried, and still tries, to develop a different form of society from the Western model which it first copied through Marxism..." (Roderick MacFarquhar's intervention at House of Commons, 8 June, 1978). He was the author of *China Under Mao: Politics Takes Command* (1966), *Sino-American Relations: 1949–1971* (1972), *The Politics of China: The Eras of Mao and Deng* (1997), *The Paradox of China's Post-Mao Reforms* (1999). According to collective of researches: "Chineseized Marxism is to use Marxism to solve China's problems and transform China's rich practical experience into theory and combine it with Chinese history and Chinese traditional culture. This can be traced in the context of the disclosure of philosophical and anthropological problems, because now economic problems for China have receded into the background, giving way to moral and spiritual ones" (Rudenko et al., 2023, p. 279).

Thus, the scientist notes the amazing growth of the Chinese economy, the development of domestic and foreign policies, and emphasizes the importance of adopting the philosophy of Marxism with its adaptation and development to modern standards and its compliance with realities.

Discussion and conclusions

In conclusion, the exploration of key themes within the broader context of Chinese history and the evolution of the CCP reveals intricate connections and transformative influences. The study delves into the foundational figures of early communists, Li Dazhao and Mao Zedong, and their engagement with Marxism, illustrating their pivotal roles in shaping the ideological landscape of China. The cultivation of Marxist-Leninist ideology within the Chinese context emerges as a dynamic and multifaceted process. The adaptation and integration of Marxist principles into the Chinese socio-political milieu reflect a complex interplay of ideas and contextual realities. This ideological assimilation becomes particularly evident in the synthesis of various strands of thought, highlighting the nuanced and pragmatic approach taken by the CCP in its policies. The significance of synthesized ideology cannot be overstated in understanding the trajectory of the CCP's policies. The amalgamation of Marxist principles with indigenous considerations played a crucial role in guiding the party's decisions and actions. This synthesis served as a pragmatic framework, allowing the CCP to navigate the unique challenges presented by China's historical and socio-cultural context. The discourse on Marxism among political economists within the Marxist tradition brings forth the diversity of perspectives and interpretations. The differing definitions of capitalism, socialism, and communism underscore the dynamic nature of Marxist thought and its adaptability to varying historical and geopolitical contexts. The influence of the May 4th Movement on the propagation of Marxist ideas serves as a testament to the transformative power of intellectual and cultural movements. The movement's impact on Chinese intelligentsia and its role in fostering discussions around nationalism, social Darwinism, socialism, and Marxism laid the groundwork for subsequent ideological developments. Examining the Four Basic Principles within the CCP reveals a continuity and evolution of Marxist thought. Deng Xiaoping's reunification of the party under these principles signifies not only a transformation of Mao Zedong Thought but also a preservation of the core tenets of socialism with Chinese characteristics. This ideological continuity reflects the resilience of Marxist principles in the face of changing political landscapes. The essence of the Sinicization of Marxism encapsulates the ongoing process of adapting Marxist ideology to the Chinese context. This transformative approach acknowledges the dynamic nature of Chinese history and culture, emphasizing the need for an indigenous interpretation of Marxist principles.

Authors' contribution: Leonid Chupriy – methodology, validation, manuscript editing; Liudmyla Yevdokymova – investigation; data curation, resources; manuscript writing (original draft preparation), formal analysis.

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Леонід ЧУПРІЙ, д-р політ. наук, проф.
ORCID ID: 0000-0001-7221-5703
e-mail: chupriy2006@ukr.net
Державний податковий університет, Київ, Україна

Людмила ЄВДОКИМОВА, асп., мол. наук. співроб.
ORCID ID: 0000-0002-3214-037X
e-mail: levdokimova81@gmail.com
Київський національний університет імені Тараса Шевченка, Київ, Україна

ОСОБЛИВОСТІ МОДЕРНІЗАЦІЇ МАРКСИЗМУ В ПРАКТИЦІ КПК

В с т у п . *Стаття зосереджується на дослідженні сучасних адаптацій і модифікацій марксистських принципів у контексті практики Комуністичної партії Китаю (КПК). Зосереджуючись на процесі модернізації, вивчено, як марксизм розвивався й адаптувався відповідно до унікального соціально-політичного та економічного ландшафту Китаю. Завдяки поглибленому аналізу політики й ідеологічних змін КПК, стаття проливає світло на відмінні риси, що характеризують модернізацію марксизму в китайському контексті. Розвідка охоплює не лише теоретичні аспекти, але й практичні площини, надаючи уточненого розуміння специфіці зв'язку між марксистською ідеологією й динамічними реаліями правління Китаю.*

М е т о д и . *Автори статті використовують поглиблений аналіз політики, ідеологічних змін і практичних аспектів КПК. Дослідження базується на аналізі первинних джерел, включаючи офіційні документи, політичні виступи та ідеологічні наративи.*

Р е з у л ь т а т и . *Автори виявили, що ідеологія КПК ґрунтується на марксизмі, але адаптована до унікального історичного контексту Китаю, часто вкладеного в концепцію "соціалізму з китайською специфікою". Ця адаптація відображає визнання КПК особливих умов, культурної спадщини й потреб розвитку Китаю. За своєю суттю марксизм забезпечує теоретичну основу для ідеології КПК, наголошуючи на класовій боротьбі, історичному матеріалізмі та кінцевій меті досягнення безкласового комуністичного суспільства. Однак КПК визнає, що застосування марксистських принципів має враховувати конкретні реалії Китаю, відрізняючи його шлях від класичної марксистської траєкторії.*

В и с н о в к и . *Розвідка підкреслює, що КПК визнає важливість адаптації марксистських принципів до конкретних умов Китаю. Прийняття концепції "соціалізму з китайською специфікою" визначає прагматичний підхід до інтеграції марксистської ідеології з умовами країни, враховуючи її шлях економічного розвитку та модернізації.*

К л ю ч о в і с л о в а : *модернізація, марксизм, комуністична партія Китаю (КПК), китайський марксизм, марксистська ідеологія, марксистські принципи, ідеологічні адаптації.*

Автори заявляють про відсутність конфлікту інтересів. Спонсори не брали участі в розробленні дослідження; у зборі, аналізі чи інтерпретації даних; у написанні рукопису; у рішенні про публікацію результатів.

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