

ȘTEFAN BUZĂRNESCU

**THE CHINESE MODEL OF
SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT -
A SUCCESSFUL SOCIAL
EXPERIMENT**

(sociological essay)

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Acknowledgments

Prior to writing this paper, we have undertaken a thorough documentary research by accessing hard-copy sources from social science libraries in the country and abroad, from interviews with Romanian sinologists (former teachers who taught in China, diplomatic personnel who resided in China for a number of years, Romanians who were dispatched to China for long periods), as well as studies and books which included analyses relating to the specific developments of Chinese social space in the 20th century and the early 21st century. The stock of information compatible with the scientific knowledge thus achieved underlies the scientific grounding of our essay. We have turned to the explanatory potential of the sociological essay because our goal was to provide a more popular version, so to speak, that is, one more accessible to the general public, for understanding the causes which have made possible the placement of China, (by international relevant bodies) among the *countries with the highest development rate since 1978 to the present day*, and since 2010 the country's recognition as *the second largest economy in the world*, overtaking its historic rival, Japan.¹It is, therefore, not a matter of

¹In 2016, the hierarchy is as follows: The U.S., China, Japan,

focusing on small events or on factors specific to narrative history, but of the essentially sociological perspective of explaining, in an easy to understand manner, what has been superficially termed by some so-called journalists and politicians the "Chinese miracle".

I deliberately avoided Internet sources - because they cannot be checked and therefore induce a risk of distorting the approach, except for those that have undergone a kind of examination of authenticity, by being certified by the National Bureau of Statistics of the People's Republic of China. A special mention is deserved by Mr. Li Ming, a Counselor at the PRC Embassy in Bucharest, which has supported our approach with communicative competence and managerial tact, providing us with the Embassy's relevant documents unselfishly and with an exemplary spirit of fellowship. We would also like to express our gratitude to the Director of the International Department, Mr. Zhao Lei, who has shown his support for the publication of this sociological essay.

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Many colleagues in the field of social sciences, some of which have traveled to China either in the course of their work, or on private trips (and) to several other Asian countries also constituted a sort of sounding board for the statements in our essay and have assisted in this way, as a kind of credible supervisors in a collegial and professional manner. I would like to express my thanks, with the warmest friendship and sincere intellectual appreciation.

Last but not least, I would like to thank the students who, as qualified Internet users, by obtaining spectacular information relating to the technological development in China, have sparked interesting discussions, expressing their regrets that China has only been seen very sparsely in the news in Romanian media; as a professor, I could not refuse these dialogs focused on epistemic curiosity, which underlaid the discussions, without recourse to ideological references, because *academic activity, by its very nature, is apolitical*. I thank them as a colleague that was born somewhat earlier than them.

The Author

Some clarifications

This essay is the result of an analysis begun several years ago, developed within the framework of an institution itself created by the author, as a member of the Romanian Sociologists' Association. As a result of the transformation of the Empirical Research Departments existing within the Romanian Sociologists' Association, (established in February 1990) into the Social Research Laboratories, the *Laboratory of Timișoara* completed a project with the theme of: "**The Chinese Model of durable and sustainable development - a successful social experiment**". Signed by Prof. Dr. Stefan Buzărnescu, this sociological essay started in 1995 as a scientific communication and was a constant undertaking for the author, as a specialized professor, but also as a member of the academic community in Timișoara - West University of Timișoara - who also conferred the title of Doctor Honoris Causa to the former Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Ambassador of China in Bucharest, his Excellency Liu Zengwen, (2010). By presenting this text for debate, we look forward to constructive criticism, including from sinologists, in order to complete **an absolute first in the field: the sociological modeling of the Chinese social space**.

In the future, the Romanian Sociologists' Association will carry out its activity in the form of zonal laboratories, these existing at the national level, the virtual magazine *România socială* being the fastest way to disseminate the results of all of the authors' thematic areas, the latter having complete freedom of choice of the research topics,

as well as the full responsibility for their scientific undertakings. On these lines, we reiterate our belief that there is no segment of the social reality that cannot be epistemologically classified for the purpose of extracting social knowledge from the unjustified claims, the shallowness and unfounded assessments that undermine the reconstruction efforts of the Romanian community back to contemporary standards. Without the claim of being a perfect diagnosis of the phenomenon that is the subject of the present study, *this sociological essay cannot be circumvented by any serious study on the thematic area of sustainable development in China and in the contemporary world.*

*Prof. Dr. Catalin Zamfir
The President of the Romanian Sociologists'
Association*

Foreword

Insisting, recently, in a work of high expertise, on *Interculturalism* (as a source of social cohesion), proposing opportune conceptual clarifications and corrective solutions, Professor Ștefan Buzărnescu returns - through this sociological essay - to a theme which he had tested some time ago, addressing the *Chinese model* as a “possible third path of sustainable development” (Editura *Eurostampa*, 2015). Considering it is a successful social experiment, the author proposes an “essentially sociological perspective”, refusing both “to resort to petty occurrences” and the ideological referential. However, by handling the comparative registry, reporting to the Bolshevik-type socialist model, focusing on internationalization (by exporting the revolution) or on Western capitalism, giving “American exceptionalism” a missionary role, the sociological modeling of the comparison is unavoidable. The rich and sarcastic references to the realities of Romanian post-1989 capitalism deplore a confuse, involving, plundering transition.

Morally bound and wishing to give testimony, visited by “Cartesian doubt” (as he confessed), the sociologist from Timișoara, a prestigious faculty member and *Euroskeptic*, was in fact attempting, through *Avatarurile bolșevizării* (Editura de Vest, 2014), to frame a realistic, “ideologically unstained” sociological explanation, by researching a traumatic experiment: *the Bolshevik social system*. In other words, he wanted an *epistemological framing*, in answer to countless sterile debates and the

accumulated prejudices, fueling a long feud in the sphere of ideas. The mentioned work followed other resounding contributions from the author, starting with *institutional bovarism*, incriminating the post-December mimicry.

For the analysts of the communist phenomenon, the (implausible) conclusion of the events in 1989, by tearing down the “socialist camp”, was also sanctioning the doctrinal bankruptcy of a system that claimed to be infallible, consigned to eternity. The *communist order*, despite “adulterated feedback”, the erosion of totalitarian regimes through bureaucratization and the red elites becoming bourgeois, did not seem to be threatened. And Romania, appreciated in the West for the “dissent” of its leader (given his anti-Soviet orientation), however, domesticated and taken over by “mass silence”, was even less prone to get out of the “standstill”. The aberrant cult and grotesque dictatorship provided it with a dramatic singularity. *Social fatigue* was spreading, generating with the collapse of the level of aspirations (targeting only supportability) also a lack of interest for the problems of power, seized by a “family” party. But the distancing from Moscow and the showcased independence meant, paradoxically, *a return to Stalinism* through the building of “Romanian Maoism”. Anyway, with an absolute ruler and a totalitarian government, and with a Communist Party reduced to its (top) leadership, interested, through doctrinal simplicity (combining dilettantism with pontificating), this *revitalization of ideology*, following the Maoist model from its first moments², (seen as another

² We make this statement because Maoism itself evolved by assuming a Chinese specificity to the idea of socialism and the related managerial practice, a specificity that was calibrated towards

proof of anti-Sovietism) shocked through its anti-intellectual violence. These similarities with the North Korean dynastic family-type communism, encouraged the "monumental errors" of the Romanian leader (who became the absolute ruler). The reformist wave, trying to modernize communism (through the "Gorbachev phenomenon"), has led to an unexpected effect: the disintegration of Bolshevik type communism.

Understanding the stages of "communisation" of Romania, from the years of dark terror and reprimand, the term (multilateral) "development dictatorship" up to the closed world of the ninth decade, of the shortage economy, in full the paranoia of Ceaușescu's time and of pharaonic, dynastic socialism, with its long string of complicity and accommodations, the x-ray proposed by Ștefan Buzărnescu, well armored with documentation, is an *integrated social project*. The imposed experiment, borne by *historical rape*, Soviet-type communism "incarnated", as an ideological drug, unavoidably sparked the critical mass of grievances. In its twilight phase, despite attempts to reform it (Gorbachev's perestroika, as a "second socialist revolution", humanizing the system), the verdict of History has established its failure.

The author critically scrutinized, in the Romanian case, the post-December age as well, blaming managerial amateurism and political adventurers, causing "structural disturbances": the loud rhetoric of reform, the empty concept of transition, transfer of sovereignty, deindustrialization, debt, manipulation etc. In other words, "the great national plundering". In the context of globalization, naturally, without omitting identity crises,

objectives that differed from those of other Soviet satellite parties.

neo-colonial interests, plundering globalization or the the illusion of a charitable West, seen in a mythological and advertised manner by the gullible cohorts.

It is to be appreciated that the author of *Avatarurilor bolșevizării* avoided the passionate aspect of the themes and inflamed rhetoric. China's *boom*, beyond its ideological clichés, was seen and explained as "a more productive historical referential". As a (functional) model of sustainable development, (not exactly) built on the assumption of "systems convergence" (acc. to Daniel Bell), building a *socialist market economy; a possible third way ...* Which means rejecting the perpetuation of capitalism, and by default the thesis (spread with diligence by various ideological mercenaries!) that there is no alternative!

In whole, Mr. Buzărnescu's volume invites one to lucidly assume the future. Not through political doctrines, he bluntly stated, but by scientific constructs. As in history there are no immobile periods, transition (an alibi-concept) cannot be relied upon indefinitely, as a panacea. *A critical reading* is thus surely useful, coming in response to future generations of readers wishing to inform themselves about a convulsive era.

In the present volume, the author has a sanitary intent: he wants to correct the deformations released by detractors and to analyze the Chinese model, in an unostentatious manner, refusing the ideological lenses of Soviet-type socialism. **China, as an emerging power, offers innovative proof of the legitimacy of the market economy in the socialist context,** interested in a *specifically Chinese* social development, a modernization "from within", protecting its strategic interests. Of course, this is raising concerns among the potential leaders of this

century. In essence, the "grand opening" in 1978, announced by the voice of Deng Xiaoping, highlighted *an original philosophy of development*,³ relying, in shaping its social space, on scientific research and technological innovation, as the author clarifies, presenting the *Chinese miracle* "made easy". It is true that China's performance, about to become the *new superpower*, is a result of extensive development. However, the following sequence of the Chinese sustainable development project is intensive development, the state still remaining the historic actor, a credible guarantor of the global market.

The social experiment achieved by the Chinese communists proves that Soviet-type socialism failed, but the Western model is also irreversibly declining: the Western model appeared and developed in a colonial context, but it can no longer support itself in this neo-colonial manner, and the former socialist states that have been experiencing it for over a quarter century, through rampant debt, are proof that the century-old Manichaeism of capitalism or socialism cannot continue, but that other sources of historical creativity must be explored. The Chinese model is one such source - an indisputable success model, and this is why this essay should be disseminated to the level of the masses; as a career University Professor and a formidable sociologist, the author of persuasively and eloquently explains a reality that is rapidly rising.

China, as it is well seen, does have a functional *country project* and strategy. And Ștefan Buzărnescu, metabolizing a vast bibliography in this journey of thought, rejects an inertial approach, influenced by

³ *Decent development for all*

ideological stereotypes and praxiologic clichés, wanting to provoke, in analyzing this "third path", a *qualified dialog* concerning the future of this age. Communist China's identity profile owes nothing to the Bolshevik type communist ideology, nor to Western-style capitalist ideology, but only to labor producing added value! The *road ahead* adds up, therefore, successful social experiments, accepting, in the name of pragmatism, a "management conglomerate" in which the ideological parameter is relegated to a secondary role. The book will hopefully provoke interest, sparking polemics and calling for dialog.

Univ. Prof. Dr. ADRIAN DINU RACHIERU
--P R O R E C T O R --

Preface

If, about China, whole libraries have been written in mostly ideological, economic, political and even politicizing jargon (before 1989), its constant economic growth since 1978 up to the present day requires a new approach, one that is compatible with its status as a Great World Power; we reserve the sociological perspective. Accordingly, the aim of this sociological essay is to formulate some answers (also debatable, of course!) to a single question: *How was it possible to leap from a poverty reminiscent of medieval times in the past century, to growth that defies the contemporary standards of growth in “capitalist developed” countries, as China’s leadership, beginning in 1978, initiated and managed reforms under the control of the communist authorities?* Moreover, its current rank as a global actor of development, was earned through consistent promotion of an original model for the implementation into a management equation of the social issues relating to a community without a remarkable track record of networking with its peers, at the planetary level...

On these coordinates, to circumvent in equal measure both the inflammation of Imperial nostalgia, as well as the rhetoric of China’s “popular democratization”, we have proposed to *place our approach in the area of sociological paradigm*, avoiding as far as possible the polemical emphasis that has compromised qualified dialog between

notable authors from the academic world, who subscribed to the exclusivity of doctrines.

One fact is certain: China's growth, not just economic, during the Communist Government can no longer be assessed only in an emotional register, but the underlying causes of what can be called **a new model of long-term sustainable development** deserve to be explored as well: we propose a sociological modeling of this type of development. Accordingly, we will not separate any sequence of our approach in terms of events, nor into the narrative presentation of facts, but *we shall exclusively focus on the explicative components* of our research.

The doctrinal and theoretical premise of the Chinese sustainable development model is the philosophy of the authorities that have launched reforms in 1978: *"prosperity for all, through the participation of all."* Along these coordinates, the authorities have focused on creating conditions that can ensure everyone's access to a job, to provide every individual with the opportunity of becoming a social actor at the community level, and on the individual level it provided each person with the opportunity of getting out, through his own labor, from the status of being socially marginalized or even excluded: *qualified human resources are the true inexhaustible resource of development.* In this context, the organic growth of the Chinese social space was achieved through a natural redistribution of power at the level of development regions. Unlike the neo-liberal paradigm in the Western model, centered on the principle of "less state" because markets could "naturally" regulate the rhythms and proportions of development, the Chinese model "has kept the state/party authority, but liberalized ownership" (Paul

Dobrescu, 2011), not by its sale, but by leasing it to both domestic investors and multinationals from around the world, keeping *under strict control, through financial leverage, the capital and profit flows achieved in all fields*. This model has been replicated at the regional level, a fact that has turned every regional area into a pole of development in the context of which a network of professional partnerships was generated, around which local development areas that were attractive in terms of job offers began to gravitate. The consistency of these integrated development networks has contributed to sustaining economic growth, and in social terms, it ensured the Chinese community's social cohesion at a global level: China's identity profile, usually reduced to Confucianism and the Imperial traditions, was gradually associated to the image of a global actor of development, which can no longer be ignored in the scenarios of globalization, whether they are made by the apologists or detractors of this ongoing process, irrespective of the name it will be given in the future.

If we make reference to the conceptual system of sociologist Emil Durkheim, one can specify that *in China's post-1978 reforms operated **restitutive**-type managerial behaviors, focused on insertion and on mitigating the asymmetries in the expectations of segments of opinion, as opposed to the **punitive**-type behaviors specific to Bolshevik socialism*. This distinction is crucial in the formulation of a fair explanatory perspective on the dynamics of the Chinese social space during and after Deng Xiaoping.⁴

⁴ *In the 7th decade of the last century, Romania received an interest-free long-term credit from China.*

To be more persuasive in our approach, focused on the sociological modeling of the Chinese social space, I have presented, in comparison: 1) the ***Bolshevik socialism model*** of macrosocial management, which became history; 2) the ***Western capitalism model*** that is in structural crisis as it continues the neo-colonial paradigm in the version of neo-liberalism; and 3) the ***Chinese model of socialist market economy*** - a social innovation on a historical scale, with the hope that every well intentioned person can understand what is the "secret" of nearly four decades' worth of economic growth. Undertaking the eminently sociological perspective of this approach, we have disregarded the political actors' political sensibilities, as well as individual sympathies or partisanship, with the conviction that *an x-ray of a social evolution should be known by all opinion segments*; the imperative of scientific knowledge forces us to also reveal those segments of reality that go against our traditional representations, even if they have long been entrenched in various practical decision-making behavior models or they are embodied in doctrines that prove morally or hermeneutically obsolete...

The structural changes that have already occurred in social ontology demand in an imperative manner a new paradigm in community management; the future should be moved from the area of psychogenic expectation to the registry of lucid and responsible expectations.

To those who have advocated, for the past several decades, for diminishing the state's role in the evolution of contemporary societies, president Barak Obama, the leader of the contemporary neo-liberal experiment, said in 2010: *"at this time, only the Government has the ability to*

provide the incentive needed to raise the economy from a severe and profound recession". The idea, which was a hit in the new political folklore, according to which the market regulates itself through its famous "invisible hand", failed to the same extent as that of centralized planning which can control the future. The community social dynamism can not be exclusively left up to the private sector, but this sector of free initiative should be protected (too), in complementarity to the governmental sector, which is responsible for promoting public policies focused on education, health care, the environment, migration etc., i.e. on those sectors that fall outside the scope of interest of multinationals and large investors, which are mostly focused on private investments in fields that generate immediate profits.

In summary: the change of paradigm in promoting contemporary development projects is an unanimously recognized imperative. The question is: what should be put in its place, to avoid future imbalances, whose consequences cannot be estimated?

It is possible that the scientific objective of this sociological essay may not have been wholly achieved. However, I do have the certainty that I was able to offer the general public a kind of popularization of a development model that was (also) explained in easy terms for those who do not, nor will ever possess a great deal of social culture, but who will more lucidly and profoundly understand the dynamics of the contemporary social space, without bias or prejudice.

The rare comparisons with the realities of the new post-1989 Romanian capitalism do not contain in

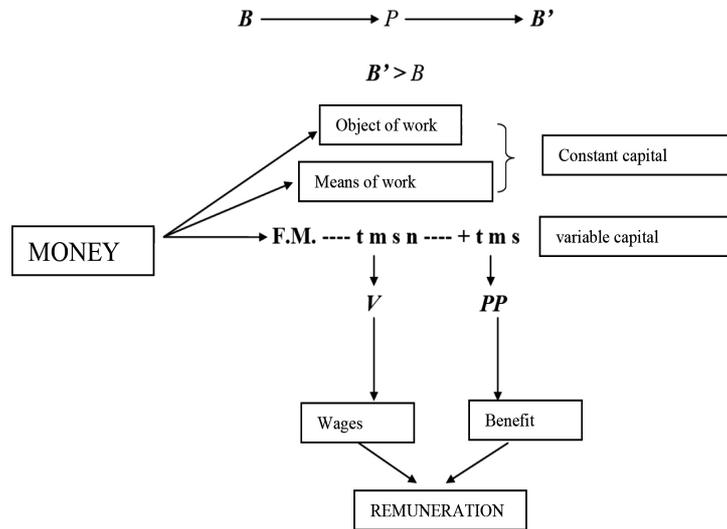
themselves either nostalgia or outbursts of irony, they are only parameters of minimum civic responsibility from the author who lived, fully, through the period when China actually supported the Romanian development projects by providing long-term interest-free loans, contributing directly to the creation of hundreds of thousands of jobs in the 16 state enterprises in Romania, built as a result of the Romanian-Chinese partnership. Today, younger generations born after 1989, but also future generations must know these facts too, beyond the siren songs of propaganda **for** or **against** that disturb the correct perception of the new realities.

In a diverse and democratic world, all ideas can circulate freely. When these degenerate into logomache⁵, correcting the deformations released by detractors becomes a sanitary and necessary operation. We have voluntarily undertook this obligation with the conviction that our points of view (too) have the right to circulate freely, even in the face of the detractors' firing squad...

⁵Gr. etym. (*logos* = word, theme, etc.; *mache* = quarrel): *verbal aggression, generating dissension.*

The Soviet socialism model⁶

Briefly, the structure of Bolshevik type (Soviet) socialism in which capital, through nationalization, has become a sum of money available to "the people" in its capacity as "owner, producer and beneficiary", is shown in the following figure:



where:

M = money (the former capital of

⁶ This chapter has been taken from our work: Ștefan Buzărnescu, *China – Economie socialistă de piață. O posibilă a treia cale de dezvoltare sustenabilă*, Eurostampa Publishing House, Timișoara, 2015.

capitalism), and the financial spread necessary for all types of social activities in the collective space related to the collective mindset in this case;

The object of labor = generically refers to all types of raw materials and energy resources that enable the production processes;

Labor means: define the logistics of the entire social system, including the production component of the means of production;

L.F. = all types of employees divided into social classes (workers and peasants) and other social categories (intellectuals, self-employed, housewives, etc.);

w.t.r.s. = work time required socially in which each employee produces values (goods and services) which equals the quantity, quality and social importance of labor, in order to collect the wages as set out in the single wage grid ascertained as legitimate for the prestige rating related to the job in the corresponding social system;

a.w.t. = additional work time, recorded in each position's job description; the time during which all "working people" contribute to the achievement of the benefit. It is called *benefit*, because in the conditions of socialization of property, *all citizens are equal*: they are not just producers (employees), but also owners and beneficiaries; accordingly, *they are legitimately entitled to benefit not just from wages (the equivalent of the work norm - the socially required work time), but also from what they have produced in the additional time* (and which, in the capitalist system, was appropriated exclusively by the capitalist owner). Access to

benefit is given to those who have participated in its realization, depending on the position held by each "producer, owner and beneficiary", the disappearance of discrimination between owner and producer being, in principle, a positive correction of the mechanism of "man's exploitation by man...

P P = plus-product, summed up for each year, expresses the degree of return of work and is translated into the subject at the level of the **Benefit**;

Remuneration = defines the sum of the salary (equivalent of the work norm) and the percentage of the Benefit achieved that is due to each "worker" depending on their position, the quantity, quality and importance of the work in accordance with the contract of employment; and obviously, also depending on the generation of additional income treated as "benefit". When the work is productive a benefit will be received, and when only "production tasks" have been achieved, the income is reduced to the employment wage. If the planned work tasks are not achieved, the employment wages are not obtained either, but only the percentage calculated with reference to the work tasks in the approved plan for the specific time sequence is received.

If it is regarded from a comparative point of view, at its main level, this system seems much fairer because, in theory, it guarantees the avoidance of excessive social polarization, inherent in original capitalism, i.e. that of the "primitive accumulation of capital" (V. I. Lenin, 1919). From this, one can obtain a few explanations concerning the "mysteries" of some remarkable men of culture adhering to the "Marxist left" in Western Europe; I would like to bring Jean-Paul Sartre into the discussion, who publicly stated his sympathy towards the French left not only in his published writings, very frequently invoked, the "*Critique of dialectical reason*", being nominated

for the Nobel prize for his collective works, which he turned down in his defining statement: "*What is glory, without the glory to deny it?!*", Roger Garaudy (*20th century Marxism*), or Louis Althusser (*Reading Marx*).

We have only stopped upon the most representative examples of Western intellectuals who did not have either a "healthy origin", nor were they workers, in order to be suspected of "epistemological empathy"; as Marxism always claimed to have managed the leap from utopia (Saint-Simon, Charles Fourier, Robert Owen etc.) to science ("scientific socialism" becoming a mandatory course in all higher education majors in countries under communist rule, K. Marx, Fr. Engels, V. I. Lenin, Francesco Togliatti, G. Lukacs etc. being absolutely mandatory for the civic culture of every citizen in the "socialist camp"). In the French cultural space, even a poet like Louis Aragon published poems inspired by the doctrinal foundations of Marxism (*Mon parti m'a rendu mes yeux et ma mémoire...*). Accordingly, the humoral reactions towards Marxism cannot be accepted only in conjunction with the Bolshevik - Stalinist caricature into which it degenerated through its Russian version.

On the other hand, as a simple citizen who was 39 years old in December of 1989, who lived from birth in a social space in which I was both an object and a subject of the Bolshevik social experiment, I appreciate that **I have the legitimacy to state that the theory in the graphic shown above has never been applied in its entirety**, but used more as an *ideological drug*. Example: although the term "remuneration" has been in current use, in reality all categories of employees have received a salary approved by the Party's leadership, and the lure of remuneration worked only as a manipulation parameter in the area of "popular logocracy" (Ceslaw Milosz), not of the hypothetical "popular democracy".

If Leninism remained in history as the start of the Bolshevik experiment, the Stalinist period was noted by the internationalization of the "Communist" project, starting from the ideological phantasms of "communism - as the direction of

irreversible historical movement”, in order to turn the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (resulting from the Bolshevization of the former Czarist Empire) into a world superpower. Along these coordinates, all countries with Bolshevik governments were required to "adhere" to the CMEA (Council for Mutual Economic Assistance) formed as the counterpart of the EEC (European Economic Community of capitalist countries), and as a response to NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization, 1949), was the Treaty of Warsaw (1955), which has polarized the military potential of the former "fraternal countries".⁷

A goal of all Bolshevik parties for domestic economic development was "the country's industrialization: the creation and development of heavy industry with its fulcrum, the machine-building industry". Rampant industrialization was paid for dearly with the neglect of agriculture and the processing of agricultural products to contemporary standards, but also resulted in a world premiere: the first man who flew into space was the Soviet man Yuri Gagarin, an event exploited as propaganda and extensively publicized as the "superiority of the Soviet socialist system over the capitalist one, in harnessing science and technology for the benefit of man" (April 1963).

This technological success was subsequently used in the military field by launching several spy satellites, the USSR progressively consolidating its status of a Great Power in a position to place itself as a world power pole in relation to the USA, which had several spy satellites, before the USSR, at that time in history.

In this context, the most costly arms race in history began, to which the Soviets granted annually the largest share of their internal product at the expense of social policies relating to the quality of everyday life in the Soviet Union, a quality of life which has seen steady decay. This aspect primed a social bomb, which could be resolved only through asymmetrical exchanges, beneficial to the Soviets, on rubles transferable with Moscow's

⁷ Publicly available data, including on the Internet.

satellite states, the USSR being subsequently presented as a model of Socialist prosperity in which economic discrimination and polarizations have been replaced "forever (sic!)" by a new kind of management of social justice and economic equality. In reality, the increasing importance of the USSR in strategic decisions at the planetary level had a very high price for the quality of the everyday life of the Soviet citizen, increasingly disgruntled by the disproportionate interests of the Soviet-style "party and State leadership" towards military investments and the neglect of a number of civilian investments with a direct impact on the individual (nutrition, electricity, infrastructure, etc.); considering the daily life of citizens as a second rank priority made visible a new polarization, between cadres in positions of "responsibility", called by detractors the "red bourgeoisie", and the "common" individual, with exclusively executive tasks. This was the pernicious "model" exported by the Soviet Union to all satellite states...

The erection of the Berlin Wall between the Bolshevik side of post-war Germany (GDR) and the Western part of the same country (GFR) demonstrated the lack of attractiveness of the Soviet model in competing against Western models for providing quality of life on par with contemporary levels.

For these "successes", Stalin has classed *health, culture and education* as "expenses", on the grounds that they are "*unproductive labor*"; budgetary allocations have been, chronically, on a downward curve not only for citizens of the USSR, but also in the other countries with Bolshevik type governance (in the Western model of budgetary allocation, health, education and scientific research are considered *strategic investments* and are listed as *investments*, not expenses!). As a result, a lot of men of culture, scientists, artists, athletes, etc. and even some party activists left the USSR forever, revealing to the world the incongruity between the theoretical utopia of Marxist-Leninist ideology and the numerous existential frustrations, generated by the macrosocial management of the Soviets of "healthy social origin", focused on monitoring the potential "class

enemies" from among the proletarians on behalf of whom they exercised their power and who they claimed to represent.

Reduced progressively to the condition of docile enactors of the "party and state leadership", Soviet laborers realized that the changes of the "Great Socialist Revolution of October 1917" were only a front, as in the background the old relations between social actors had been preserved: the proletarian condition⁸ was generalized to all citizens, who became *proletarians* without any distinction, since "public property" was a phrase too abstract to be able to be the subject of daily experience in which the only value was obedience to all symbols of community authority as the price for taking on a "professional niche" in the new structures; the party's leading cadres began to be identified, at the level of the "common man", as ... the "red bourgeoisie"!

An over-stressing of the "general interests" to the detriment of individual ones eroded the confidence in the initial hypothesis of the "Socialist Revolution" that promised not only prosperity, freedom, social justice, but also human dignity. The sharp proletarianization of "popular masses" has replaced the motto that "the masses forge history"!

In this context, the new "ruling class" began to be seen more often as the "red bourgeoisie" that theoretically assumed the ideals of socialism and the proletariat, but in practice escaped periodically to the "imperialist" environments to sample, unobtrusively, the quality of life created by the capitalist development model, and upon their return "home", attempted to create something similar only for the "party household" and for their own families, the "workers" being invoked only as propaganda and treated as tools in the "act of

⁸ The word proletarian refers to any individual who does not possess anything other than his ability to work that he sells to the employer (in the generic sense of the term) in exchange for the salary established unilaterally by the employer, without any negotiation.

edification of socialism and communism". This hypocrisy was too cynical to be overlooked, especially by the younger generations, increasingly less willing to accept current deprivation, for hypothetical future (propagandistic) advantages. In this picture, the generalization of "ideological education" with the aim of disseminating the "programmatic" ideas of the Communist Party had exactly the opposite effect: instead of becoming "transforming material forces", Bolshevik ideas publicized at the level of the "masses" effectively contributed to ruining the confidence in the veracity of the ideas of the "Great October" for the very masses of people that were expecting major changes "from the top". At its core, the "new people", turned into the proletariat and increasingly poorly paid, in order to afford non-discriminatory access to the standards of contemporary life, were gradually becoming convinced of the futility of the Bolshevik type objective: "catching up to the developed capitalist countries". This is the paradox that has aroused not necessarily rhetorical invocations: if, after decades of the "new world" and of "permanent revolution" we are still in the area of the initial gap, this means that the chosen development model does not allow for the overcoming of this gap! - said those who doubted, not necessarily in a Cartesian manner, the "ongoing revolutionary" transformations...

The Soviet Union's brutal military intervention in Hungary in 1956 and of the Warsaw Treaty forces in Czechoslovakia in 1968 (with the exception of Romania) demonstrated the accumulation of a critical mass of "popular" grievances and the distrust of even the Communist leaders in Bolshevik ideals. It was the period that revealed endogenous gaps in the Bolshevik decision-making body's metabolism: the so-called "brotherly states" were, in fact, the *Soviet Empire's* colonies which thrived (only in Moscow, via a neo-colonial logic) during its expansion. *Given that it was recognized as a subject of international law, it was not able to rise to the level of a valid dialog partner*, striving to promote a management of the image of a Great Power on the rise on the world scene just by the

"contributions" of all "brotherly countries", as long as it was supported on colonial type "inputs" (similar to the Western-style capitalist system). The system could not function only through its own forces and by a management of the "obviously superior" harnessing of the human and material resources available internally; satellite countries have chronically provided resources for the "command center"...

The economic sanctions of the CMEA against countries that refused their condition as colonies in relation to the "Directives" issued by the Bolshevik authorities in Moscow were unable to temper the aspirations of autonomy and sovereignty of the countries colonized ideologically by the Bolsheviks. Only one example suffices to enlighten: *"The April 1964 Declaration"* of the Romanian Communists (stating that *"there are no father parties and child parties!"* in the Socialist International not subordination, but partnership based on mutual benefits, must prevail) defines the beginning of a number of structural severances of the "socialist system" with unpredictable long-term effects in relation to the hegemonic claims of Moscow. The "voice" of Romania who called for "noninterference in the internal affairs of China" (during the USSR-China conflict of the mid-20th century) and for "respecting the right of the Chinese Communist Party to develop its own "strategy of building socialism" is yet another example of the difference between the perception of the "Great Red October" inside the USSR and outside of its direct and total control.

The Chinese "dissension" in relation to the Soviet model and non-acceptance of Stalinism were, in turn, significant parameters in an equation of global development during which the principle that pluralism knows no alternative for the future of human society was confirmed, the managerial creativity of each nation being a virtually limitless resource of development.

At a distance of over twenty-six years after the collapse of Bolshevik type communism, some journalists still make public a catchphrase of sentimentalists: "(Soviet) communism was a good idea, but it was poorly applied". In China not only has the

experiment not ceased, but it recorded a resounding success, this country becoming the second economic power in the world in 2015, but the difference is substantive: **Bolshevik type communism has never been practiced in China.** The economic rating of China as an emerging economy is a practically verifiable reality, but it should not be likened to Bolshevism!

The truth is plain to see: all competent world bodies have described China as "an emerging economic power", placing second, after the United States, in 2010.⁹ The previous reasoning systematically omitted to specify a background "detail": in China, the functioning of a market economy was never completely prohibited, it co-existed with the great (state) economy, in which the socialization of the means of production took place. Here is the **fundamental difference** between the model of Chinese communism, in which nationalization coexists with large segments of the market economy, and Bolshevism that had nationalized all of the country's wealth, banning any social experiment centered on correcting some dysfunctions, both inside the USSR as well as in the other "fraternal" countries (Example: Hungary, 1956, Czechoslovakia 1968).

Can we then talk of communism, under those conditions? is the question that normally follows from those still obedient to traditional ideological clichés and stereotypes.

The answer is not difficult to state: *China preferred the Marxist vision without the distortions and "creative developments" operated by Leninism or Stalinism. The Marxist doctrine was operated directly on the Chinese collective mentality (and when the results were inadequate to the goals formulated by the leaders, the ongoing transformations were reformed on the fly with no exogenous approval), giving the truth to a "suggestion" formulated by Leonardo da Vinci, "if we want to drink clean water, let's go to the spring, not to the jug!"*. The jug, although it helps us to quench our thirst,

⁹ Source: *World Bank Documents*, 2015

borrows a little from the smell of the clay from which it was modeled, causing the water to catch its "taste". The water is "crystal" clean only at its source; so if we want clean water, let us go to the spring, not to the jug!

Keeping to the lines of the analogy, the Chinese Communists have gone to the "source", i.e. to "examining" the Marxist doctrine and discovered that in no writing, not of Karl Marx, nor of Friedrich Engels, was it mentioned that in the practice of "building the new society" will it be mandatory to dispense with the virtues of the market economy. Consequently, even during the "class struggle" period, the Chinese have not banned, but controlled more severely, even monitored, the areas in which market economy operated, achieving a development path that is neither Bolshevik type socialism, nor Western-style/American capitalism.

Is this a possible third path? This is the question that draws our attention and it is absolutely necessary to meditate with lucidity concerning its answer; not passionately or ideologically!

Now, following the end of the Communist Bolshevik-type experiment, Mikhail Gorbachev's conclusion proves credible: *the Bolshevik system can only be reformed with the price of liquidating its fundamentals*; ultimately, we must give up its entire institutional architecture.

It can be said that beyond the circumstances of the internal power struggle at the level of the former Soviet system, the cause was this: the Bolshevik system was not reformable even though *Gorbachev*¹⁰ tried, via the perestroika, to "humanize" it and make it more attractive: *Socialism remains the great hope of mankind*, stated, the then Communist Bolshevik in the

¹⁰ Gorbachev, through the Perestroika, was not intending to renounce socialism, but he was only intending to "humanize" socialism that had reached odds of failure in terms of confidence in the horizon of expectations of the social actors on which rested the Bolshevik social experiment that became bankrupt "on its home ground".

preface of the work "Perestroika", the version translated into the Romanian language (1988). We shall appreciate (*Gorbachev emphasized*) that the perestroika will be a "second Socialist revolution", similar to the succession of the bourgeois revolution in 1789, which was "continued" on other sequences (1830, 1848, 1871)¹¹; however, these "explanations" did not prevent him from achieving a significant share in the post-Bolshevik free elections even in competition with his former colleagues from the Bolshevik Party, given that Russia no longer had inputs of resources, capital and goods from outside its domestic economic area after 1990; this was more sharply felt after the disbanding of the CMEA. As long as it was based on asymmetric trade with the former "brotherly" countries from which it has received (in a colonial manner) not only resources but also products, services and international support, the low prices for Soviet citizens were able to maintain the illusion of an efficient system, with endogenous possibilities to evolve in the managerial sense. Following the end of the CMEA, the truth came out: the Bolshevik-type economy was not able to maintain a system designed exclusively according to ideological rules, irrespective of the economic mechanisms that confer realism to political visions, regardless of the color they may be.

The collapse of the Bolshevik system was not an accident, but an end that was expected not only by anti-Communists outside the USSR or by Russian dissidents abroad, but even by some activists "of the apparatus" who were convinced that the system cannot be reformed from within, nor from without¹².

In this context, time known as "revisionism" is not irrelevant, which affirmed itself inside the "real" socialism, based on the premise that the alleged "creative developments" of Leninist and Stalinist type Marxism would be the only unfit aspects of the entry in an *ideological* and practical *recession* of

¹¹ Klaus Beyme, *Systemwechsel in Osteuropa*, Frankfurt am Main, 1994.

¹² Geyer Dietrich, *Die Russische Revolution*, Göttingen, 1985.

the Soviet system countries. After the 20th Congress, especially at the 22nd Congress of the CPSU, it was observed that even ideological recession could no longer be stopped in Poland and Hungary (by means of ideological debates), and in Romania this aspect has received a right to express itself only in literature, literary means being more Aesopic.

In that context, in Poland, voices of the following type were heard: "We need a socialism that helps us find our way in the complex reality of forces acting upon human history, a socialism that strengthens our resolve in fighting poverty and injustice. We need a socialist tradition that is conscious of its own limitations, because the dream of final salvation is only despair hidden under the cloak of hope, the desire for power vested in the robe of justice" (Adam Michnik¹³, 1983).

With time, but along the same lines, "*Yugoslavian revisionism* will become a slogan meant to include all heretical currents which could undermine the Stalinist theses" (v. Tismăneanu, 1996). Along these coordinates, addressing the legacy of Titoism, which was equally "hated" and "feared", Alexa Djilas stated an antological conclusion of the inability to review the fundamentals of Stalinism, even though the Bolshevik system would have sincerely desired to return to original Marxism, "an ideological dictatorship has revealed that it can only create an ideological civilization in which activity and practical action are difficult to convert into creation". Therefore, not only the practical structural reform has proved to be impossible, but also the conceptual reconstruction of Bolshevism has failed; unfortunately for the nostalgic, Bolshevism was and will only remain in history as **a bankrupt human and social experiment, not recommended to those who opt for sustainable** ¹⁴**development**; the Bolshevik paradigm is attractive only theoretically, but in practice it has

¹³ Adam Michnik, *Conversation in the Citadel*, 1983.

¹⁴ Waller Michael, *The End of the Communist Power Monopoly*, Manchester, New York, 1993.

proved itself not only slightly attractive, but also inapplicable in the circumstances in which it held all the power, so without any inertial moments generated by "opposition". Clarification: **sustainable development**, as in the first phase, that of the concentration of all the resources in the hands of the state, overcoming widespread poverty is possible, but because of the arbitrary fixing of prices, i.e. the abolition of real market mechanisms, a tipping point of mediocrity sets in, that becomes endemic, and stagnation sets in irreversibly, regardless of the available resources. "Russia, for example, says Mark J. Perry¹⁵, is one of the richest countries in the world in oil fields, natural gas, diamonds and gold. Its rich arable land, lakes and rivers are spread over an area that spans eleven time zones. And despite this, Soviet Russia remained poor. Natural resources are important, but the fundamental resource of any country is represented by its human resources". Analyst Perry stresses as the *essential parameter of sustainable development: the highly qualified human resources, which have assumed a pragmatic type of managerial and organizational culture*. The creation of a social system that would predispose the available human resources to an endogenous motivation towards the assimilation of cultural and managerial models open to free competition explains the difference between the general Western-style and the Soviet-style development level, though both were based on resource inputs from outside their own system, thus harnessing resources which were not the result of their own endogenous development efforts: the Western model, through its colonial system centered on economic and financial neo-colonial-type networks, and the Soviet system through imperial-type colonization specific to the ideological networks of Bolshevism.

It is quite possible that this point of view is not shared by some readers. Any reply is possible in a free world, with one condition: to remain in the area of scientific research and to avoid attacks aimed at

¹⁵ Mark Perry, *Eşecul socialismului*, translation, Polis Magazine, no. 1/1996.

the person, but to accept that scientific dialog is authentic only on the basis of arguments of the same scientific caliber!

In various position papers inside the group of Bolshevik sentimentalists, opinions were heard that qualify (in strictly ideological terms) the collapse of the USSR by implosion as treason! History will build a less controversial perspective for the assessment of that event; so far, sociologically, this is how things are viewed... from the stated perspective. Other voices qualify the same event as an unavoidable historical act and as heroic gestures on behalf of the key players involved.

Beyond the controversy, there is also room for a different conclusion (certainly, also debatable and contestable!): if the Gorbachev moment wouldn't have existed, the Bolshevik system would still have collapsed by implosion, because internal questioning and daily frustrations have degenerated into hostility and desperation from the community... We shall stop here with speculations, because counter-factual history is incompatible with a scientific approach...

In conclusion, the current Chinese model cannot be regarded through the ideological lenses of Soviet-style socialism, even though Western analysts and social researchers in the same area feel that their old concepts no longer have an explanatory potential for the dynamics of contemporary development.

The Bolshevik paradigm belongs to history, to an era which history will also qualify after a due incubation period of the truth concerning social systems. As a historical actor, Bolshevism has gone from direct practice into the history textbooks, where it will hold a separate chapter, under one condition: to be explored by non-ideological means, a goal for which the present study is intentionally only a sociological contribution, but with the amplitude of a study carried out by a social researcher who has also lived, first hand, more than half of his life in the midst of "planning" the "irreversible" future of human society by the actors who will also hold the reigns of authority and leadership in the years following the memorable December of 1989!

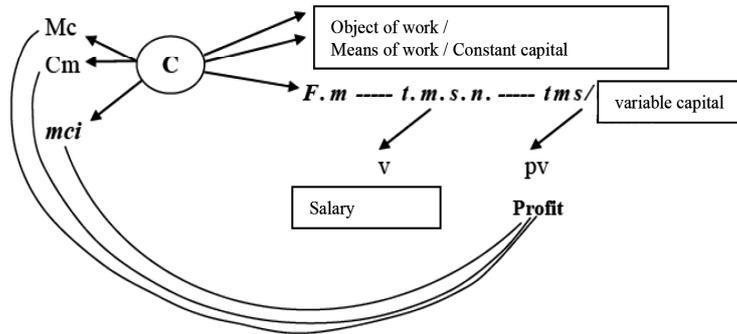
The current model of Western-style development

If we accept the victory of the bourgeois revolution in England (1648-1688) as a chronological milestone of the institutionalization of the Western model, on the grounds that it was the moment when capital was first raised to the rank of state policy, we can argue that the capitalist social system has an "age" of about four hundred years. What can this longevity be attributed to, compared to what remained in history as the "socialist system" with a duration of only a few decades?

To formulate an answer, let us analyze the *structural x-ray of the Western model currently known as social market economy*; the term "developed capitalist countries" is used only at the journalistic level (and is increasingly rare).

$$C \longrightarrow P \longrightarrow C'$$

$$C' > C$$



where:

C= capital, structured on (**Gc**) - Great capital, (**Mc**)- medium capital, and (**sc**) - small invested capital by the individual as an individual social actor;

The subject of labor = the totality of raw materials and energy resources needed for the production process;

The means of work = generic concept through all the logistics involved in the smooth running of all types of activities is defined;

s.r.w.t. = the socially necessary work time for carrying out a set of activities that equate that salary for all types of public or private activity;

e.w.t. = extra work time in which the added value (**av**) that generates profit is produced.

As an operating mechanism, the **social market economy model** follows, in general terms, the logic of the traditional

capitalist model: invested capital (C) is added to the profits achieved and results in the final capital (C'). Similar to traditional capitalism, the difference between C and C' is explained by the management of the extra work time in which Profit is produced.

A first substantive difference is the fact that currently, *capital is no longer held in cash, but in the form of shares listed on stock exchanges and subject to stock type transactions on a free market* on which they can be bought by anyone who wants to overcome the social status which they belong to (in the Western model, the term "social class" has never been used, and it constantly employed the term of "social layering" which comprises several layers defined by financial thresholds - the capital available). Consequently, there is a layer of great capital (Gc), another of medium capital (mc) and the small capital of the individual (sic) freshly broken away from the area of the proletariat. Refresher: **the condition of a proletarian defines the state of an individual who does not possess any other wealth besides his/her own work force which he/she harnesses on the market.** If, from the achieved gains, the proletarian purchases shares, thus becoming an investor in the company that he/she works for, he/she assumes a new social status identity; namely, he/she becomes a small investor, going up to the layer (sic).

A second large difference of the current stage (social market economy) of capitalism is represented by the manner in which profit is accessed (appropriated): each investor appropriates part of the profit achieved based on the share held in the overall investment of the pertinent activity cycle, a share which is embodied and assessed by the number of owned shares. Of course, it is to be understood that the investor can only participate as an owner of capital, without having the obligation to undertake any other activity as a directly involved actor in the range of activities that define the respective company/undertaking's defining profit.

A third large difference concerns the company's human

resources (**W.F.**): technocrats (engineers, designers, specialist accountants, all other categories having specialized knowledge in the various fields generated by the social division of labor) also belong to this component of the social market economy model; they are employed in the company depending on the skill set required by the Company and proved during the job selection process.

In *conclusion*: seeing as how the individual's social standing is no longer unilaterally and rigidly conditioned by his belonging to a specific social layer, and it is not set by super-individual bodies (state, the party, etc.), but it firstly depends on the individual who, as a social actor, can freely migrate from one layer to another by increasing the invested capital, we may thus notice the structural flexibility of the capitalist system. From the phase of primitive capital accumulation, when the owner is the holder in cash of the entire capital, passing through the consolidation phase of the free competition capitalism, capitalism as a management system of the social space has preceded the instance of monopolist capitalism, then by uniting the economic force of monopolies to the normative force of the state it became a *monopolist state capitalism*. We ascertain that this is the *current version of capitalism* (which the Western model countries do not call capitalism anymore, there it has turned into the term of social market economy in which capital, as ownership, is expressed in the number of shares or stocks owned by the state, multinationals, or individuals who do not even have to be citizens of the state in question). The internationalization of capital and its real-time trading, on a global level, via the logistics of the Internet is a managerial innovation that accounts for its attractiveness. In addition, layering it into **great** capital, **middle** capital and **small** capital reveals its domestic attractiveness, for each country's citizens, free to migrate between the social layers via financial status mobility as a consequence of assuming a new social position by increasing the mass of invested capital; the big decisions are, without a doubt, reserved for the multinationals...

Concerning this, Dale Carnegie invoked the “American dream” in a brief statement: “*Be kings, in your dreams!*”. It is not a matter of either megalomania, or exaggerated optimism; in essence it is a call to the civic and professional expression of the potential of every free citizen to build and rebuild their personality throughout their entire lives by personal involvement in the accumulation and circulation of capital. This facet constitute a further parameter of the global attractiveness of *capitalism, which became internationalized by cartellization, without compromising its model (nature) and without collapsing, as a system.* In its evolution, that spans several centuries, it remained open to any novelty that was validated by managerial practice, appropriating, selectively, everything that could be integrated into the logic of capitalist-type evolution. No reserves were stated regarding Marxism, from which it borrowed the principle of long-term planning (the same principle that was the subject of criticism by Western analysts in the 1950s, who considered planning as a tool for stifling free competition and for economic stagnation), nor towards the flexibility of the ratio between demand and offer stated with a slightly suspect frequency by the practitioners of *neo-liberalism* throughout the various stages of the Western-type model, a neo-liberalism that is currently drained of its initial historical creativity resources.

Retroactively, we are able to clarify things a little: *planning itself is not a problem, but the manner in which it is carried out is.* Thus, as opposed to the Bolshevik manner of drawing up 5-year and yearly, quarterly or monthly plans, which took as their working premises the political ambitions of the Bolshevik party activists, in the capitalist development project, planning was taken in order to express fundamental strategic goals on realistic sociological diagnoses, able to imbue transparency to the profitable use of all material, human and institutional resources existing locally, regionally and even at an intercontinental level.

Here is a paradox: if the slogan “*Proletarians of the world, unite!*” remained merely a „flatus vocis” (currently the

proletarians focusing their interests not on their unification, but on their daily survival!), even lacking such a mobilizing impulse, capitals united, and **the concentration and centralization of the Planet's financial resources institutionalized a world-spanning financial power** of the type: The International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, the European Reconstruction and Development Bank a.s.o., which even states, not only private enterprises, turn to in order to fund strategic projects.

Without borders and impersonal, capital has become the “guardian angel” of individuals and collectivities, both in developed countries as well as in those euphemistically termed “developing”. This is the Stalinist framework: when you have before you the ghost-goal of “catching up to developed capitalist countries”, daily frustrations are more easily overcome by thinking about the “unavoidable” prosperity in an undefined future...

Instead of the ideological propaganda focused on the Bolshevik principles of the “winning socialism”, advertising the “general wellbeing” (welfare-state, the USA) of the current “capitalism” model is done by the equally ostentatious cultivation of, often artificial consumption needs, current man being at risk of becoming “unidimensional”, in the assessment of Herbert Marcuse¹⁶.

Analyzing the American model of the capitalism of the first half of the 20th century, this celebrity of social sciences stated: “capitalism knows how to efficiently repress the needs it cannot meet”. A trip to the mall, for example, by the contact with the diversity and abundance of the offer of products and services, even mitigates the dissatisfactions of those marginalized in terms of purchasing power: the fact that they saw and even tried some high-end products is a sufficiently powerful drug to even provide the anonymous poor with the illusion that they belong

¹⁶ Herbert Marcuse, *Omul unidimensional*, translation, Editura Politică, 1978, the *Idei contemporane* collection.

to the same world of abundant, indiscriminate consumption. The issue is thus not of meeting needs, but of reducing demand, at the same time stimulating alternative needs. Example: the normal individual need to play an exceptional role may be fulfilled by encouraging the practice of sports in which anonymous people who had the courage to persevere and had complete confidence in their “guiding star” become heroes (winners). In this case, “care for man” takes the form of sponsorship as a practical instance of the “generosity” of the Western-style society built on “humanist” values...

Another “loan” from the Marxist doctrine is the concept of **work**, briefly stated as “**any expenditure of energy for the benefit of the community**”, namely “any socially useful activity”. Starting from this view of work, health care, education and culture are no longer labeled as “unproductive”, as the Stalinists did, but as sui-generis productive-elitist activities, vitally needed to increase the quality of life. Because of this, in the structure of “capitalist”-type budgets, health care, education and culture are listed as investments, not expenses.

Another aspect through which the capitalist system permanently marketed the attractive profile of its identity is the system of scholarships through which highly competitive youth from across the world is attracted, the vast majority of which never return to their home countries, which are resigned to the loss of human resources, after irretrievably losing the material resources already produced as a result of the eternally controversial (and of course, fraudulent!) “privatization”.

If these aspects could somehow be associated with conserving the spoiler mechanisms by “aiding” the 3rd world, this is not discussed due to reasons of elegance of discourse: it is not “cool” to use the “wooden tongue!”, and only slightly recommendable to resort to „*political correctness*”. The actors of globalization “at any cost” prove suspiciously... shy in also tackling this sensitive aspect. For them, it is pragmatic to act without restraint...

Conclusion: the extreme debt of all countries that followed the Western model for several decades, or have assumed the Western model after 1989, proves that this model can no longer ensure sustainable development, namely by **boom** cycles followed by crises and resuming development under new conditions. The problems of former “socialist” countries that switched to “capitalism” after 1989 also prove that sustainable development can no longer be provided by the “capitalist” type social experiment, as its historical creativity sources were exhausted. Increasingly sharper social polarization, even if it has become cross-border, cannot save the colonialist essence of the Western development model based on exogenous resources - in the past, both material and human, and currently, mostly financial resources. Globalization as a phenomenon of preserving the asymmetries structured over several centuries requires a severe reexamination, as currently it can no longer act upon an undefined mass of illiterates, but it is absolutely necessary to find other ways of fostering partnerships between countries with differing civilizations, but with much higher levels of understanding and conscious and responsible awareness than those in the times of the great colonizations...

A forgotten historical lesson: the Communist experiment in New Lanark¹⁷

As the Soviet system consolidated itself in terms of the weight of the USSR in the Security Council, in the UN, UNESCO and other international bodies, a historical, planet-wide resignation was becoming entrenched, although the controversies continued: For example, Daniel Bell adhered to the idea according to which mankind is heading towards a social “systems convergence”, in the undefined future each system borrowing from the others those aspects which will prove to be competitive, while Alvin Toffler¹⁸ spoke in favor of the “divergence to infinity” of the two systems (socialist/capitalist) on the grounds of the difference in substance between the two. The proponents of both versions were guilty of the severe confusion of identifying the idea of communism with Bolshevik-type socialism, completely ignoring **Chinese-type socialization, within whose scope the legitimacy of the market economy was maintained**, if it does not go against the ideals of social justice focused on preventing excessive polarization of the social space; as opposed to the actors in the area of Bolshevik-type socialism and the representatives of Western-type capitalism, the Chinese were

¹⁷ This chapter is taken from the paper, “*China, socialist market economy - the third possible path to sustainable development*”, by Ștefan Buzărnescu (2015)

¹⁸ Alvin Toffler, *Al treilea val* (translation), Editura politică, București, 1981.

contently seeing to putting into managerial operation and to solving the large problems which they faced after overthrowing the monarchical/imperial form of government, even if they were not recognized by the UN, where Taiwanese Chinese were admitted as representatives of the “Chinese people”, a situation which will (also) change through the skilled input of the former American President, Jimmy Carter. He noticed that the ideological blockade towards continental China is completely damaging for the Western world, deprived of the much cheaper Chinese products, most of them being copies of Western ones. Under normal circumstances, China should have been brought before the International Court in Hague for breach of best practices in international economic relations, but the situation was not typical: a country not recognized by the UN could not be called to trial, meaning that in essence, it did not exist! As a consequence, not out of generosity, but out of pragmatism, the Western world agreed to repair a historical error by representing China in the United Nations and in all other international bodies based on its prestige rating and its formidable economic power.

Beyond the ideological aspect itself, it is proper that we focus our attention on another very important aspect for the Chinese experiment under the leadership of the communists: by not being under any obligation to comply with other decisions except for national ones, the Chinese copied and assimilated everything that was compatible with their strategy of decreasing the differences in the quality of live among various segments of the population (by good quality, cheaper products) and of creating jobs for the hundreds of millions of citizens that remained within the borders of continental China.

In that context, Western countries were focused on the USSR and its satellite states, regarded as the main obstacles to the future “new world order” which was invoked by some Soviet leaders, but with a completely different meaning than that given by the similar Western circles.

Now, after the collapse of the Bolshevik-type “socialist

system”, various sociological analyses have brought back the topic of the communist experiment initiated and financed by Robert Owen who, after a relative general prosperity at the level of the “communist colony” disappeared as a result of the general embargo imposed by the capitalist system, very strong during that time.

The method functioned in a relatively similar manner for the countries of the Bolshevik-type socialism, but by more refined means; the result was the same, and the goal of proving that the socialist idea is not viable when competing with the market economy was achieved (after 1989), even if some satellite states of Moscow exhibited relative economic stability, had eliminated illiteracy, had free education, health care, mandatory labor which could be proven by the absence of unemployment, lack of social polarizations a.s.o, and Romania had proved (March 1989) that it can fully pay its foreign debt.

The Chinese miracle, also achieved under the leadership of a communist party forces us not to lose sight of the answer to the question: how was an economic experiment of a different type to the system of the market economy possible, given that the “socialist” rival of the best performing capitalist economy (the USA) stopped continuing its socialist/communist experiment, the communist party of the former Soviet Union moving into the opposition in the new pluralistic post-Gorbachev power system?

Before drafting not an answer, but a few alternate suggestions of attaining a possible answer by cross-disciplinary studies, including by involving Chinese sociologists, I shall present „in extenso” the communist colony experiment, as it was described by Fr. Engels in his paper “*Socialist development from utopia to science*” (a chapter of another controversial, large book „*Anti-Duhring; Mr. Duhring revolutionizes science*”) written in 1880 and first published in the magazine *La Revue socialiste*, the March, April and May 1880 issues; it was published in the Romanian language in 1890/1891,

translated by Panait Muşoiu, in the Magazine *Munca*, issues 44/20rd of December 1990, issue 45/1st of January 1991, issue 47/13th January 1991, issue 40/20th of January 1991, issue 49/27th of January 1991, issue 50/3rd of February 1991. In summary, Fr. Engels says that if in the 18th century, the idea of socialism was mostly the subject of theoretical debates, the 19th century began with attempts to give practical forms to this idea in the context of attempts to innovate the methods of labor organization as a consequence of the changes brought about by industrialization. Because, at the time, farm work was the most widespread, the first socialist/communist experiment began by putting at the disposal of a "public" organization, i.e. on a collective basis, of the properties of a representative/promoter of socialist ideas: Robert Owen. He united his personal properties with those of his father-in-law and established the basis of the first "communist" colony (as it remained in history) in New Lanark, Scotland, where he began the most profitable cotton business (cotton gin). The colony had around 2.000 inhabitants, including children and the elderly, along with men fit for work and adult women, the latter, for the first time in the history of the British collective mind, being forced to earn a living through their own labor, as for the children, new forms of collective care and education had been innovated, namely *kindergartens*; this fact was unprecedented in the Victorian mindset of the time, when women held complete authority over the household, being excluded from paid work.

If during the first years, the colony achieved progress over other forms of organization of that time, the boycott (by the dominant capitalist companies) of trade had a decisive contribution in its irrevocable bankruptcy and disappearance from the market, although technologically it operated at the competitive standards of that time. For the first time, beginning in 1840, the actual confrontation between *capitalism* (based on private property and private ownership of capital) and *socialism* (based on collective/socialist property and the collective

management of capital) had begun.

The conflict between these two fundamental types of social projects continued between 1800 and 1847, even in America: Indiana (*New Harmony*), where, after just two years (1825-1827), it became bankrupt, along with many others in North America. All of these were based on Charles Fourier's idea on the community ideal of social organization as a solution to the eradication of poverty and social polarization, an idea known as the „phalanx”, from which the Romanian name of *falanster* derives; the optimum size of such an association being estimated at 1620 people.

Such a phalanstery was founded in Scăeni, Prahova county, under the leadership of Theodor Diamant and had the same fate as that of the Robert Owen's colony.

In short, between 1840 and 1847, 28 phalansteries were born in America, but they very quickly collapsed; the longest known one is Brook Farm, near Boston, which lasted between 1841 and 1847, when the establishment of such communist associations/colonies ceased.

As a result of those experiments, the terms socialism and communism have circulated in jointly in semantics, until Karl Marx, who tried to establish a relative conceptual order in the practice of the leftist organization of laborers: in his view, *communism implies, as the order, two complementary phases/stages:*

a) *socialism* in which property is socialized, all citizens are given a profession and all segments of the social space are extensively developed;

b) *communism* which switches to intensive development, i.e. it achieves not only an abundance of goods which have been produced through the efforts of all the people able to work, and services able to provide for the demands of all individuals in their triple capacity of

manufacturers, owners and beneficiaries, making it possible to shift to the distribution of income according to each individual's needs, but also to a higher quality of harnessing all community parameters by putting "science in service of the community".

Although the practical results of experimenting with the idea of socialism were far from encouraging for the scholars in the field, Fr. Engels published in 1845, the paper entitled "*The state of the working class in England*" to reiterate the need to continue the working class' fight in order to unite to conquer the entire political power. "*Proletarians of the world, unite!*" was to be the motto that Karl Marx would put on the front page of the paper the Communist Manifesto, published in 1848.

"As far as the work "*The state of the working class in England*" is concerned, although it is placed (especially by historians) in the area of sociological papers, I take permission to make one statement: the last phrase of this work quotes the words of the Jesuit monk Ignatius of Loyola addressed to those who fought for the unification of Italy "*Peace to hovels, war on the palaces!*". This is also the conclusion of Fr. Engels (relating to the plight of dock workers, leather-workers, cotton workers, etc.), who believes that only in this way will the communist revolution be achieved, that will be "the only just revolution" in the history of humanity. Such a call to revolt has nothing to do with the social sciences, and even less with sociology; it is a political manifesto that, in the best case, may be part of a party's propaganda arsenal, be it even a communist one! Propaganda has been, and will remain, an act of propagating gnoseologic content from a partisan perspective, with the express purpose of conquering new followers, but it doesn't even have scientific ambitions¹⁹...

Here's a long passage from Fr. Engels' text: "In January of

¹⁹ Ștefan Buzărnescu, *Sociologia opiniei publice*, Editura de Vest, Timișoara, 2008.

1800, Owen took charge of New Lanark. (...) Robert Owen had adopted the teaching of the materialistic philosophers: that man's character is the product, on the one hand, of heredity; on the other, of the environment of the individual during his lifetime, and especially during his period of development. In the industrial revolution most of his class saw only chaos and confusion, and the opportunity of fishing in these troubled waters and making large fortunes quickly. Owen saw in it the opportunity of putting into practice his favorite theory, and so of bringing order out of chaos. He had already tried it with success, as superintendent of more than 500 men in a Manchester factory. From 1800 to 1829, he directed the great cotton mill at New Lanark, in Scotland, as managing partner, along the same lines, but with greater freedom of action and with a success that made him a European reputation. A population, originally consisting of the most diverse and, for the most part, very demoralized elements, a population that gradually grew to 2,500, he turned into a model colony, in which drunkenness, police, magistrates, lawsuits, poor laws, charity, were unknown. And all this simply by placing the people in conditions worthy of human beings, and especially by carefully bringing up the rising generation. He was the founder of *infant schools*, and introduced them first at New Lanark. At the age of two, the children came to school, where they enjoyed themselves so much that they could scarcely be got home again. Whilst his competitors worked their people 13 or 14 hours a day, in New Lanark the working-day was only 10 and a half hours. When a crisis in cotton stopped work for four months, his workers received their full wages all the time.

And with all this the business more than doubled in value, and to the last yielded large profits to its proprietors.

In spite of all this, Owen was not content. The existence which he secured for his workers was, in his eyes, still far from being worthy of human beings. ("*The people were slaves at my mercy*"). The relatively favorable conditions in which he had placed them were still far from allowing a rational development

of the character and of the intellect in all directions, much less of the free exercise of all their faculties.

“And yet, the working part of this population of 2,500 persons was daily producing as much real wealth for society as, less than half a century before, it would have required the working part of a population of 600,000 to create. I asked myself, what became of the difference between the wealth consumed by 2,500 persons and that which would have been consumed by 600,000?” Robert Owen

The answer was clear: It had been used to pay the proprietors of the establishment 5 per cent on the capital they had laid out, in addition to over £300,000 clear profit, namely the equivalent of 6.000.000 German marks. And that which held for New Lanark held to a still greater extent for all the factories in England. If this new wealth had not been created by machinery, the wars of Europe, in opposition to Napoleon, and to support the aristocratic principles of society, could not have been maintained... And yet this new power was the creation of the working class.

To them, therefore, the fruits of this new power belonged. The newly-created gigantic productive forces, hitherto used only to enrich individuals and to enslave the masses, offered to Owen the foundations for a reconstruction of society; they were destined, as the common property of all, to be worked for the common good of all.

Owen's communism was based upon this purely business foundation, the outcome, so to say, of commercial calculation. Throughout, it maintained this practical character. Thus, in 1823, Owen proposed the relief of the distress in Ireland by Communist colonies, and drew up complete estimates of costs of founding them, yearly expenditure, and probable revenue.

His advance in the direction of Communism was the turning-point in Owen's life. As long as he was simply a philanthropist, he was rewarded with nothing but wealth, applause, honor, and glory. He was the most popular man in

Europe. Not only men of his own class, but statesmen and crowned heads applauded him. But as soon as he came up with his communist theories, things changed. Three great obstacles seemed to him especially to block the path to social reform: **private property, religion, the present form of marriage.** He knew what confronted him if he attacked these: ostracism from official society, the loss of his whole social position. But he did not hesitate to attack them mercilessly, and what he had foreseen happened. Banished from official society, silenced by the press, ruined by his unsuccessful Communist experiments in America, in which he sacrificed all his fortune, he turned directly to the working-class and continued working in their midst for 30 years. He forced through in 1819, after five years' fighting, *the first law limiting the hours of labor of women and children in factories.* He was president of the first Congress at which all the Trade Unions of England united in a single great "trade association".

Before formulating a sequence of conclusions to this chapter, I would like to list a statement of analyst Mark J. Perry (1996) who, referring to the failure of socialism, brought into question another kind of managerial experiment in England's history: "The failure of socialism is nothing but a «tragedy of common goods» on a global scale. The tragedy of «common goods» refers to the **English experience of the 16th century**, when many pastures passed into the common use of villagers, i.e., they were used publicly. The pastures were quickly overexploited and degraded, eventually becoming completely unusable and devoid of any value ... *"Public ownership encourages negligence and mismanagement"* (page 100, Polis magazine, no. 1/1996, translation). Can we draw a conclusion from this? At least one remark is necessary: public possession devoid of rules proved detrimental, and preeminently private possession led to exaggerated polarization and to social fractures generated by deepening inequalities; pockets of severe poverty appeared on the fringes, that could not be made compatible with basic human rights and with other democratic values. Historical

creation and the promotion of new, fundamentally changed ways of managing social problems, are vital.

In the most immediate present we take the liberty to make a suggestion: those countries that have other development coordinates than those of subordination to the Great World finances should not consider Robert Owen's experiment a simple historical episode; at any time they can be easy prey for the refinement of boycotts of the developed countries, which cannot look with interest and sympathy upon the development of economies labeled as "emerging". China, as an emerging country that dominates international trade, is the safest target because it is lead by a Communist Party! Such a thing cannot be accepted, as Robert Owen has not been forgiven for his socialist social experiment, which had, at any cost, to become bankrupt in order to prove that the practice of this citizen was the work of an adventurer moved by utopian dreams of social reform.

I have presented Robert Owen's²⁰ experiment in order to invite those concerned with the issue to put into a more complex management equation the current situation created after the fall of the Soviet system. The fact that the Soviet system died a "good" death, i.e. without having been removed by war is a certainty; the uncertainty is what will come next. The idea that only one way (capitalist) way remained to express its development potential can mean the inflection point where one utopia ("the irreversible direction of the evolution of mankind towards socialism") was replaced by another utopia ("globalization as an irreversible historical direction," but through the perpetuation of capitalism!)... The problem is that human societies, in the era of "*Longlife learning*", as societies that learn throughout their life, can no longer be so easily manipulated with the moral virtues of technological advances,

²⁰ The (uncommented) text was reproduced from the collection of articles *Dezvoltarea socialismului de la utopie la știință*, published by Editura Politică, Bucharest, 1967.

with disinterested aid, etc. Of necessity, recourse must be made to historical creativity and another path must be studied without any discrimination...

Socialist market economy promoted by China may be **another historical milestone, one more productive than the barren historical feuds between capitalism and socialism**, even though they have lasted for several hundred years. Let us not forget: The Roman Empire lasted over a thousand years, but Eternity denied its ambitions...

Socialist market economy - China in the face of history: ideological stereotypes, praxeological cliches, historical inertia

Allied in order to dispel the imperialist aspirations of Nazism who planned to promote a "new world order", the Union of American States and the Union of Soviet States were contaminated with the same syndrome of globalization at any cost, but from different angles: The USSR claimed the forthcoming revolution will be socialist, and the socialist Bolshevik-type model will be internationalized through "national and social liberation movements," while the US advocated for the perpetuation of the capitalist development model, even in the former colonies where the ethnic and social communities There... already had the reflexes of living in the normative frameworks of the "market economy".

To put some restraints of these slips which were risked becoming fundamentalist, James Burnham (1947), in his work *The Managerial Revolution*, stated unequivocally: the future revolution will be a managerial revolution! In the future development of human society, the ideological parameter will not be paramount, but the managerial factor will generate development and prosperity, that is, not ideological or military power will prevail, but the intelligence with which communities will capitalize on their material and human resources...

However, after the conclusion of World War II, the controversy continued in the area of what was called "the cold war": the combatants' gunshots turned into propagandistic

bombs with simplifying effects on the complexity of social processes. In these coordinates, a hermeneutic stereotype centered on the reduction of the entire development to two poles: socialism versus capitalism, expressed itself; a cliché with a lasting career and present in many of the contemporary approaches (Daniel Bell, Alvin Toffler, and others, "popular capitalism", "welfare state", "systems convergence", John Naisbitt "bureaucratic capitalism", and so on).

Without causing ideological "noise", but also without having to invoke various complexes from different international bodies, the Chinese community from the continental part of the country proceeded calmly and with loyalty to its traditional values, being obliged, at present, to assume the role of a global actor of development, that cannot be ignored in any scenario of the future of the planet, irrespective of the doctrinal platform from which it is designed or merely regarded. The emergence of a global development project and the consistency with which it continues, at the confluence of the endogenous factors, with the dynamics of exogenous factors, seem to be the starting point for the explanations concerning the objective definition China *place* in the international geopolitical phenomenality. Regarding China's *rank* in the world hierarchy, this aspect constitutes the concern of former world leaders from centuries past, apprehensive about the possible leadership of China for the 21st century. Similar to small, insignificant droplets of rain, which can cause large floods of unimaginable power, so the anonymous contributions of a billion and half Chinese, like small vectors of the synergistic composition in the Chinese community's social space, have generated a great deal of economic power; a power that will not stop merely at the economic component.

A brief comparison between the reform of China under the leadership of the Communist Party (started in 1978) and the Romanian reform under the leadership of the Romanian anti-communist parties (started in 1989)

For several decades, the center stage of controversies regarding the fierce debates concerning the possible paths to take for the future of mankind by the new states that became independent following the dissolution of the colonial system (after the '60s in the 20th century!) was held by arguments and counterarguments focused on the exclusivity of the capitalist and socialist path, respectively, the latter claiming to have a more humanistic background, although the time elapsed since “workers” came to power did not allow them to exhibit their managerial potential; the asymmetry was thus covered by a triumphalist vocabulary (*popular logocracy*, Czeslaw Milos), while economic performance increasingly often contradicted the “successes” generated by the rigidity of central planning (based on emotional desires and assessments) in relation to the mechanisms of free markets (based on forecasts and projections based on empirical field research, and on realistic management and marketing). At that time, former Yugoslavia was strengthening a type of development that was neither of the socialist Bolshevik type, nor Western-style capitalism, although

it seemed to have some methods of managing social problems which were inspired by both systems. In this context arose the idea of the possibility of the future development of such alternative paths, that do not assert themselves in a polemical manner, but synergistically in the world economy, generically termed *the third path*.

With reference to the situation of contemporary China's *boom*, firmly led by a Communist Party, analysts from different niches of the political spectrum are making inevitably biased assumptions, classifying today's Chinese system as being "bureaucratic capitalism" (J. Naisbitt) or a "socialist market economy" (Chen You). This Manichean way of stating the issue reveals a malfunction of dogmatism in the space of pluralistic theoretical debate, where, in principle, total flexibility would be expected. Thomas Kuhn, with his famous phrase of the "revolution of scientific paradigms", comes to our aid: we cannot reach valid conclusions as long as we evaluate fundamentally new realities with morally outdated concepts, or even ones that have been overtaken by the realities generated by the ongoing historic movement; "you can't understand a new paradigm by calling upon the vocabulary of the old paradigm" (Paul Dobrescu, 2010).

Asked what communism is in today's China by some dogmatic Western journalists (namely those that equate communism only to what happened during the leadership of the USCP in the USSR, and capitalism only with the US version of a market economy), Chen You provided an anthropological answer: "**We** are communists, and *we decide what communism is!*".

We must temper (with a great feel for nuances) and overcome the narrowness of theoretical clichés that no longer have a reflection in current reality...

On the other side of the spectrum, Simon Leys is equally categorical, but much more diplomatic: "*China is, simply, the other pole of the human experience*" that combines all of the factors of development in an original way.

Edward Tse, in his role as an insider, says about his country: *"China is much more than just an emerging country; it is the only country, after the United States, which has a globally functional strategy."*

In order to overcome ideological exclusivism, the content of contemporary debates shifted to **the role of the state in future development**: will it require more authority or less state involvement in the design and management of sustainable development strategies, that is, of that kind of development that no longer alternates evolutions with involutions, but that enables sustainable long-term development, able to prevent financial instability and social convulsions? As was expected, the options are different: both neo-liberalism and neo-conservatorism argue a reduction in the state's share of the real economy, the latter being much more functional if it is left to the authority of the markets, while **the Chinese claim that in the future globalized economic cooperation, national states will remain the main actors**, as they ensure the predictability of the individual actors present on the globalized market (smaller companies, mid-sized or even multinational ones), the **state** being the only body **that can also guarantee business ethics**.

Professor *Paul Dobrescu* (the National School of Political Science, 2010) bring an anthological note: *"Placing the development processes of this country into preexisting categories, in ideological concepts developed in other historical contexts, exhibits an underlying weakness. Because China's evolution doesn't entirely fit in the concept of capitalism, nor in that of socialism. China subsumed everything to the idea of development.* The notions of «capitalist» or «socialist» are subsumed to the primary objective: elevating China. *We could sooner talk about a model of development. What serves development will be maintained and integrated. What does not, will certainly be removed."*

This principle was stated by the then young Chinese Communist leader Deng Xiaoping in 1978, when he uttered the famous aphorism that made history, not just in China: *"It doesn't matter if the cat is black or white, what is important is that it catches mice"* (...), i.e. *"development is the only factor that matters"*. Here's a summary (of the Chinese-style ownership, of the paradigm of American pragmatism) between the perseverance in effort, and the consistency in the choice of sustainable development and continued strengthening of state authority and the openness of the Communist Party, by which the availability to the assimilation of all available managerial parameters which can contribute to the sustainable development of China has laid the foundation for the uninterrupted rise of the Chinese economic system for over 38 years, up to the level of the second economic power in the world, in 2015.

The reality is verifiable, recognized and accepted by even the most categorical anticommunists. The question persists: what was the economic mechanism that made possible this development even during the global crisis?

The young Governor of the most developed province of China (Guandong), Communist Wang Yang, accepting the official doctrine according to which **national states will remain the support pillars of globalization**, in his governance innovation strategy program, stated that:

“The development model of the past 38 years, which quickly enriched us, is exhausted. First, accelerated growth generally neglects the cost of resources, the negative impacts on the environment and worker health. Secondly, this model depends exclusively on international demand. Guangdong should thank the financial crisis. Economic decline brought about a consensus as regards the transformation of our development model. We are not interested in simple adjustments; after the financial crisis, we want a new Guangdong, not an expansion of the old one”. Through these clarifications the objective is brought forth clearly: *transforming research and innovation into effective forces of sustainable and competitive development*: not just by cheap prices and quantity, but **through the quality and originality of the products and services** will Chinese offers dominate the market!

Scientific research and technological innovation were raised to the rank of "*modern dimension of power*" (Paul Dobrescu, 2010); here's an initial note of originality of contemporary China that claims that **the supply-demand ratio is not the preserve of the capitalist-type market economy**, because no writing of Karl Marx stated the hypothetical incompatibility of socialism/communism and the market economy. Therefore, the *socialist market economy* can be a *third path* that combines the virtues of the idea of socialism (planning) with the virtues of economic practice pertaining to capitalism (market economy) into a new model of development: the "**socialist market economy**", **which proves to be functional in the Chinese social space**". The World Bank

President said that countries that were connected with the U.S. have felt the effects of the crisis more strongly (such as Mexico), while those in the close economic relations with China overcame this period more easily (like Brazil). The explanation: the two "locomotives" have felt the crisis differently and have passed it on differently."²¹

Accepting globalization not by surrendering national identity, but as a reconstruction of one's own identity up to contemporary standards and by affirming the potential of competitiveness of the national state is an example of a successful reply, out of which anyone who wants to learn may appropriate what they consider to be compatible with their collective mentality.

Romania after 1989, that copied the Western model *more geometrico*, proceeded exactly in the opposite way: it offered for "privatization" not the management, but all of the national wealth, favoring the selling of resources that are the fundamental identity resource to any development project. **Here's an example of how not to go about in dealing with multinationals!** Academician Florin Constantiniu, referring to the actors within the scope of authority of the liderance, stated:

„[...] the post-December (1989) political class did not have - regardless of the party - any national project. It had, instead, a single thought: to make money. They pounced on Romania with the sole thought of becoming rich. Politicians acted as vandals, destroying and looting everything. The Mongols, Turks, Hungarians, Germans, Russians

²¹ Paul Dobrescu, *Reader's opinion*.

have not been as harmful to Romanians as the post-December politicians in two decades!"²²

This is, almost certainly, an example of what not to be replicated, in any instance, by other countries which will join the unavoidable globalization race, a phenomenon that, in turn, must not be reduced to galloping Americanization (as it began!), but must be reassessed in the new context of the appearance of emerging economies on every continent, as an opportunity to *join the race for sustainable development through the research and innovation potential available to each country.*

However, considering that the non-capitalist experiments have been systematically marginalized and then excluded as historic actors (e.g., phalansteries), and then the "real socialism system", even strengthened economically and militarily (USSR) and stated as a historical subject in international negotiations collapsed, is not without interest that China also reassess this exposure of its own development to a possible boycott, a more refined one of course, despite the fact that it is now on the "tide of history" and has the opportunity to look at the world from different positions than those after World War II. Now, after having fruitfully investing in technological research, social research and innovation provides **a new challenge to make the 3rd millennium a Chinese millennium.**

In a ranking compiled by the IMF in 2011, for the PPP (purchasing power parity) parameter, China was ranked 2nd after the USA, stating that nobody was so close to America (10.1 trillion dollars, compared to the US' 14.6 trillion for the PPP indicator), the example of China not being singular, since there are other emerging countries like Brazil, Mexico, South Korea and India, even Russia! In this context we can make a substantive statement: not just Bolshevik-type socialism died, but also Western-style capitalism, and **Chinese type communism should be reassessed beyond ideological clichés**

²² Interview with Ion Gabriel Popescu, "Astra" magazine, January 4, 2011.

and without the chronically negative connotations related to communist governments in the former USSR and former "fraternal" countries of the Soviet Union.

Would it not be opportune to pay particular attention to the refinement of the methods of marginalization and historical exclusion of **countries that are "in the way" of the interests of the large markets controlled by the centuries-old traditions of capitalist multinationals!?**

On these lines, we can compare (beyond all lacking issues about which writing with reference to the final years of Romanian "socialism" will never cease) Romania's situation in 1989, after extinguishing the foreign debt: it was the only country that proved that it is possible to get out (as a country) of underdevelopment on its own, making pragmatic use of loans from third markets (the methods used are another tragic issue that should not justify ignoring the example which China abundantly illustrates). At that time, Romania had an economy that could produce (certainly not to Western standards!) all the goods and services that a modern society needs, internationally it held a relatively prestigious rating (cooperation treaties with almost 150 countries from all continents), a comfortable credibility, and in 1990 it intended, along with other actors of the "third world" to create a bank to ensure funding for overcoming underdevelopment of the "non-aligned", by establishing economic goals that would (also) enable their endogenous development, to the exclusive interest of these peoples, **in this manner contributing** to a different kind of "new world order" in which asymmetries today are controlled by the major capitalist economic powers, to their exclusive interests. In this context we can understand further mobiles of "disinterested aid" to overthrow the regime in Bucharest, which

now no longer inconveniences anyone, since its production capacities have been liquidated or disposed of, due to international pressures, as "the price of European integration"!

Over two decades later, the reason for this suspicious "unity of view" between communists and anticommunists becomes not transparent, but blatantly visible: the goal of those who "helped" to overthrow the communist regime in Bucharest was not the freedom of the individual, human rights, etc., but the seizure of Romania's production capacities in order to liquidate them, with a view to strengthening the Western model asymmetries, any possible competition from new economic actors, as Romania had become, having to be firmly stamped out. The so-called foreign "investors" were reinstalled in Romania's former markets (since 1989), naively credited by the political mercenaries in Bucharest as "strategic", and they have dismantled the entire Romanian economy in record time, in order to turn it into an outlet and a recruitment pool for very cheap labor. In conclusion, the "strategic privatizations" were only strategic in the sense of ensuring the long-term dependence of Romania on the developed countries' economies, but not to develop Romania, rather to keep it in "strategic" underdevelopment; **Romania had to be punished for the courage to propose a project which was conducted at the design parameters** (even of questionable design!... industrialization, modernization of agriculture, extinguishing foreign debt, etc.), with the exception of the type of macrosocial management that has remained at the Stalinist model of the 1950s - but nonetheless centered on national interests! The totality of sources of raw materials and energy was "privatized" in the same manner, areas concerning which Romanians have become, now, a kind of foreigners in their own country, a situation that is even more precarious than that in which they were "owners, producers and beneficiaries" during the old regime.

The "revolution" of 1989 appears, at this point in time, as the moment of *"transition" towards a model of strategic underdevelopment through the (neo-colonial type!) reform of*

the entire economy at the level of economic areas complementary to those of the developed countries; in a few words, **it is a matter of efforts of involution towards the status of a colony**; it no longer has any significance in relation to which countries on the planet it is a colony! Under the formula "the transfer of sovereignty is the only means for the transfer of prosperity" we have arrived, in reality, at the actual loss of control over the country's natural resources!

Is the case of Romania a possible warning for China as well?

Why not? many politically unaligned analysts have said it. It is possible that the rise of this emerging economy is halted as well, if it does not calibrate its apertures and if it doesn't manage its human resources in real time, always exposed to the "temptations" of "aligning itself to the standards of democracy and fundamental human rights"... It is obviously a question of what is semantically covered by these wordings in American (fundamentalist) political jargon...

In this context, another point of view formulated by Thomas Kuhn in his work, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, is not without interest: *"the principles to which the scientific community adheres to make up only part of the set of features that define this community's specific intellectual consensus (...) this consensus constitutes the true foundation of the creative activity of its members. Contrary to foundationalist beliefs, it is not the rationality of theoretical principles (of the theoretical foundation) that binds the community to consensus but, on the contrary, the community consensus on the validity of these principles makes them appear as «rational», undoubtable, fundamental. Kuhn insists, in an extremely strong case, that has now become a classic, on the fact that the theoretical principles themselves cannot be imposed as «reasonable» to another community, characterized by a different type of consensus (having another way of seeing reality). Therefore, the rationality of fundamental principles and therefore their binding force is dependent on the existence of community consensus, not the other way around"*(Adrian Paul Iliescu, *Polis* magazine, no.

1/1996, Bucharest). Here is another "enlightenment" perspective of what Western propaganda disseminated under the motto "human rights abuses in China": *this community has its own standards in matters of human rights!*

When we compare the European/American collective mentality with the Asian/Chinese one, we make the same mistake as when we compare apples and pears under the pretense that both are fruit! In logic, the problem has been resolved: this inferential behavior is called paralogism and is a logical error because it compares two incomparable ontological realities. It would be correct to compare apples to each other, for example: Jonathan apples with golden apples or Crestesti apples etc. In answer, is it fair to compare an Asian mindset to another Asian mindset, a mindset from a Muslim country to a different collective mindset from another Muslim country and so forth. Why can this Chinese perspective on "human rights" not be accepted as well, if we claim that Western/American-style democracy respects the right to difference?

As is well known, any form of exclusivism leads to dogmatism and to fundamentalism: the Stalinist one succumbed first at home, the Arab one claims to be a counterpart to the fundamentalism of Western-style values. There is no question of differentiating between fundamentalisms, but merely to extend a lucid invitation when we speak about things we do not know in their natural genesis and dynamics (i.e. without ideological overtones), but which we assess in view of (different) ideological constructions that we appreciate, of course, subjectively, as "universal" but looking exclusively from our collective mindset which is different from that to which we refer. The imperative is thus clear: renouncing any type of

fundamentalism! A typical example is what has been disseminated in the scientific literature in the field as “American exceptionalism”, the belief of Americans that their model is the only valid one on a historic scale. Their missionary endeavors are therefore accepted without reservation, no matter by what means they are attempting to internationalize this model!

Here is where you can get by starting from the claim of some groups, no matter how influential, that they hold the monopoly on truth; beyond the ideological controversies, it is a matter of the lives of millions of people and an increased responsibility constitutes an unconditional requirement on any meridian in a globalized, not a neo-colonized world! Is globalization thought to be a new version, via the Internet, of the "great discoveries"? Or a more refined form of colonialism through the contribution of the virtual social space?

These are awkward questions, but also opportunities to formulate lucid answers to design a truly democratic future, one built as the architecture of a unity that is sustainable in diversity.

Referring to the competition between America and the most redoubtable emerging Power, China, Henry Kissinger remarked: "... both societies think about themselves that they represent certain unique values. American exceptionalism is missionary. It claims that the United States have an obligation to spread its values in every corner of the world. China's exceptionalism is cultural. China does proselytize; it did not claim that its institutions are relevant outside of China"²³.

²³ Henri Kissinger, *About China* (translation), Comunicare.ro Publisher, Bucharest, 2002.

This point of view is correct, China does not practice the export of "Communist democracy" by the force of arms, as America does (Pax americana!), but cheaper Chinese products, are peacefully conquering markets, even if taxes and excise duties represent the new "Marines" of economic globalization. China does not *impose*, it **proposes** cheaper goods and becomes "disturbingly attractive" in relation to the traditional reflex for America's global hegemony; it is about the two styles of relating to the future with absolutely unpredictable consequences for the projects of multinationals.

Because these comparisons may seem inappropriate in the thematic area of the paper, I shall clarify: I have included them as a sign of remembrance of the times in which China drew its inspiration from Romania's "multilateral development" projects and from "linking education with research and production", as well as from the experience of "creating a polytechnic education". The results: China's economy continues developing, Romania's is regressing, asphyxiated by the domination of multinationals. In economic terms, the resources have been gradually taken over by multinationals so that presently (2016) only about 10% of Romania's share capital is Romanian!

Even if politicians are very coy in accepting a substantive debate on the issue, sociologically we are forced to acknowledge the *screening* of the situation, to draw the appropriate conclusions about the immediate future and the indeterminate future. The question "**How Romanian is Romania anymore?**" is very serious, but the answer can not be

delayed much longer...

A succinct sociological modeling of the Chinese social space

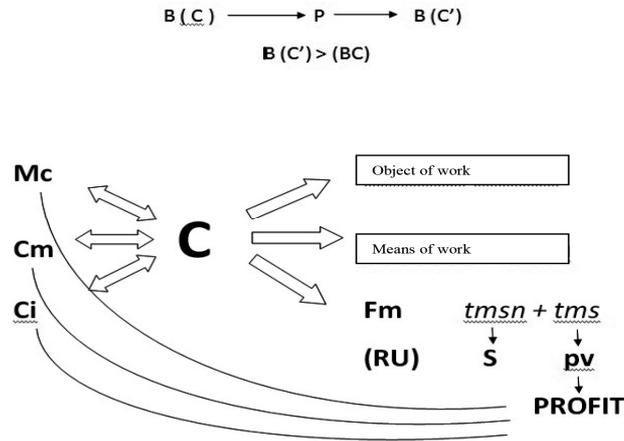
Chronically criticized for hypothetical "deviations" from the "path of socialism" by Bolshevik type socialists (with the exception of Romania!) and sidelined to the edge of contempt by all "capitalist" countries, China has focused all its resources on optimizing its own reforms focused on a clear and transparently stated goal: *overcoming poverty and the existential precariousness of all social categories, in compatibility with its traditions of harmonious coexistence among all social segments and of maintaining the multi-millennial civil hierarchy set up as a source of social cohesion*. Three core values have formed the basis of the collective mindset: "work, family, fatherland", without waiting for saving solutions from its proximity or from its hypothetical friends from other continents. Accordingly, after the transition to the new regime (1911) and overcoming the historical watershed moment of May 4th 1911 (*the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist revolution*²⁴, as per the ideological jargon of the time), the discovery of Marxism and the founding of the Chinese Communist Party (1921) marked a clear option for strengthening the system of "popular democracy" among the cadre of the People's Republic of China led by the CCP. It was the turning point of the former *Imperial China*, which, from its status of *popular China* was heading toward today's *communist China*.

Beyond the great variety of idiosyncrasies related to the ideological connotations of the subject under discussion, I appreciate as necessary an X-ray (a true *screening* of the economic operation model of the Chinese social space). Thus, in

²⁴The last dynasty was the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911)

accordance with the "popular" project of building socialist-type power structures, the new Communist regime in Popular China undertook a socialization of "the means of production" through their nationalization. Noting that the practical results of extensive socialization did not meet all expectations, after the Great Leap forward (1957-1960), the socialization euphoria was tempered, the liberalization of the types of property taking inspiration from the folk traditions of millennial China, but also from the experiments conducted by other countries, on other continents, that were in the process of structural reform. The Leninist-Stalinist influences of banning all forms of market economy were discarded, and it returned to the traditional forms of associative life (family farms) specific to China, that assured the social cohesion of the Chinese community space. The Cultural Revolution (1966-1968) was the decisive test to curb any possible Bolshevik-type influences and to proceed with the option of relaunching a new current of loyalty of "the masses" for the ongoing social transformations, by putting them into agreement with the Chinese collective mentality. Thus, the possible disjunction between the new government and the ancient Chinese community was eliminated.

In summary, the Chinese model can be presented, as a sociological model, as in the figure below:



where:

B C - financial spread available for financing development projects and for the resumption of the cycle of activities particular to the social space;

B C "— capital resulted at the end of the activity cycle;

GC - great capital, in the case of China **the Chinese State-Party and the multinationals located on Chinese territory** being recognized as the large investors;

mC - mid-sized capital of zonal reach;

Ci - capital invested by small investors, capital constituting the resources that provide a safety belt for the company/enterprise where the anonymous employee opts to invest his available resources, these amounts-investments may be deposited either at the business where that "investor" is employed, or at other companies deemed to be profitable; is it something similar to the "shares" of the Romanian socialist model in the latter years of Communist leadership.

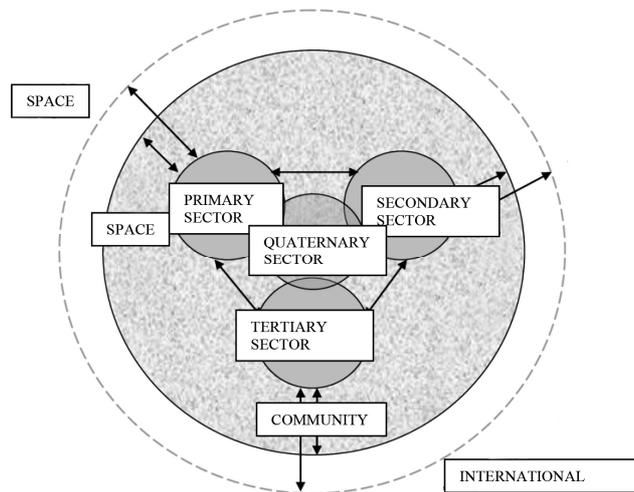
The subject of labor - the sources of raw materials indispensable for the resumption of the activity cycle;

Means of work - a generic term defining the entire logistics of the activity cycle in question;

LF (HR) - human resources, in all types of positions and all the qualifications required for the proper functioning of the activity cycle in all companies, irrespective of their size or ownership;

Profit - the degree of profitability of investments, to which all categories of workers have access (this is the meaning of the curved arrows), depending on the size of each of their contribution to the size of the initial capital invested. In fact, the originality of the Chinese model consists precisely in this segment, that makes it attractive to insiders. The difference compared to the Western model is the fact that the Large Investor in Chinese economy remains the State-Party, whose authority makes it impossible to hemorrhage capital; even Multinationals are monitored to be prevented from fraud or from recruiting domestic (Chinese) allies beyond the limits of strictly partnership-type obligations.

This economic model functions, obviously, within the social space of Chinese society, in which social integration is strictly correlated with professional integration, by virtue of the obligation of each social actor to contribute to the general development of the country, according to the potential of his profession. Intuitively, in the sphere of the country's social space, the ratio between *the labor universe, the global social system and social division of labor* can be presented as shown in the figure below.



In this diagram of the relationship between the four sectors of activity²⁵, it is revealed that the community reforming of the social space, and changes in the ratios in the labor universe or in the distribution of human resources (labor) in terms of territory, cannot have adverse consequences on individuals or professions, nor can they determine social marginalization or social exclusion phenomena. The dynamics of continuous

²⁵ The **primary** sector comprises the totality of energy resources and agriculture; the **secondary** sector includes all types of activities centered on processing branches; the **tertiary** sector encompasses all types of services. In developed countries, the tertiary sector is the one that has the highest occupancy: a country's development level, among other quality parameters, also includes the share of employment in services of the total employed population in any country in the world; the **quaternary sector** is the generic term whereby all occupations relating to the ongoing computerization and automation process are defined.

development, reflected in continuous economic growth, provide a permanent increase of necessary manpower, but periodic imbalances between sectors are managed by financing retraining according to the new skills required by the emergence of new professions. This explains the fact that unemployment is almost non-existent in so large a population. The logic of the operation of this mechanism is simple: since labor (i.e. any consumption of socially useful power, social action in the broad sense of the word) is the act of social identity for all members of a social system, its exercise in the concrete horizon of a freely chosen profession may lead to various movements within the social space, but not *jobless* moments or situations (loss of a job followed by lengthy unemployment). Each individual, according to his scientific and cultural knowledge and his practical and operative skills, has a place in society reserved as a strategic objective of his socialization. On this praxiological segment, professionalization and apprenticeship at the core values of the professional option and apprenticeship at the defining values of the social system, define the various stages and levels of social and professional integration, because professional integration is a form of social ²⁶integration.

The intuitive figure of the x-ray of the human resources' (workforce) sectors of employment reveals, through the two-way relations between sectors, primarily the cohesion of the community social space, focused on an end desirable for the whole of society: namely, the reconfiguration of the educational and training supply of the labor resource according to the immanent dynamics of the labor market. The vectors that exceed the internal social space signify the fact that the Chinese social relations with the regional and international social space are also carried out directly, by the authorities in the relevant social and occupational sector, in complementarity with similar relations also carried out by the government authorities (the state). Thus, party and state authorities not only enable freedom

²⁶ Integration is the final sequence of socialization.

of the sectors, through public public or private actors, to regional and international relations, but they also facilitate the cultivation and diversification of these relations to the extent that they contribute effectively to the affirmation of the principles of "openness" and they produce development.

To understand this "x-ray" of the economic mechanism of the Chinese social space in the figure above in a more nuanced way, note that after the introduction of the "popular power" under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, the community space's structural changes have focused on the nationalization of the economy in compatibility with the "popular" contents of the new regime, i.e. with the *country project of the ruling people's alliance* (laborers-farmers + the intelligentsia loyal to Chinese values). Accordingly, there was a wide-scale movement towards associative structures in agriculture, focused on the eradication of ²⁷poverty through labor, each individual being forced to carry out a socially useful activity, in accordance with his training; those who had no training were, mandatorily, included within vocational training courses and literacy classes, all free, that is, being funded by the Government of the young *People's Republic* (October 1st, 1949). After about two decades of integrated nationalization and its management, the mostly catastrophic results of the Great Leap forward (1957-1960) and the Cultural Revolution (1966-1968), the focus has gone from communal cooperatives to family forms of agricultural production, according to the program of "reform and openness" promoted by Deng Xiaoping (1978), but without liquidating those associative forms which have been shown to be cost-effective both in terms of the price of the products, and of the wages for the agricultural workers

²⁷ China did not engage in European-type social security; the real social security was considered the provision of a job, in order to empower each individual over his own situation in this manner, the expectation of state aid being deemed damaging to the economy and undignified!

that were increasingly more specialized as result of a coherent training program for the "labor force" in the agricultural field (vegetables, horticulture, forestry, grain, seed crops, etc.).

Industry, with all its branches, has followed the same course of subordination toward the "superior interests of the party and the state", but focused on the selective assimilation, from technologically advanced economies, of only those components which served the practical realization of Popular China's global country project²⁸, the costs of industrialization being obtained without the use of credit instruments, until 1978; after this historic milestone, pursuant to the objectives of the program of "reform and openness", the People's Bank of China has supported, by its specific contribution, the continuation of the strategic development programs of the territories remaining under the jurisdiction of China's Communist authorities. In this context, the first "joint ventures" were started, both on the territory of mainland China, as well as on its islands, and investors from Taiwan and Hong Kong²⁹ *were authorized to begin investing in mainland China under the condition of complying with legislation promoted by the country's Communist authorities, in accordance with the principle of "one country, two systems", as a result of negotiations based on the premise of the existence of valid dialog partners and of equal rights, refusing any connotation of neocolonialism and any complex of superiority of the capitalist, Western-style model! In terms of land, China did not promote a regulatory framework allowing for the purchase of land by foreigners; all Chinese land is the property of the state/party and only a specific land area can be leased, on the basis of special partnership agreements.*

For healthy financial movements, the Popular Bank has been given increased duties in the support of the project focused on providing "**decent well-being for the whole people**". On

²⁸ Deng Xiaoping, *Reform and openness* (party documents), 1978

²⁹ The price of labor was \$4 per hour in Hong Kong, while in mainland China it was only 50 cents per hour! Here's what the "intelligence" of capitalist investors consisted of!

these coordinates, this issue was not presented in the populist sense of the equality among social classes or social homogenization, but the traditional differences of the multi-millennial social stratification were respected, embodied through each individual's right to progress at his own pace, but under the same, non-discriminatory conditions: the project "society for all" was undertaken as a "*society that is built through everyone's contribution*". The motivating factor that was used was domestic tradition, completely avoiding any type of "institutional bovarysm". In this way, after nearly four decades of proportional development of the entire community space at the highest economic growth rates, China achieved, in 2015, the biggest economic surplus on a worldwide scale, becoming the largest creditor in the world.

Currently (2016), China's infrastructure (design and construction through its own effort) certifies the most complex fully functional endowment, both on land, in the aerospace field, and for the bridges and highways linking the Chinese mainland to the islands which are part of its national territory; the quality of this structure, the Chinese-made rail network, equipped with high-speed trains at the latest standard, and the internally manufactured subway system are other arguments to show that its economy, as the a **socialist market economy**, is functional and enabled sustainable growth without making use of the managerial stereotypes typical of the Western model, from which it has, nevertheless, drawn inspiration to some extent.

The program of "reform and openness" launched by Deng Xiaoping in 1978, and valid to this day, has been designed on a few praxiological dimensions, of which we note:

- *The construction of the economic mechanisms of development for the people within the regulatory frameworks of the system of "market economy specific to socialism"*. In this context, **China has provided an example of historical creativity** by mixing the viable elements from both the market economy-type capitalism model, and from the

socialism model based on the long-term planning of the evolution of its social space.

- **The construction of the market system specific to Chinese socialism** is focused on: **development of public property at the same time with encouraging and supporting non-public economy**, by providing equal protection of their rights of ownership - as economies under diverse ownership complete equally and stimulate each other - the development of multiple forms of collective and cooperatist economy, stimulating the development of individual economy and private economy, as well as that of small and medium enterprises.

- **Creation of a mechanism for adjusting macro-economic development at the national level**, to contribute to "building an innovative-type society".

- **The establishment of family responsibilities in agriculture, given that the state helps the farmers** both in the supply of raw materials, fertilizers and others, as well as in the disposal of production. The focus will be on creating an effective long-term mechanism, whereby industry stimulates the development of agriculture, cities will drive the progress of villages, the achievement of economic and social development of cities, stepping up the construction of infrastructure in rural areas, the development of the rural market and the service network for agriculture. It will act to stabilize and improve the relations pertaining to working the land through leasing, on the basis of law and in accordance with the principles of free consent and of appropriate compensation.

- **The "outward" openness of higher education centered on five major objectives:** 1) development of universities, in conjunction with

their obligation to contribute to the development of the country: 2) encouraging all areas to support the development of higher education; 3) permanent optimization of the distributions of resources related to higher education according to their contribution to the development of the Chinese social space; 4) developing modern computer science as a tool for national development; 5) selective assimilation of scientific, teaching, educational and managerial experiments from developed countries of the world, only if they are compatible with China's development projects.³⁰

In this context, we shall mention another objective: strengthening the *Hanban* Foundation which coordinates the Confucius Institutes located worldwide.

• **Promoting the correlated development of regions and optimizing the state of the capitalization of the country's territory:** active support of the development of the Eastern Region and encouraging it to stimulate the development of the Central and Western Regions.

• **In the area of industry all state-owned enterprises will be converted to *joint stock companies*,** without having to undertake a privatization policy (by sale) of the State patrimony, *through the operation of the difference between the ownership right and the management right*, openness towards foreign investors will be allowed **only through the right to manage, namely by the transfer of management, without involving a**

³⁰ Currently, around 170,000 foreign students study in China and 180,000 Chinese students study in all countries with which it has cooperative relations only multiple levels, not only with the Government in Beijing, but also directly, with Chinese universities that have academic partnerships with universities in third countries.

hypothetical ownership right. In the future, China will go down *the road of a new type of industrialization specific to China*, which will rely mainly on scientific and technical progress, promoting the merging of informatization and industrialization, on stimulating **the transformation of industry from large to powerful**, on the development of new branches such as: computer science, bio-engineering, the creation of new materials, aerodynamics and space travel, ocean navigation, increasing the ratio and quality of service, *encouraging the development of large Chinese entrepreneurial corporations, that will have an international competitive force.*

- By comparison, one can see the difference between these **strategic goals of a Chinese patriot** who cares about his country, and the Government program of Petre Roman (Romania, 1990) focused on the dissolution of everything that was Romanian, under the slogan of "privatization" (by sale), particularly in favor of foreigners, without distinction of the managerial experience which these foreigners would have had, without researching what kind of "investors" they are; with the results we know... This failure to conceive and manage the post-1989 Romania's social space reform must be reported under the category of "don't do it like that!", no matter what "selfless" foreign consultancy will be offered to social reform enthusiasts...

- **Coordination of the economic, fiscal, financial, monetary and foreign exchange policies by the Government**, based on proposals from the Planning Committee of the Central Bank and the Finance Ministry, for the superior capitalization of all of the country's material, human, technical and

financial resources.

- *Maintaining a competitive local and international rating* in order to increase the China's competitiveness in all fields, at the planetary level³¹.

- **China does not aspire to the status of a superpower, neither economically, nor on its military component**, but aims to build an economy that is functional at the global level, by the superior capitalization of all of its potential.

- In order to enact these goals, the Chinese Leadership at the time set forth a detailed program of foreign documentation trips of all Chinese responsible authorities, in order to draw inspiration from European experiences; Yugoslavia and Romania were always on the list of those documentation trips, as they were considered less dependent on the Bolshevik model of socialism. After a few years, as a result of pragmatic lobbying, Hungary was also included in this documentation program...

At the macro-social level, *the Chinese social space, in accordance with these strategic objectives, has been decentralized, in terms of managerial authority, into **four special zones, in 1979, on the East Coast, more precisely in the provinces of Fujian and Guandong, as follows: Shenzhen, Zhuhai, Shantou and Xiamen***, areas that have received, without exceeding the area of state sovereignty, managerial-type powers to undertake large cooperative experiences and productive contacts with companies from many foreign countries³². In this context, note that *this type of delegation of*

³¹ Florea Dumitrescu, President of the Romanian Association of Friendship with the P.R. of China, in *Evantaiul celor 10.000 de gânduri*, Romania and China, *Trei veacuri de istorie, Volume III*, Bucharest, Puzzle Works Publishers, 2010.

³² The **Honh Kong-Shenzen-Guangzu-Zhuhai-Macao-Delta**

authority differs at least in two aspects from the frequently invoked "regionalization" circulated by various Government formulas in post-1989 Romania:

1. It is not a regionalization in the territorial sense, China's territory being indivisible and under the sole authority of the State (Government) and the Chinese Communist Party.

2. Delegation of authority has been operated solely on the managerial dimension, i.e. only to explore, with the status of a pilot project, alternative ways of resolute management of sustainable development issues, but not in the sense of Western-style market economy, i.e. through social polarization, but by focusing on reducing the asymmetries of quality of life in all segments of the population, with a view to ensuring a "decent civilization for the whole people" through the identification of resources for development to benefit all sections of the population. In these areas, taxes have been cut in half, and import duties waived. Starting from the successful experiment in these special areas, the 'New open door strategy', formulated by Deng Xiaoping was drawn up, that, since 1978, stated that: "If we close our doors and insulate ourselves again, we will be unable to reach the same level as that of developed countries, over the next fifty years". Here's an example of flexibility and pragmatism: the principle of the eradication of poverty cannot be achieved only with the enthusiasm of the poor, but it should be merged with the

Zhujiang mega-region is projected to become one of the most important areas of development for the whole of the twenty-first century, and the region of Shanghai, began, with government support, in the 90s of the last century, building a business region, in order to become an financial and service center, with its capital at Pudong.

*experience of producing wealth by those who have already produced it, but without forgetting a crucial detail, namely that of **dissemination of wealth for all!*** Here is the source of the loyalty of the masses towards the new elites, be they Communist and criticized by all the rich of the world...

Can this be a new standard for the "Business ethics" frequently invoked in Western theories?

Why not?!

In this context, a clarification is opportune: the anti-communist rhetoric of capitalists who began to borrow from Communist China deserves a severe analysis even according to the capitalist criteria of profit in a competitive world, in which those very capitalists imposed prohibitive rules for those who can produce at more attractive prices than their traditional, capitalist world companies.

For now, the Romanian companies, for example, are not competing in the tractor export market, because the engineer Petre Roman, the first "post-revolutionary" prime-minister liquidated the production of tractors both in Romania, but also the production of all other foreign companies that were partnered in the production and export of tractors. How can one conceive sustainable development without these institutional actors? Multinationals will draw much more capital, but in breach of their own principle, that of free competition, with which they have inflamed the horizons of expectation of millions of citizens outside of the the "market economy" which has brought about prosperity. It is very true; just for some. Namely, for those who have all the levers of power...

Another parameter, very important for the identity profile of the Chinese model is the **assumption of the traditions of ranking the cities on China's territory**; on the board of the national urbanization, every city today holds a role according to its historic status and the multi-millennial prestige scale promoted in the Chinese collective mindset. Thus, the top of the pyramid is held by capital cities, with the apex being Peking,

Beijing, Shanghai and Tianjin, followed by provincial cities of regional importance, then cities without any administrative role, cities of local relevance, local fairs, and lastly insulated cities; from this hierarchical ranking of cities stems the perception of the urban community in question to provide a satisfactory framework in terms of social, educational and medical services, based on the same nationally valid principles. This ranking is an attempt to **link the present with the tradition of its own imperial past**, a period during which cities in imperial China were ranked according to political and strategic imperatives, and power was exhibited by a pomp corresponding to each city's ranking in the general hierarchy of urban comfort and its importance relative to imperial power. In this context of recovering imperial traditions, the current regulations do not enable families to change their place of residence to resettle in a city with a higher status than the one they are currently residing in; on the other hand, opposite movements are allowed, and downward resettlements are even encouraged.

What characterizes Chinese society is **the presence of a single hierarchy of status**, applicable to society as a whole, starting from the capital down to small fair towns (Martin Whyte and William Parish, 1984³³), with a very important consequence in civic terms: **it inoculates the idea of social justice in the sense that every individual is equal in the face of a common tradition of respect to community rules legitimized over millennia**, social life in the communist present being ritualized according to ancestral norms, modernized based on the Chinese conception of modernity, rather than rationalized based on the European or American concept of rationality and rationalizing. In this sense, in the work "*Canton under*

³³ Martin King Whyte, William L. Parish, *Urban Life in Contemporary China*, Chicago University Press, 1984, 415 p. (A unique study of urban life in China during the last decade of the leadership of Mao Tsedun, during which the Chinese have managed to avoid the universal drawbacks of urbanism).

communism"³⁴, Martin Whyte and William Parish, speaking about modernizing the hierarchy, consider that the hierarchy, the cult of the ancestors, family and continuity can variables of the Communist neo-traditionalism promoted at the level of state policy in "*contemporary China that is neither socialist, nor modern, Confucian, but simply diverse, marked by innumerable inequalities (between different sectors of society, between city and village, between villages, between families always attached only to what is useful, but according to what is appropriate according to present standards), in short, a living society, one able to continually update its own identity regarding Maoism and regarding its own traditional past, but without completely ignoring in axiological terms*". However, "*contemporary China society really is a new, Communist, modern society, but it became so by superior capitalization of its traditional behaviors*".

In conclusion, if after changing the regime of operation of the Chinese social space, the transition from feudalism to capitalism has not provided the necessary time for structuring a **capitalist system perceived by the Chinese territorial communities as a replacement of an unattractive social system due to feudal-type social polarization, by another kind of social polarization (capitalism)**, historical urgency has radicalized the option of exploring other ways to establish a different kind of social and national justice, and offered *a chance for Marxism* to attract the Chinese reformers of that time. Their inspiration from the ideas of equality, popular democracy and elimination of class privileges of Marxism, centering on the political-philosophical

³⁴ Martin King Whyte, William L, Parish, *Canton Under Communism*, Harper and Row, New York, 1967.

doctrine has operated on traditional Chinese structures, rather than on the Leninist paradigm of a socialist revolution, which not even Maoists accepted wholly as the slogan of their struggle to establish a society placed in service to "the people".

This aspect is of decisive importance for those who want to undertake lucid and responsible analyses on the evolution of a society that has gone from structures close to feudalism to the standard of a great economic power, able to design, build and maintain an industry of the highest level: at the time of completion of this study, China has launched ten cosmonauts into outer space, through its own resources of scientific research and technological development. Any comments must absolutely start from these realities; the ideological connotations, regardless of what side they may be on, cannot have any value without the practical results to confirm them!

Thus, through complementing the historically validated procedural sequences of the *socialist* experiment (designing the construction of long-term economic growth, increasing authority of the national State as an actor in international relations, free education, free medical care, the transformation of the education system and scientific research into tools for national development), with the performance of *capitalism* (the role of the free market in price formation, the free press, independence of education from politics, strengthening the institutional mechanisms of the rule of law), **popular China created an original macrosocial management system and a global development strategy which may bear the name of "socialist market economy". This is the 3rd millennium China's country brand.**

This identity profile that individualizes contemporary China includes, axiologically, the millennia of wisdom from Confucius to present day, and the initiatives of some Western analysts stating that today, a “Confucian democracy” has been instated, only represent laughable attempts to deride **the originality of a model that was economically successful, without indebting itself to the international competent (capitalist) bodies.** If Romania was punished for daring to "allow" itself to extinguish its foreign debt simultaneously with the continuation of national development projects, it is assumed that the achievements of third countries, without their dependence on capital from the world financial bodies, cannot be seen with approval; even more so as these countries are likely to have a different development model than the capitalist one. Neo-liberalism, valid for the first half of the 20th century in Europe and America, has exhausted its historical creation ability and its ability to adapt to new realities, as countries such as Italy or France, traditionally belonging to the G7 Group (most industrialized countries of the world), currently cannot continue their development projects unless they permanently raise their indebtedness cap. **The logic of colonial type development** is no longer productive for now, but it is **definitely inadvisable for the future of human society.**

The countries subscribing to th **Western development model** have practiced social macro-management based on the principle “**the least state**”, namely the transfer of authority (through privatization/sale) from the state, as the main decision-making body, to private economic agents, namely to agents of the size of multinationals³⁵, while **the Chinese experience**

³⁵ The fact that profits no longer reach the Governments, but remain with the managers of multinationals, explains the galloping debt of developed capitalist states (as well as of those who have recently adopted this Western development model!), forced to find exogenous external resources for health-care, culture, education, defense, etc. Multinationals have as their sole purpose the production

reveals the importance of consolidating the sole authority of the state as the main actor in domestic and international relations, and the leadership of the Communist Party is only the guarantor of the defense of the Chinese community's overall national interests, in relation to all types of institutions, including in relation to the exclusiveness of multinationals present in China's economy. So: *not the diminishing of national authority, but its stability and strengthening ensures sustainable and long term development* - it is the trend of the reforms of the contemporary Chinese social space and the management philosophy of Communist China. It is possible that some politicians in the wider world do not agree with **this philosophy**, but the pragmatism of this direction, which **deserves study as an optimization vector of the human condition** for the present and, above all, for the future of Humanity, cannot be denied.

One other collective mindset parameter that singles out the Chinese community should not be downplayed: the *focus on harnessing collective intelligence*. Thus, unlike the Western-style mentality in which the focus is on individual intelligence, competition focusing on the establishment of ranks (example: the best footballer of all time, the richest man of the year etc. etc.), *in the multi-millennium Chinese practice, the concerns have focused on bringing together individual intelligences which, together, have developed high skills and impressive creative capabilities*; summed up historically, these synergies have borne the fruits of today. This issue deserves another, more in-depth study. In fact, organizational sociology studies ³⁶have demonstrated that the pilot projects in which children with exceptional qualities were made to interact have boosted not only the group's performance, but also the potential of

and repatriation of profit, not financing the budgetary sectors of that country!

³⁶Ștefan Buzărnescu: *summer internship in the 1994-1997 academic year*.

individual evolution. Here is the lesson that we can draw from this: left among the mediocre, the gifted or overly-gifted ones also get lost in anonymity! *Sustainable development (sustainable, as Westerners say) is possible only through collective participation of all community members through a permanent "apprenticeship" of the production of prosperity next to those who produced it already.*

Such a practice is common in the Chinese decision-making innovation of today: new ideas, proposed as a vector of change, are experimented first on the level of pilot units, and if the results are good, the experiment is adopted to be generalized for all pertinent institutions in the Chinese social space. If the results are skewed compared to the working assumptions, social research examines the causes of failure and explore alternative solutions within the scope of the same objective, focused initially on finding sources of "prosperity for all". Basic research provides a sociological modeling of the dynamics of the social space in conjunction with applied research and the actual management and decision-making practice.

In this regard, **scientific research** can function a "**tool of national development**", not as a source of profit exclusively for multinationals, as is happening in the logic of the Western development model, based on the privatization of all branches of the economy and all types of services. The Chinese motto "one country-two systems" materializes in the form of complementarity between the state sector, controlled by the central authority of the state-party, and the private sector, consisting of a multitude of private associations, but under the common jurisdiction of the Chinese State. The onset of the ninth decade of the last century surprised the developed world with yet another social innovation: The Government has selected 157 enterprises that, with state support, would become Chinese multinationals with the mission to make large-scale investments on all continents, a goal that at present has been achieved. On the same coordinates, during the **14th Congress** of Chinese Communists (1992), "**building a socialist market economy**"

was established as a strategic objective, which is operational in the most immediate present. The identity profile of the Chinese development model is clear for those who look at the dynamics of the contemporary social space without prejudice.

An easy explanation of the Chinese "miracle"

The events of 1989 have revived hope in building the much quoted "common European house, from the Atlantic to the Urals" on the ruins of the old ideological confrontations.

The quarter century since then... so far has shown that the initial expectation, which has fueled a Europhily that seemed contagious, has degenerated into an Euro-skepticism that generated a new type of "cold war" with effects that cannot be anticipated at the continental level, although the recent Brexit signaled a severe need to review the discourse and practice related to Euro-Atlantic macro-management.

NATO's new strategy and the de facto expansion of this alliance, analyzed mostly in a European register has brought to the fore not only Russia's constant ambitions of a Great Power, but also, amid the imperial nostalgia of many European countries (France, Spain, Austria), China's geopolitical reality as the second economic power in the world (2015).

How was it possible for a country that was for a long time considered poor, nearly insignificant and relegated to the fringes due to its communist past by researchers and analysts outside of the Asian collective mindset to be placed on such a prestigious ranking?

Without claiming to give an exhaustive answer, we intend by this sociological essay **to sketch only the context of the conditions in which the cause of this ascent was constituted, by discrete accumulations:**

- a) *the long term failure to recognize popular (Mainland) China as legitimate representative at the UN,*

of the Chinese people, has made it possible to copy, produce and even sell many goods and technologies from developed countries, without having to incur international sanctions for this, because China, as a historical subject, was recognized only through Taiwan³⁷! In this context, complementary to its domestic scientific research and technological development, a veritable industry of "technological poaching" appeared and even performed, with a production capable of competing, primarily through price, with original products, through ones similar to the original, which were more expensive as a result of compliance by the license holders with the legal framework of the market economy in which they operated. Beyond the moral issues related to business ethics, producers in the People's Republic of China have developed a network of commercial relationships beneficial to the maturity of the specific behavior of the legitimate actors of future China - a UN member³⁸. So instead of lamenting and appropriating any complexes stemming from international exclusion, **the Chinese responded by strengthening their internal social cohesion**, taking not only technology but also management methods, without any restriction and without having the obligation to comply with international law. Under the psychological aspect, the idea that Chinese products are the most affordable has turned the Chinese

³⁷ The soldiers of the war of independence were called "turkeys" because they wore a turkey feather in their cap. They, because they saw the term of "turkey" as a moniker with derogatory connotations, after being victorious, returned in the country at the end of the war with the chorus "*In the Balkans we changed, a nickname to reputation*" (V. Alecsandri).

³⁸ Romania was one of the states that authored the resolution concerning the restoration of the legitimate position of the People's Republic of China within the United Nations.

commercial offer into a very attractive brand, and mainland China has become, without marketing efforts, an important local actor, whose integration into the world flow of values has not necessitated any cost after its recognition by the UN and in other international organizational structures;

b) *capitalizing on its imperial past* ³⁹*in order to motivate the fruitful participation in the modernization of its internal organizational structures at the level of contemporaneity.* The focus on the joint effort of avenging the "century of humiliation" (foreign occupation, especially Japanese) has contributed to the strengthening of social cohesion through the dissemination of the values of Confucianism and family honor in the educational offerings of all generations that have succeeded in China's multi-millennium history: Chinese exceptionalism of imperial origin functioned as a virtually inexhaustible resource until the communist present. With the exception of those with a more or less noble past (Komintang party followers), who left China to "relocate" in Taiwan, the immense majority of the "working class and the working peasantry" (under the leadership of the Communist Party) who ensured the institutionalization of the "popular democracy" regime remained attached to the conviction that imperial prestige may be "rebuilt" by the contribution of each individual to capitalization of the Chinese worldwide historical premiers in the economic and spiritual fields; it is not the ideological

³⁹ In 211 BCE the Qin Dynasty was the first imperial instance of the Chinese social space, and king Zheng of the Qin State, who proclaimed himself as Emperor, remained in history through many initiatives, the most important of which being the standardization of the Chinese language, the standardization of the units of measurement, currency standardization and so on, as tools of social cohesion beneficial in polarizing/attracting other minorities of the time, a process that continued in the ages that followed.

content of the term "imperial", but its axiological connotation.

c) *stated, at the regional scale, as a source of culture, Chinese imperial values began to assert themselves gradually as civilization factors as well: all foreigners, by means of a sedentarization process, were organically integrated in the Chinese community mindset, even when they constituted themselves in minorities with cultural values models different than the **Han** values, unanimously appreciated and respected, as legitimately defining for the essence of the Chinese identity profile.* Not even the ephemeral foreign occupations failed in the axiological alteration of the Chinese, who remained dignified in the face of the aggression of their superiority complexes: the Chinese have chosen selectively from their behavior models, from their technologies and methods for managing the complexity of social problems only what has proved to be beneficial for optimizing their own collective mindset.

This behavior of managing otherness functioned uninterrupted, including after the Communists gained access to power. In this context, multiethnicity has evolved towards an interculturality centered on harnessing all synergies; the multicultural model has not taken root in China.

And here's why: *multiculturalism* has been promoted to the rank of a management model for managing the diversity of colonists (who have imposed their values in the form of dominant culture) and colonized subjects who, subjugated politically and economically, continued to cultivate their values within the secondary context of a dominated culture of instrumental value, from the commencement of the social experiment of colonization until its passage outside the law in the 60s of the 20th century. In reality, the two entities have coexisted without entering into resonance on their axiological component; for this reason, multiculturalism and multiculturalism, as products of colonization (even though some historians call this period, euphemistically, the era of "great discoveries"), have had and have the up to the most immediate present the most consistent ideological overtones, still used as propaganda to support "the superiority of the Western development model".

In reply, **interculturality** does not have ideological connotations and it expressed itself **as a source of social cohesion** by placing the differences (ethnic, religious, linguistic, institutional) in the space of a **synergistic complementarity**. If multiculturalism recognizes differences and focuses on preserving them, with

"perverse effects" (Raymond Boudon) of the type of *state destructuration* (Yugoslavia) or *enclavisation* (Tyrol), **interculturality is not limited to the recognition of differences** nor to their institutional "protection", **but places them in an area of pragmatic complementarity**. It is an active complementarity, a producer of ethos and social cohesion of differences, as opposed to multiculturalism, in which complementarity is, at best, passive, i.e., it manifests itself as a simple addition of differences are in a state of permanent accumulation and incubation of latent conflicts, prone to hatching at any time⁴⁰.

China has never been multicultural, but arose and evolved organically as an intercultural social space⁴¹, i.e. acted based on its multi-millennial *Confucian principle of harmony*. Unlike Westerners, which confuse multiculturalism with interculturality, the Chinese have had and have a clear ownership of the terms: both multiculturalism and interculturality admit the existence of differences, but capitalize them in diametrically opposed ways. Thus, while multiculturalism focuses on preserving differences, risking to create outbreaks of community destructuration, interculturality is centered on the recognition of differences and placing them in an area of synergistic complementary, affirming itself as the inexhaustible source of social cohesion. On these coordinates of historical evolution, the Chinese cultural

⁴⁰ Ștefan Buzărnescu, Ana Buzărnescu, Mihaela Galanton, *Interculturalitatea – sursă de coeziune socială*, Editura M. Dușescu, Craiova, 2016

⁴¹ *In China there are 56 officially recognized ethnic groups, of which 91.51% belong to the ethnic group of Han Chinese (Emperor Name Han Wudi). The Han Dynasty (206 AD - 220 AD) has structured a cultural identity around Confucianism adopted as a kind of state religion for that time.*

model has polarized, in relation to itself, all exogenous values, metabolizing them axiologically into a veritable *melting-pot* long before this process began on the American continent and before it had this name;

d) *ethnocentrism*, the century-old practice, was objectified in a new, original identity profile in which community enclosure was perpetuated until the 20th century, when the reform initiated by Deng Xiaoping (1978) favored the grand opening under the motto "modernization through the assimilation of what is compatible with the native collective mentality". The assimilation has not degenerated into cosmopolitanism as it metabolized all exogenous influences through the exclusive lens of the endogenous value options. China has never known any episode of institutional bovarysm⁴², but preferred social innovation and historic creation. Assuming the errors of "enclosing" which followed the overthrow of monarchical absolutism, China "opened up" with prudence and pragmatism, experiencing in its country project only what was in conformity with the managerial guidelines of the evolution of its collective mindset and with the programmatic development directions of 1978.

e) *The discovery of Marxism and the founding of the Communist Party* was just an opportunity to institutionalize the organizational structure of community participation in the praxeological recalibration of the values of social justice, national justice, and of equal rights, by linking them with the obligations pertaining to community justice, but *without copying similar practices*

⁴² *Institutional bovarysm defines all forms of mimicry and copying of certain foreign values or surface organizational structures by splicing them into a fundamentally different collective mindset* (Ștefan Buzărnescu, *Bovarismul instituțional și reforma românească*, Editura Augusta, Timișoara, 1988).

*of Communist and workers' parties of Leninist adherence. Entry into resonance with the "international social experiments" has consistently complied, this time too, with the principle of non-interference in internal affairs. Thus, if "importing Western democracy" was excluded as a managerial practice, in turn they have abstained from exporting the Chinese model, on the grounds that the Chinese experience, which is unique in its own way, being the only one compatible only with the history, present and future of China, must restrict itself to the geopolitical area of the Chinese collective mindset. Consequently, **direct participatory democracy has replaced the model of Western-style representative democracy.** As a free, independent and sovereign country, China has its own standards on the subject: for human rights, for evaluating the quality of education, for designing and managing scientific research, for guaranteeing civic freedoms and so on. With this status, China (also) accepts dialog on these issues with all countries, including developed Western countries; that is, only from the position of a valid dialog partner, but refuses the egotistic megalomania of all who practice "axiological narcissism", be they European or American. *There is no single standard of compliance with fundamental human rights, because man, in his capacity as a citizen of a particular country, has first the obligation of unconditional compliance with the laws of the country that provided his training, both as a citizen and professional; one cannot operate with the abstraction of man in general, but only with man in his capacity as a citizen of a particular community. In these coordinates, China cannot accept the bias of Western-style Messianism (in this case American) which starts from the premise of legitimacy of the dissemination, at the planetary level, of single standards (European/American) on a worldwide scale; history has shown that this kind of**

exclusivity has degenerated into fanaticism, and even fundamentalism. In reply, as an active international player, China reserves the right of historical creation, in its own social innovation labs, of its own patterns of managing community problems and of reporting to the geopolitical otherness of contemporaneity, without imposing its own values.

f) The network of organizational structures specialized in **agri-food production**⁴³: right from the beginning of the socialist experiment, the Chinese have started from the actual diversity of the types of needs of the population, avoiding categorical imperatives and the exclusivity of “party directives” specific to the period during which the Bolshevik socialism was “driven” by the Communist Party of the USSR and the communist parties of other countries under communist governance. If, until 1978, this sector’s main objective was to provide the domestic consumption requirements⁴⁴, as a result of undertaking the exigencies of the structural reforms of the community social space (supporting family farms⁴⁵, price formation based on the market economy, mechanization, the use of chemicals, irrigation, intensive exploitation of

⁴³ Mainland China holds ownership of 1,270,600 sq km of arable land, i.e. 7% of the arable land available at the planetary level.

⁴⁴ Liu Zengwen: *In 2010, 34.5 million Rural residents were still living on state indemnities.* (From *Laudatio*, drafted on the occasion of the granting of the title of Doctor Honoris Cauza by the West University of Timișoara, 2010).

⁴⁵ The transition from working in a global agreement, specific to the stage of organization into popular communes, to family type ventures has stimulated initiative and increased responsibility for the more effective management of agricultural land, and the former state farms were transformed into joint stock companies through delegation of responsibility to those who were, before the reform, only simple performers and recipients, without being involved in the global management of the organizational structure itself.

agricultural areas, industrial processing of agricultural and animal products, and so on), the focus could be switched from **subsistence agriculture to commercial agriculture** : products in China's agri-food sector also became competitive exports, not only through their price, but also through their quality. Communist authorities have very matter-of-factly responded to the curiosity of Western analysts, scandalized by the management of these transformations by a communist party, namely of reforms with "capitalist" content carried out by communist: *Chinese reforms are guided by the imperative of development*, the ideological parameter is secondary, which assumes the consequences of the transformations and intervenes only where local or regional actors risk to lose control of the sense and content of those transformations: namely, fair access for "the workers" to the fruits of their labor. The ultimate goal of the activities is not the *profit itself* (as in capitalism!), but *profit as a source of investment* to ensure a better quality of life for all! Communist authorities represent a guarantee of the ownership right, which can be leased even to foreigners, but only in accordance with Chinese legislation! It is not possible for foreigners to purchase land⁴⁶ in China. The heritage of the Chinese people cannot in any way be given up in the form of partnerships with third-party economic partnerships, whether with multinationals or with countries! In the context of free education, free access to training for all specializations needed by the agricultural sector has contributed to the formation of highly qualified, professionalized human resources, remarkable by the effects of this educational investment: the quantity and quality of productions which have made it possible to obtain significant gains in this sector have

⁴⁶ Per capita cultivated acreage is 0.093 hectares, the country being placed in the group of countries which lack natural resources.

made it increasingly attractive, and attracted labor force trained in agricultural technology. Scientific research in this field has also contributed decisively to obtaining new varieties, but also to the design of a specifically Chinese logistics of all types and dimensions of agricultural works, but also for the industrial processing of all agricultural, animal and tree-vineyard productions. The takeover, without reservation, of *holding* type methodologies successfully trialled in the Western world, but by joining them with the specifics of traditional Chinese organization and in accordance with the procedure of sequences of the general social reformation of China's mainland, has demonstrated once again that the *damaging disjunction between "capitalism" and "socialism" has ceased to operate in the "socialist market economy"*, and *this management model is the one that explains the rise of China among the countries that matter globally*. National statistics also noted that in 2008, the rate of urbanization reached 46.6 percent, but the urban population's income was 2.3 times greater than the net income per family member in rural areas, this showing that there is still a great need to optimize the principle of "*decent development for all*". However, the added value of the labor unity was 407 USD, i.e. only 1/2 of the worldwide average, or 1/108 of that of Canada⁴⁷, and the contribution of agriculture to the country's GDP is 11%.

g) **Industrialization**, as an important component of the reforms initiated in 1978, has evolved organically through superior harnessing of all available resources, but also of the millennia-old crafts: *paper-making* (from the times when Europe was still using papyri)⁴⁸, *gunpowder*

⁴⁷ Liu Zengwen (*Laudatio*, UVT 2010)

⁴⁸ The Song Dynasty is the first government in history to use paper to produce a valid currency in the movement of money of those times; the same government created the first permanent fleet in

(before the Greeks), *print* (Chinese writing used text multiplication before the discovery of the Gutenberg printing press), *porcelain*⁴⁹, *the compass*, *the first calendar*, etc. The domestic market, stimulated by a demand of over a billion buyers favored a permanent economic growth in all areas, giving a rather enclosed character to the whole Chinese society (until 1978), less susceptible to various external financial movements, based mainly on monetary development policies, rather than on internal resources in support of development programs.

After the "grand opening" in 1978, cheap labor took over the production of industrial machinery components, even high-tech ones, and under the Western formula of franchises, it professionalized a significant part of the local population, part of it being motivated to commence scientific research focused on the industrial technological assimilation and scientific creation. Gradually, with managerial discretion and tact, domestic technological research and creation institutes were founded, which were sufficiently mature in terms of their organization as to be able to create enterprises capable of manufacturing not only various components for foreign multinationals, but also to provide specific logistics at contemporary levels, for the *inside renewal* of Chinese society (also) through the contribution of the **education system** (of all educational offers) funded as a **strategic investment**, but with educational offers geared towards the needs of industry, agriculture, health care, transportation, defense, including on the scientific research ambitions within the global development project. *The spectacular leap from a subsistence economy, to a performing, commercial-type economy*, continued for the purpose of establishing

history.

⁴⁹ Recent research has shown that aluminum was used by the Chinese 300 years before our era.

Chinese subsidiaries in third countries for the production of Chinese components that major multinationals assembled in China, thereby completing, in a profitable manner, the entire production flow, designed and managed entirely by Chinese specialists, many of whom are graduates of prestigious universities across the developed world. Without a public show, but with high efficiency and driven by the discrete ambition of the internationalization of the Chinese *brand* in development, the communist authorities have supported in equal measure both the state companies and their own multinationals, as well as multinationals with foreign capital in the creation of job opportunities based on creating added value. Beyond the strictly economic, technical and scientific aspects, China also gained a considerable *rating as a regional authority* in maintaining geopolitical stability in the area: the dependence of many smaller or medium-sized companies in neighboring countries on Chinese development projects contributed substantially to reducing the geopolitical tensions in the Asian area related to China. This is why the China's current status as a great economic power has nothing to do with the legendary beginning of the so-called "Chinese miracle": communist China's identity profile owes nothing to the Bolshevik type communist ideology, nor to Western-style capitalist ideology, but only to labor producing added value! In reality it is an **altogether original development philosophy**: it is not a simple case of abandonment of socialism to move to capitalism, as Western journalists, analysts or politicians incapable of thinking outside party stereotypes, clichés and commonalities have simplistically termed it. The historic accumulation of many domestic and international social innovations was expressed concretely in an original managerial creation that can be called a "socialist market economy", in which the elements that proved to be viable

in the Chinese socialism's social experiment were complementarized, with elements that showed their viability in a globalized world, from the Western social experiment, left in history as *capitalism*: the Chinese lesson has invalidated the patterns of Manichaeic-type thinking (or capitalism, or socialism, *tertium non datur*). It is **the first social system that validates the logic of contradiction of Stéphane Lupasco⁵⁰, in which the third parties included become operational**. Even regarding the financial system, there are many things to be learned from the Chinese managerial system: the monetarism practiced by developed countries (which led them into extreme debt) can coexist synergistically with *cash* resources in designing development programs that are manageable in real time, thus doing away with the dependency on bank loans that can hamper the completion of those projects through fluctuating and prohibitive interest rates. In this sense, China's economic start was possible in a deciding manner through the calibration of development projects through its own resources: thus, to the sustainable development - dependent on the capitalist flows characterized by growth-crisis-resumption of development through financing from foreign banks - was proffered a sustainable development via the superior economic harnessing of its own economic resources, whose use does not need approval from exogenous forums, inevitably associated to interests that differ from the People's Republic of China's development objectives⁵¹;

⁵⁰ Stéphane Lupasco, *Logique de la contradiction*, P.U.F. Publisher, Paris, 1947, and Marc Beigbeder, *Contradiction et Nouvel Entendement*, Bordas, Paris, 1972, Thèse de doctorat.

⁵¹ *The long-term development program of science and technology*, 2006, currently valid (Documentary China, Li Ming, 2016)

compliance and pursuing those principles with consistency has made possible an economic growth averaging about 9 percent, while economic growth in 2011 reached 10.3%. An example is edifying: in the automotive industry, China has become the world leader, with 13.5 million cars produced and sold, out-pacing the United States, which remained listed in the same year with only 10.4 million cars produced and sold! As a simple explanation: the fiscal measures taken by the communist authorities have encouraged consumption in this sector, contributing to increasing the quality of life through their own development efforts. Since 2000, the car park increases annually by 20 million cars, which led the authorities, to not be overwhelmed by the risk of pollution, to take measures for the rationalization of the use of automobiles: in Beijing, for example, a car cannot circulate except if the last digit of the license plate number of the car is allowed on that day! Another alternative solution is putting into service of electric cars, and even electric buses, which provide for the movement of population throughout the day.

Integration of all vectors of development on the national territory ⁵²in the immediate and long-term interests of the Chinese people was an outstanding managerial innovation: in 2007 there were 1,140 open and functional research and development centers in mainland China, established by corporations in just ten years (in 1997 there were only 24 such organizational structures, geared on research and development).⁵³

⁵² In Zhongguancun, 20,000 Chinese and foreign companies from Europe, America and Asia in the field of high-tech, as well as many universities, research institutes and even China's Academy of Sciences operate in an area of 232 square kilometers.

⁵³ Denis Fred Simon, Cong Cao, *China's Emerging Technological Edge: Assessing the Role of High-End Talent*,

Currently, the diversification of domestic research and development programs provide the optimization demand of Chinese investments in all civil development sectors for defense, and for continuing its own aerospace programs.⁵⁴ In 1970 China launched its first satellite, Dong Fang Hong, in 2003 it became the third country in the world that can independently send people into space (Yang Liwei's space flight, aboard Shenzhou 5, in 2011 it launched the first space station module of domestic production), and by 2013, ten Chinese have traveled into space. Here is evidence of an utterly remarkable scientific-technological performance, generated by a development model which is worthy of careful study.

Development through scientific research is the **new paradigm** which polarizes the Chinese people's efforts, for all projects that concern building the national future by the communist authorities in this country.

If, at the commencement of the reform, its main objective was to attract foreign companies and multinationals to national development projects, in 2016 this goal is secondary, as Microsoft, Mercedes, Motorola, General Electric, Coca-Cola, L'Oréal, Siemens, Samsung, Merck, Novartis, Pfizer, Alcatel, Hewlett-Packard, and even Japanese companies such as Fujitsu, Toyota and others (namely those companies that are important at the global level have been operating in China for over a decade), in the most immediate present, the subject is another: starting partnerships with top global companies in order to produce future technologies, both within the

Cambridge University Press, 2009

⁵⁴China has launched, exclusively by its own forces, a satellite that has reached the Moon, and is now the third country in the world, after the United States and Russia, which launches, using its own technologies, spaceships into space, with a crew on board.

Chinese research and development centers, as well as in the laboratories of multinationals on all continents.⁵⁵

Infrastructure is a field that is added to the series of successes of popular China: if in 1998, China had 100 km of motorways, in 2013 it had 91,157 km of highway through its own efforts (research and design, completion, maintenance, with domestic staff). With regard to railways, only between 1988-2000, 30,000 km of railway⁵⁶ and 220,000 km of roads have been put into service, facts which demonstrate the huge potential of the Chinese model of development. From 2000 up to now, China has modernized, at the level of the 21st century, 4 million kilometers of roads has built 3,000 new bridges across the country, of which 1,000 bridges with a length greater than 1 km. Currently there is a bridge between Hong Kong and Macao under construction, on which only high-speed trains of Chinese manufacture will run. It is not irrelevant to point out that, in just two years, China has produced more cement than the U.S. throughout the 20th century! The strength of Chinese builders is also shown in the fact that there are currently involved in the construction of several viaducts of over 150 km and tunnels of over 28 km. In 2012, **the longest high-speed railway line in the world was inaugurated in, Beijing-Guangzhou-Hong Kong.** By the year 2020, 16,000 km of high-speed rail lines will become operative.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ 9,718 productive units were established in Fujian by businessmen from Taiwan, since 1978 when Taiwan allowed its residents to visit relatives on the Mainland.

⁵⁶ The high-speed train of domestic manufacture that travels on the Huan-Chou-Ju and Hu-ian routes goes over 150 bridges and through 236 tunnels in a single hour, with a speed of 250km/hour!

⁵⁷ Fujian province alone has 5 airports, 1,800 km of highway, 1,600 km of rail, and its ports have a handling capacity of 100 million tons. In Fukian operate 83 institutions of higher education, 7 colleges,

China has achieved remarkable leaps in **mobile telephony**: from 100 million in 2003, today there are more than 900 million users and the demand is growing. China's technological companies, *Huawei* and *Lenovo*, have become world leaders in telecommunications and in personal computers; Chinese manufactured supercomputers are, currently, the most powerful in the world.

The production and installation of domestically manufactured industrial robots, increased 136 times between 2008 and 2011.

In 2010, industrial production had a 49% contribution to China's GDP, i.e. 11 times more than the global average of high-income countries.

h) **Health care programs**, in turn, combine two objectives:

1) *superior capitalization of its domestic portfolio of therapies from multi-millennial traditions* (acupuncture, phytotherapy, different procedures of alternative therapies, the diversification of herbal medicine procedures);

2) *internationalization of Chinese methods of diagnosis and health maintenance*, modernization of logistics in acupuncture by assimilating the latest discoveries in the field of nanotechnologies;

Centering efforts on ensuring health through innovation and discovery of new preventive methods, by switching the emphasis from curing disease to their prevention, gives an unmistakable identity profile of Chinese medicine, placing it in the top of world rankings, including through contemporary medical research.

1,963 high schools, 8,566 schools, 1,200 research institutes and 867 high-tech companies.

The health care system *emphasizes preventive medicine and ensuring public health* without any discrimination, to prevent a possible social polarization in access to health care services. In 2011, China was recognized as the world's leading provider of pharmaceuticals, the life expectancy of the Chinese people being 75 years of age.

As the world leader in demographics, China is concerned with the balanced distribution of the population at the national level, but in conjunction with the requirements of occupations/trades at the regional level. In this way, relevant programming anticipates that, over the next 10 years, 220 cities will have a population of at least 1,000,000 inhabitants, continuing the urbanization process which has led to the growth of the urban population from 20% in 1990 to 40% in 2007, currently being almost 50%. The real estate market has increased 8-fold in the past 30 years; the apartments are distributed free to all employees of the state system, in a manner similar to the job housing of Romania's communist era... Here are just a few solutions to the great problems of the community complexity of the Chinese community space

Each year China builds 100 airports to secure, in this way as well, one more source of cohesion of its community space, complementary with the network of roads, bridges and railways serving the same beneficial purpose.

China's continued economic growth has made the Chinese social space very attractive for foreign investments generating jobs, but he also spurred Chinese investments abroad. ⁵⁸Thus, import duties

⁵⁸Continuing the principle of "welfare for all", in rural areas poverty fell from 250 million people, to 20 million in 1978.

were canceled, and taxes were reduced by half according to the "*New open doors strategy*".

i) **Education**⁵⁹: as a *strategic investment*⁶⁰, it covers all curricular offerings pertaining to professionalization in Chinese specific branches⁶¹, but also in areas of general interest able to resonate with the thematic area of education science research in the great universities of the world. The educational system is focused on science, mathematics and engineering and receives, as budgetary allocations, 2.4% of the GDP. Refusing the superiority complex of the Westerners (in this case, the exclusivity of American standards) of ranking universities, China has its own standard (the Shanghai grid) for the evaluation of universities from all continents, on the basis of *its own qualitative criteria relating the vision and educational mission of the educational systems in the contemporary world*, as well as in the preparation of the future through teaching and educational activities and through scientific research.

⁵⁹In 2006 the Government ensures, including manuals and allowances, that the first 9 years of schooling are free: from \$50 billion in 2003, in 2011 financial support has reached \$250 billion. If in 1950, 20% of the population was literate, in 2010, as an effect of the communist Government's concept about the mission of the education system, the literacy rate was 94%.

⁶⁰In the Bolshevik-type socialism model, education was classified as expenditure, not investment, because it was considered... *unproductive!*

⁶¹The official language is **Mandarin**, a dialect of Chinese spoken in the northern part of China, on which the standard Chinese language is based, promoted as the official language for all Chinese-speaking countries (Taiwan, Singapore). Even the literary language is based on the Mandarin dialect.

Designed as a strategic investment, the education system is based on a logical premise: as an individual has multilateral needs, they can only be satisfied through a multilateral economy to avoid, in the future, any dependency upon foreign countries. In order to effectively realize this type of economy, a network of both horizontal and vertical training institutions is necessary, in which training programs are complementary and strictly correlated with future professional careers for indefinite periods. Financing, controlled by the party authorities, ensures free access to all specialization programs, including professional development ones in compatibility with the requirements of modernizing Chinese society. Having recalibrated its curriculum in accordance with the objectives of the Chinese social space's general reform, the educational system currently has a new goal to achieve: the production of original knowledge, through investment in *scientific research* assessed as a *virtually inexhaustible development resource*⁶², and on the didactic component, the dissemination of ethos-bearing values and of training potential for all specializations: in practice there is no field of knowledge which is not included in Chinese teaching projects, with one exception - Western-style welfare! Analyzing it in comparison with the European and American education offers, it is noteworthy that compared to France, England, Spain, for example, where welfare has a well defined status in its university-level education

⁶² Science and technology together make up one of the four modernizations of China, with noticeable results: **four Nobel Prizes in physics and a Nobel Prize in chemistry**. Currently China is the second largest publisher of scientific papers in the world

offers, in Germany⁶³ the controversies concerning the correctness of raising welfare to the rank of a university subject have not ceased, currently this type of education network being geared on a system of professional “welfare workers” (*sozialarbeiter*), equated to social workers.

With relatively the same meaning (social worker) in American universities, welfare is a university specialization of the same rank of epistemological dignity, equivalent in its curriculum position with all other undergraduate majors.

As funding sources, welfare programs are funded in the Euro-Atlantic space by governments, NGOs, and the local, regional and national authorities' pertinent Departments. Regarded as an acceptable solution to the issue of marginalization and social exclusion, that *kind of passive welfare* proved to have *two vulnerabilities*: 1) as the resources needed by welfare are insufficient due to repeated redistribution of the gross domestic product of each community which has assumed this model, recourse to external indebtedness has proved to be inevitable: year after year, Governments increased the amount of foreign debt (also) for welfare programs aimed at the population "in need", i.e. those dependent on community aid. The risk of increasing foreign debt to alarming rates led to the exploration of alternatives: namely, promoting the “social economy” model focused on integrating disadvantaged categories in jobs meant to turn welfare beneficiaries into real contributors to the community budgets, through their

⁶³ Ana Muntean, Juliane Sagebil, *Practici în asistența socială. România și Germania*, Editura Polirom, Iași, 2008

contributions as employees in the social economy sector, as a result of the creation of job opportunities for these “jobless” people; 2) demotivation of welfare recipients in attending retraining courses with a view to finding new forms of professional expression. In this context, long-term unemployment⁶⁴ has proved to be an inertial source in all development projects, because a considerable proportion of available resources had to be allocated to welfare related to this type of unemployment. In addition, long-term unemployment has a negative impact in educational terms as well: new generations notice that one can live as a chronic welfare recipient, by the care of community authorities, reducing their motivation of seeking job opportunities...

In reply, *active welfare* - by using the rights due to each welfare recipient as an actual source of job creation meant to turn the welfare recipient into an active worker or even the owner of a small business, in different fields available in the local or regional labor market - is increasingly seen as an innovative perspective in overcoming the situation of dependency on community aid. Experimentally, such a project is coordinated by the relevant Department of the University of Chicago (USA)⁶⁵ and can be summarized as follows: of the \$600 USD due to each welfare recipient, the local authority (City Hall) saves each *welfare state* beneficiary (from the \$600 welfare) a certain

⁶⁴ Unemployment aid is nothing but welfare, but it is a relevant indicator for the unemployed population.

⁶⁵ Dr. Marius Dancea, *Model experimental de asistență socială activă. Arealul localității Chicago*, Doctoral thesis, West University of Timișoara, Timișoara, 2015

percentage of the financial spread due to him/her. When the available funds of the government welfare recipient (welfare state) becomes large enough to be turned into an investment fund, each beneficiary is given the option to start a small business, as a managerial incubation within the area of local authorities (i.e. without paying the taxes due by other active investors in the labor market). When this business in question matures functionally in relation to the labor market (i.e. it becomes a job offer), but also financially (that is, covers its maintenance costs from its own profit), the new organizational structure is registered in the commercial register at the expense of the local authorities (City Hall), provided it submits a short and medium term business development plan, in which it will clearly state the calendar periods during which it will hire people from the ranks of welfare recipients: their expected number, amount of remuneration and all other obligations towards the state and local authorities. Being in progress, this experiment with all its beneficial effects confirms, in another manner, that the traditional model of capitalism is currently in decline, and for the future it can no longer be recommended.

In reply, the Chinese multi-millennial philosophy reconfirms at the current evolutionary sequences of human society **that the development resource is the work of the individual, associated in professionalized organizational structures**⁶⁶.

⁶⁶Currently there are 2,300 higher education institutions operating in China, but 600 are private due to the PRACTICAL APPLICATION of one of the five objectives of the University-type education: "encouragement of the social environment to support the development of higher education". In this context, the damaging **brain drain** has turned into **brain circulation**,

If poverty is a social phenomenon that spans ideologies, i.e., a social one, overcoming this situation is also possible on a social scale. As a result, **the safest form of welfare for an individual is to guarantee employment** through which he can evolve on his own from a simple skilled worker to a professional and, from there, to an expert, by the social harnessing of professional potential. **Free schooling and skill-building and professional training programs during one's lifetime can also be considered welfare.**

Thus, the solution also comes from the community, but in another sense in the Chinese social experiment: it is not the obligation of the authorities to finding aid, but it is *their obligation to create jobs*. **The job offer is the only certainty that the individual can go out of poverty on his, for the rest of his life.** Focusing expectations on the authorities' capability of building resources and of distributing aid to disadvantaged and socially excluded people has generated, in the Western capitalist model, the phenomenon of long-term unemployment which contributes not just to deepening social polarization, with negative effects for a non-negligible segment of the population, but also a lack of motivation to seek a solution to overcome the precarious situation in which they find themselves on their own. Such a model cannot have a future any longer, because **social peace cannot be bought with welfare**, but it can be built by associating individuals into occupational structures centered on generating sustainable development capable of producing "prosperity for all."⁶⁷

Chinese students who studied abroad return home to contribute (as well) to the development of their country...

⁶⁷ From American the statistics, it appears that in the US about

In conclusion, instead of investing in the social management programs for excluded people (programs that are not completely absent!), the Chinese have preferred to invest in creating jobs⁶⁸ and in the professional training of those who occupied them, this managerial attitude being aimed at all social segments, without any discrimination. Here's another way to demonstrate in practice that "unity is strength". Communist China's new economic power is (also) the product of this paradigm.

As an actor of globalization (that cannot be neglected), popular China stands out not by the "export of democracy" or through public management of prosperity in order to exhibit its own values, but through offers of cheaper goods and services, with the objective of enhancing the attractiveness of its identity profile. China does not impose; It proposes mutually beneficial dialogs based on mutual respect, to any state actor, any multinational or multinational cartel, which can fulfill these demands, which are regarded as minimal. The novelty of this model not only has friends or just admirers; there are even critics and detractors... History, however, does not ask, it just records and goes forward... It is only up to us on what side of the barricade we stand in the fight for social peace and prosperity. In these coordinates, *the fight for social innovation is part of the solution*: the demise by implosion of conservative Bolshevism is an opportunity (even a challenge)

10% of the population consumes 90% of the country's wealth, while the remaining 90% of the population consumes only 10%! This exaggerated social polarization, in the Chinese conception, cannot be legitimate from the standpoint of democracy...

⁶⁸ 12 million jobs are created annually.

for conservative capitalism as well, to rebuild its own identity profile in the face of history.

Turning to memories

After starting with the half of the 18th century, in Western Europe, the ethnic and social communities have already expressed distinct identity profiles and functional institutional systems, the Romanian multi-millennial community was still fighting for national emancipation. With its territory (which assured their ethnogenesis) torn up by the ambitions of the three neighboring Empires - the Ottoman Empire that considered that it actually governed the Romanian provinces, the Russian Empire, which claimed to own them and the Habsburg empire desired both - Romanians have not forgotten their multi-millennial continuity in those territories and became involved in the war which began in 1877 as the Russian-Turkish War, but that became the War of Independence through this sacrificial involvement of Romanians after Russia's Czar asked Prince Carol I of Romania to intervene on the battlefield in the following terms "*Cross the Danube where you wish, under whatever terms you wish; the Christian cause is lost!*".

After the defeat of the Turks began the Romanians' institutional reconstruction within the Romanian United Principalities as a first sequence of the process of reunification of the Romanian collective mindset within the normative frameworks of Greater Romania (1918).

Immediately after declaring Independence⁶⁹ and the international recognition thereof by the Treaty of Berlin of July 13th 1878, Prince Carol I sent a message to the Imperial Court in Beijing, and in 1881, the Romanian Legation in Paris received from China's Representative in Saint Petersburg a

⁶⁹ Prime Minister Mihail Kogălniceanu, in Parliament: "We are independent! We are an autonomous nation!"

response with the request to "present to his Highness Prince Carol I, the congratulations of his Imperial Majesty and His warm wishes of prosperity and welfare of the country and the people of Romania".

This is the historical landmark of the commencement of Romanian-Chinese relations, which endured through the historical turmoil of the two countries, thoroughly tested by unjust wars and interim occupations.

The diplomatic relations themselves actually began following the event of May 16th, 1939, when the person in charge of internal affairs of the Romanian Legation in Prague submitted a letter to the Foreign Minister on behalf of the Minister of the Government of China, through which the Romanian Government was asked to conclude a treaty of friendship with China "for the establishment of diplomatic relations between Romania and the Republic of China". This initiative had a positive result, and on May 24th 1939, Mr. Lone Liang, the Chinese Minister in Prague was made aware that the Royal Government of Romania accepts immediately, without reservation, the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries, Mr Lone Liang being designated "to represent the Republic of China as Envoy Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Minister to his Majesty the King" in Romania.

The geopolitical mutations generated by the peace Treaties at the end of World War II, although they have significantly changed the political regime of many countries, including Romania and China, these ideological movements could not curb the traditional partnership between our countries⁷⁰. Thus, only a few days after October 1st 1949, when China became a People's Republic⁷¹, that is on October 5th 1949, the young

⁷⁰ In 1980, the postal direction in the People's Republic of China issued a stamp dedicated to the 2.050 anniversary of the creation of the first centralized and independent Dacian State

⁷¹ Mao Zedong in Tiananmen Square (the Gate of Heavenly Peace), proclaimed the People's Republic of China as a sign of victory

Republic of Romania sent to Prime Minister Zhou Enlai an invitation to open diplomatic missions, on a reciprocal basis, in the capitals of the two countries. *"On behalf of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, I had the honor to receive the telegram of October 3rd of this year, by which is communicated the decision of the Government of the People's Republic of Romania on the establishment of diplomatic relations between the People's Republic of Romania and the People's Republic of China and on the exchange of diplomatic representatives. I hereby communicate that the People's Central Government of the People's Republic of China warmly welcomes the establishment without delay of diplomatic relations between the People's Republic of China and the People's Republic of Romania and the exchange of diplomatic representatives"*. Suspecting the predominance of the ideological factor in continuation of the old Romanian-Chinese traditions, the actors holding leadership positions at the time in the two countries laid the groundwork for a number of multilateral economic cooperation treaties with major effects in increasing employment, providing stable jobs able to generate sustainable growth projects of indeterminate length. Managerial fairness and the professional probity of the partnership with China have greatly profited the two countries so much, that their economic relations have been expanded to the fields of technology, culture, sports, military and even in the field of international cooperation; we also consider here a number of dramatic moments at the geopolitical level.⁷² Thus, after in August of 1968, Romania was also at risk of being invaded by the troops of the Treaty of Warsaw (!!!) under Soviet leadership, for the reason that Romania refused to comply to Moscow's

over the *guomintang* forces (the Republic of China loyal to the old power structures from the Chinese past). Behind Tiananmen Square lies the former Imperial Palace.

⁷² For example, the invasion of Czechoslovakia in August of 1968.

orders, Prime Minister Zhou Enlai surprised all the leaders of that time with a passionate call to the USSR: "*Romania faces foreign intervention and aggression. The Chinese people supports the Romanian people (...). We support you in the struggle to defend your independence and sovereignty. Hold; if necessary we will even send you tanks!*"

Following the Agreement of March 12, 1971, with the friendly help of China, 16 production units were built in Romania, which provided a large number of jobs and increased prosperity for many families in Romania. These public gestures, supplemented by the exercise of partnerships resulting in common economic objectives, reveals the great potential⁷³ of cooperation based on the sincere motivation of providing an example of *mutually advantageous international cooperation, centered on the building of a world of social and national justice, in the age of globalization.*

Currently (2010), responding to a challenging question concerning China's current *rating* at the planetary level, the President of the Friendship Association of the Chinese people with foreigners, Mr. Chen Haosu, stated: "*I want to say that China doesn't intend to compete with the US. The objective of the Chinese authorities in the year 2020 is the **development of particularly Chinese socialism**, the complete construction of society and realizing decent welfare*", "complete" meaning the removal of asymmetries and imbalances which still detract from the functioning of the overall society of the Chinese mainland community.

2017 will mark 126 years from the initiative, enacted on the interstate level, of institutionalizing⁷⁴ the Romanian-Chinese

⁷³ In 2004, on the occasion of the anniversary of 55 years of diplomatic relations, the President of the P.R. of China conducted a historic visit in Romania.

⁷⁴ The Moldavian-Wallachian Boyar Nicolae Milescu had combined some important responsibilities for those times, at the Court of the Great August Kang Xi, without being an authorized (official)

relationships. It's a good opportunity to review, but also to initiate new projects with significant geopolitical implications for both sides. The Romanian-Chinese associations, as well as the Confucius Institutes, as well as NGOs can have a beneficial contribution not only to the dissemination of Chinese culture and experience in various fields, but also to disseminate the *sustainable development model* that we have tried to summarize in this sociological essay, as a means of revealing the intention to reiterate⁷⁵, for the future, of good cooperative and pragmatic partnership relations between Romania and China. The Romanian-Chinese Friendship Association in Timișoara is part of this trend as a positive vector.

To avoid being suspected of ideological partisanship in our previous assessments, we quote from the assessments of some Western analysts⁷⁶: "*The main world power of the nineteenth century was the United Kingdom. In the late twentieth century, the role is held by the United States. At the beginning of the 21st century, with a population of over a billion people and the second largest economy in the world, China is on track to become the new superpower*". Economist Argentin Stratopolos, in 2010, stated in the following terms: "*Today China has come to loan foreign currency both the American Federation to help it pass more easily over the negative effects of the economic crisis,*

representative of the community of Romanians in Moldavia or Wallachia. The description of the great Romanian scholar was appreciated by European scholars of that time, and this great Romanian is mentioned in the Chinese archives, is included in the Chinese *Who's Who* (1996) under the name of Mi Ko Lai.

⁷⁵ In 1981 (on October 4th), on the anniversary of 75 years from the first flight of an airplane designed, built and piloted by Traian Vuia, the first Romanian post flight around the world on the route Bucharest-Beijing-Tokyo-New York-Bucharest was organized at Motesson (in France)...

⁷⁶ John Farndon: *China's Secrets. The rise of a global superpower*, translation by Gabriela Grigore, Editura Litera Internațional, Bucharest, 2008

but at the same time it helps the World Bank, which has not happened before. **From a country dependent on the West, China has become a major world power.**"⁷⁷. A Romanian diplomat and orientalist, from the generation of young Romanian diplomats, confessing that "Shanghai is one of the great metropolises of the world", stated: "China is no longer the land of the 80s-90s; it has evolved a lot in terms of economy, and its experience in the field of «special economic zones», of «industrial parks» of modern infrastructure, merits study. It represents, at the same time, a huge, advantageous market for which many foreign companies from the USA, Japan, the European Union are competing, and is becoming, day by day, and an increasingly important external investor."⁷⁸ As an argument, in 2010, Shanghai did an excellent job of organizing the Universal Exhibition to demonstrate its economic strength of a big world metropolis, confirming that it lies in the sphere of the "largest growth rate in the world's modern history" (Rodica Dumitrescu, 2010).

China's current performances are an expression of **extensive** development, i.e. of modernizing all areas of activity; **the following sequence of the Chinese sustainable development project is the intensive development**, in whose area scientific research and information technology are assessed as virtually inexhaustible resources of strategic development, on whose coordinates the unitary sovereign state will play the role of a historical actor to ensure ethics in all international partnerships.

In 2010, the former Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Ambassador of China in Romania, Liu Zenweng, on the occasion of the granting of the title of Doctor Honoris Causa by the West University of Timișoara, stated: *China is currently in*

⁷⁷ *Evantaiul celor 10.000 de gânduri. România și China: trei veacuri de istorie*, Volume III, Coordinators Ileana Hogeia Velișcu Florea Dumitrescu, Capitel, 2010

⁷⁸ Ion Scumpieru: *Evantaiul celor 10.000 de gânduri.....* pag. 360

the middle of upgrading its social space, a modernization which comes from within, being calibrated by China's strategic interests. Along these coordinates, the Human Development Index (HDI) is 0.772. China being ranked in the category of medium development countries, while the coefficient of consumption, according to Engel's formula is 33.1%, i.e. 5 times greater than that of the US.

A big problem of the economic growth uncontested for nearly four decades, is the asymmetry between the West and the East of the country: the West side has a total production that is 2.3 times greater than the East side. In addition, the structuring of national economy on sectors reflects an asymmetry, a process which is under the control of the authorities. The National Bureau of Statistics issued a press release in 2008 in which the per capita income is US \$3,300; this indicator confirms the status of a country with a medium development for its population of almost one and half billion inhabitants.

Intensive development, switching the emphasis on the quality of growth processes, is centered on *reducing asymmetries between the economic indicators of mainland West and East*, for the purpose of ensuring an equivalent quality of life, *balanced allocation of investments* for health, education, urbanization, *the creation of new jobs, non-discriminatory access* to the newest technologies, *the funding of scientific research and technological development* in line with the sustainable development projects of the whole country, *increasing the share of Chinese brands* in exports from China, *the diversification of Chinese presence* in the range of goods and services offered to all partner countries and *the initiation of mutually beneficial partnerships*. The motto "*continuity brings prosperity*" will be respected in China's strategic future, the present being only a mere confirmation of the motto in question.

After a prolonged documentation visit in China, the writer Viorel Știrbu, noting that "after 1989 in Romania information about **China** have thinned out and became biased", ascertained that this country "*presents itself as a model for the future, that*

will draw the attention of many nations, fed up with the arrogant, aggressive and rapacious behavior of the planet mighty” [...]. In China, literature is created by the writer, music by the musician, farming by the peasant, architecture - the architect and so on... there, people practice the areas that they master; that is why there is coherence and progress in everything that happens, in everything that characterizes the social, economic and political life of the country. The Chinese are serious and honest in every situation.”. An enlightening example of the current potential of popular China is the **bridge over Hangzhou Bay** spanning a distance of 129 km, between Shanghai and Ningbo, which is actually a six-lane freeway, plus an additional two safety lanes, and is highly regarded as **the longest transoceanic bridge in the world**. Its construction began in 2003 and was completed in 2008: it is the result of the complete design and completion of over 600 construction engineers, industrial designers, architects and other specialists who worked tirelessly for 9 years in its design, drafting the feasibility study, preparing and completing one of the most imposing contemporary architectural masterpieces of incontestable international usefulness. The total cost was 11.8 billion yuan, or around USD 1.7 billion. The bridge is S-shaped, i.e. is specially constructed and equipped to resist earthquakes, but also to withstand typhoons and hurricanes of great intensity. In the middle of the bridge, is a 10,000 square meter maritime platform for various *services* of critical utility (a gas station, a restaurant, a hotel, conference facilities, an observation tower with access for tourists). Its approval as a worldwide precedent is proof of the recognition of a technological workforce possessed today by a country that nearly four decades ago was dependent on foreign countries in many respects...

At the end of our ideational journey, we shall attempt to formulate a possible answer to a *question* often asked not only in social research environments: *“How much does today’s China, led by communist authorities, still owe to Marxism?”*. To begin with, we reiterate that the Chinese authorities' behavior

that have been very selectively guided not only their own past, but also by the doctrinal foundations of Marxism, i.e. without taking into account the Leninist or Stalinist distortions or offshoots. In his work *"Writings from my youth"*, Karl Marx⁷⁹ formulated the first well-known motto *"when ideas take over the masses, they become material, practical, revolutionary forces"* which metamorphosed into the principle formulated by Deng Xiaoping, according to which the truth concerning "the road ahead" for "reform and openness" should be sought not in doctrine, but in direct practice: *"extract the truth only from the facts!"*. If we accept this similarity, there remains another question: "Which idea started making the Communist Government of Popular China attractive?". This one: namely, the notion that people get out by themselves, through their own work, not only from poverty, but they can also become unlimitedly rich, has inflamed all walks of life. *The multi-millennial prestige of the Chinese people, elevated to the status of the ideal of the quality of participation of each individual in the recovery of mainland China's collective memory, was assumed as the imperative of the renewal from within of the Chinese collective mindset, stirring an unprecedented motivation, on a global scale, not only at the level of Asian proximity, where mediocrity of development had long been enshrined...*

Keeping the proportions of the comparison, we make reference to the response of a great Romanian writer, Camil Petrescu, given to a reporter who was questioning him about the civic mediocrity in Romania of the '30s of the 20th century: *"It*

⁷⁹ We refer to the pre-Marx Marxism, Marx's Marxism and Marxism after Marx, because there are not insignificant differences between these sequences, whose circumvention maintains the discourse in the area of comfortable shallowness, good only for manipulation, totally unproductive from an epistemological standpoint; we have tried to contribute to a more correct epistemological framing of the reality which is the subject of our research.

is not the man that is mediocre, but the purpose. Give him a high purpose and it will yank him from mediocrity!"

By analogy, by giving the Chinese the freedom to find his own methods to overcome mediocrity, but assisted by the authorities who were obligated to encourage his initiatives and compensate him for his performance, we ascertain that this was the "higher purpose", the driving idea that spurred the engines of community involvement on a path that proves to be favorable to china's strategic objective as an actor of contemporary globalization.

Thus, present-day China also stems from Marxism, but only in compatibility with its own multi-millennium philosophy of development, stating that in no writing of Marx is there stipulated any contradiction between the laws of "market" economy (back then just capitalist) and centering of community efforts on ensuring "decent development for all", in a socialist state; social polarization was not a strategic objective for the capitalism that was contemporary to Marx, but its subsequent developments could not avoid such polarization; furthermore, they emphasized it in more severe forms...

The unprejudiced appropriation of all decision-making parameters that optimize community development is, in essence, the characteristic of Chinese management and the motto for the continuation of ongoing reforms. The "openness" promoted in 1978 operates to that end: discrete addition, from all successful social experiments, of only what is compatible with the People's Republic's country project, has taken out of anonymity a former imperial community that was economically precarious, turning it into a credible dialog partner for all countries on every continent.

In the face of evidence, it is appropriate to recall Deng Xiaoping's metaphor launched in the Plenary of the Central Committee of the Chinese Party in December of 1978: *"It doesn't matter what color the cat is. As long as it catches mice, it is a good cat."* The performance of the sustainable development model experimented by the Chinese may provide the beginning of an answer to the *pragmatism of market*

socialism, this managerial conglomerate in which the ideological parameter is ranked second...

The same **Deng's** strategy was reiterated during the 14th Congress of the CCP: "*Follow the rules; save your chances; approach any situation calmly; do not showcase your strengths; wait for the opportune time; be skillful in not standing out; never claim leadership.*" - a strategy which has been objectified in a self new style of unostentatious but certain, affirmation, through the polarization of the countries in the region in relation to Chinese development projects, these countries recognizing its status as the regional leader in the area of a number of partnerships for mutual economic growth, in the long run. Regional leadership is starting point for the inevitable global leadership.

Globalization as the last utopia

Mythologically invoked - for the post-1989 generation, but not only! - and eagerly awaited with miraculous solutions on all meridians, globalization (Francophones use the term globalization) debuted with impressionist-type managerial assumptions and with conflicting paradigms, generalizing an axiological crisis in all collective mindsets that attempted to assimilate it, beyond its corresponding propagandistic connotations. As a result, many identity crises in which these axiological crises have been objectified, generate "daily, hourly, and at mass proportion" not only Cartesian doubts, but also skepticism with increasingly more severe manifestations, even at the level of the global social space.

Frequent invocation of the "democratic deficit" of communities that have recently accepted the Western development model no longer convinces anyone, since even those Western societies continue their projects just by increasing their foreign debt progressively; "sovereign debt" as it is lately called...

The conclusion that emerges here is simple: the Western model was designed and operated for several centuries through the infusion of resources which colonists brought back from the colonies to sustain the prosperity of the citizens of their respective metropolises. The source of that development was therefore not only the technological and managerial superiority of the metropolises, but first, the endemic asymmetry between the standard of the beneficiaries of raw materials from the metropolises, acquired through the hard and very badly paid labor of the citizens of the colonies, and the precarious survival of the colonized peoples... Beyond economic theories and political doctrines, in the process of globalization, a certainty is

currently revealed: the Western model can no longer function through its own resources, produced by Western economies which, to maintain prosperity, with decorative obstinacy, are resorting to debt; thus, also to exogenous resources. In these coordinates, globalization *was designed as a miracle solution not for spreading prosperity at a planetary scale, but to increase the intake of resources from the colonies*; as the Western model functioned in centuries past...

The collapse, by implosion, of the Bolshevik system provided a "breath of fresh air" to the Western model who was also seriously "ill"!

In this context, we mention the appreciation of a number of more lucid analysts who labeled **globalization as a new colonization**: the aim is still to control resources, the difference being only in terms of the means. Thus, if in the past brute force of arms regulated the power relations, currently the "magic bullet" of the mass and bank accounts are successfully fulfilling the old goals of those who claim to be worried about "fundamental human rights" in all corners of the world where there are resources that can be profitably capitalized by multinational, which, evidently, have formed cartels in the developed countries, from which they provide advice for "sustainable development" of the poor that are made strategically poorer through surging debt and unconscionable contracts for the "profitable capitalization of energy and raw materials", whereby they formalize the internationalization of historically aggregated intercontinental asymmetries.

Here is **the first dimension of the utopia**: trying to manipulate the world public opinion with the idea that resources, being a global good, should be jointly exploited, at the planetary level. Resources cannot be nationalized (legitimately), say the representatives of multinationals, because they are universal heritage values to which all communities of the planet must have non-discriminatory access, according to their means: those who have technology share their technologies, those who possess only workforce offer their workforce, etc. etc. About the effects, namely

that the profits are repatriated to the multinationals who own the technology and to marketing, financial, banking, etc. experts, no mention is made, because it is not... "*politically correct*" ... *Globalization*, perceived as galloping Americanization, beyond the triumphal aspects that are disseminated at the planetary level under the banner of the "irreversible sense of historical movement", are perceived at the individual level as *a major risk of loss of identity*...

As a person who was born somewhat earlier, I have heard this rallying cry about five decades ago; the sovietization of the planet is the "irreversible sense of historical movement!", perorated the Higher-Ups of the propaganda of those times - some of which hold the same status today, except in the opposite sense of the history they invoked Then... I will not even state that this type of "globalization" has proved to be an unquestionable historical bankruptcy on the scale of the utopia; both on its theoretical, and practical side.

On a European scale, after the collapse of the Bolshevik experiment, the former "fraternal countries" have already been colonized under the motto "European integration": in Romania, for example, by declaring the Industry to be "a heap of scrap" (these *words of wisdom* belongs to Mr. Engineer Petre Roman, in his ephemeral position as the head of the post-1989 diversion), they have proceeded to dismantle the entire economy and the whole country has become an importer of the products which itself exported before the "Roman Government", and the resources were passed, under more than controversial terms, in the possession of multinationals from every continent, evidently with the complicity of the new "post-revolutionary" Romanian political authorities. The alarming rise in unemployment and a reduction in the hope of identifying new job opportunities in youth are listed, arrogantly, as being due on the democratic deficit of the "new democracies" generated by the "post-1989" geopolitical reality: the Western model is unstained by the terrible effects that it caused, keeping intact its potential for manipulation.

In reply, those on the side of the losers of the *Cold War* are hoping (in vain!) that Western-type prosperity will arrive, without a doubt (!), since (we, the Romanian people) have proved to be utterly obedient to any message coming from the winning side... However, even if some of the most lucid youths, those who “perused books”, cannot repress the reflex of quoting a famous “ideological” refrain from antiquity *Vae victis* (woe, the vanquished!)... Here is the paradox: these youths want to place themselves on the winning side. Who is stopping them?!

In the absence of credible answers, they blame, in the purest Stalinist style possible, on the "old regime" (!), even though the actors of that time not only disappeared from the stage of history, but also from the existential life cycle characteristic of anonymous life forms.

In his work *Phenomenology of spirit*, the great Hegel warned us: who has not learned anything from the lessons of History is prone to repeat them!... Example: the innocence with which we provided (we mean the Government of Romania in World War I) to the Russians, the entire national treasure, with the hope that we will be keeping it safe from those that occupied our country in the First World War, proved to be an error whose effects spanned generations, and the new generation, intoxicated by various diversions, no longer shows any interest in the subject, but finds itself tempted toward similar gestures, other planes, towards other ideological conquerors of the historical scene of the most immediate present... In these coordinates, the "alternate history" textbooks help the young person without power of discernment to distance himself appropriately from his own history that he begins to look upon with, suspicion, even hostility, evolving by himself toward the condition of an avid detractor of his own origins, towards a curious kind of stateless that gives lessons on... patriotism!

The **second dimension** of utopia in progress: the *internationalization of prosperity through the simple exercise of obedience toward Western models of behavior*. To once again

“make European” (Pan-European integration!) the Eastern-European countries contained in former socialist Bolshevik-type experiment, the following motto was launched: "Transfer of sovereignty, in exchange for the transfer of prosperity!". Particularly tempting, the formulation in question has created a stream of contagious Europhilia especially among the youth, as well as those eager for existential adventures in the broadest sense of the word. Accordingly, not only those who were “dismissed” have left abroad, namely those who have encountered the first Western-type surprise: the status of being unemployed (without being warned of the possibility), the former “owner, producer and beneficiary” in the socialist period was “fired” by the very youths that he trained “in the workplace”, but also those who sought better pay. For the latter, the legend of “free circulation of the labor force” disappeared very quickly, as finding a job, not in the field that they had specialized in in the country, but even of another job that could generate an income proved an adventure that was nearly impossible in Western countries. Now, a quarter century on, Euroskepticism is starting to become more and more comfortably entrenched in the life projects of the former “workers”, less prone to give credit to the correlation between globalization and personal prosperity; it is more than embarrassing to talk about “sustainable development” in the face of the ruins of the former “socialist enterprises” to which they have given their youth... Labeled as communist “nostalgics”, they become increasingly disinterested in any ideological message and more and more worried about the risk of losing their home due to the precarious nature of the resources required to pay taxes that are overdue for months; the shame of seeing their more lucky, former coworkers, the unfortunate apologists of democratic capitalism swell the ranks of those who no longer even vote. The results of all future elections shall be the expected one, as only those who are directly or more discreetly bound to the activists of *globalization at any cost*, will vote. Without any civic

expression and without any media exposure, the marginalized are arming a social bomb with a delayed fuse, which cannot fail to worry the authorities that have all the power to maintain the stability of the “rule of law”, and in case of “God forbid!”, to restore “democracy”... increasingly they are speaking *on behalf* of the people, not **with the people!**

Still waiting for the internationalization of prosperity, the 3rd world (a rather outdated, but very current designation) are sinking into traditional poverty that evolves towards “pockets of extreme poverty”, and the drama is that part of them have begun to learn that you can live differently, somewhere... on the planet; even in the countries where radios, televisions, computers, coca-cola etc. come from. The **new capitalism**, imposed by their new Governments from the former “socialist” countries of Soviet obedience, it felt more like an unattractive rulebook that is generating **new forms for the old oppression.**

The **third dimension** is the *cultural* one: “respect for diversity” turns out to be, in reality, also a kind of fundamentalism, but with much more refined means of public expression on all continents. The planetary dissemination of the performance of science and technology has, as operational highlights, countless obstacles listed in International Treaties focused on preserving planetary level asymmetries, and the ethnic and social communities realize that it isn't about complementing the all of the planet's collective mindsets, towards a new, hypothetical synthesis, but the -blatant! - effort to impose the culture of the political actors from economically and technologically developed countries as the sole legitimately dominant culture; with all the consequences that arise from this. The many identity crises, not only in the Arab world, prove that the project of imposing by armed force, in the name of democracy (!) of Western values as the only ones with praxiological, not only axiological validity, prove the failure of globalization perceived as a galloping homogenization of imminent uprooting. *From here, the panic concerning the status of some Arab countries that are showing signs that they are*

associating in order to build a new geopolitical architecture with specific projects (in many respects), in disjunction to the "values of globalization".

In the most immediate present, the "migrant crisis" confirms, in a different way, that "Arab springs" triggered selectively in countries rich in resources, in order to plunder their natural resources, were not simple "movements towards freedom and democracy". It can be seen with the naked eye, even by the post avid Western supporters of internationalizing history under the banner of globalism, that these movements were not started at the initiative of a "liberator" of messianic calling from within the Arab collective mindset, but it was a lucid Western strategy of stopping the development of some Arab countries that possessed resources which, if they would have held national decision-making power over their resources, would have risked turning into "emerging countries", namely susceptible of rising out of underdevelopment through their own power (Romania was the only country in the world to extinguish its foreign debt!)... On these coordinates after overthrowing the government formulas in the countries included under in the "Arab springs", the new pro-Western authorities there, although all Arab ethnics, have very quickly lost all contact with domestic reality, assuming visible roles of ideological mercenaries for those that "sponsored" their coming to power provided that they call on the "aid" of multinationals for the "superior capitalization of resources". From all these changes that occurred amid a "huge popular support", the very supporters, and even some of the actors who have not been given a seat at the table for the new governors have understood that their hopes of optimizing their own lives in the context of the "young Arab democracies" no longer have any consistency. Accordingly, they leave abroad, anywhere in the world, to escape their national poverty! Here is **another parameter to the possible answer to the question:** "Why did so many Arabs come to Europe so quickly and in such great numbers?!".

I have chosen Europe to highlight another aspect: namely, the fact that the strictly economic argument does not stand up to a more nuanced analysis, as there are also rich Arab countries who, out of religious solidarity, could have given aid to the less fortunate. In addition, the fact that for many days, immigrants had refused humanitarian aid from European countries where they arrived, many of them having credit cards and other very modern Western-style paraphernalia, can lead us to think that it even some Westerners or even some Americans could be involved in these waves of immigrants in Europe, to destabilize the European Community because a strong European Economic Community would itself become a great obstacle to globalization and the World Government long dreamed of by the Planet's financial Oligarchy...

Neo-colonialism, assisted by the media in collusion with the increasingly refined stock-market levers, shows its limits through the waves of immigrants who reject the culture of obedience promoted under the cynical formula of "fundamental human rights" and of the "democratic deficit" of the "young democracies". Here are the perverse effects (Raymond Budon) of the American slogan: "every man is free to settle in any country he wishes", this being a fundamental right relied on by the thousands of migrants who realize the astronomical distance (the *gap*, to be in tune with Americanization!) between rhetoric and concrete reality. The naive found time to check the praxeological reliability of such very appealing theories; but theories and nothing more!

The post-December Romanian authorities, suffering from *chronic globalism*, glazed with endemic *Yes-man-ism*, have no reaction worthy of national respect, except that of a bowing servant: "give us our share of migrants to assist", like we are done with assisting our own poor, homeless, insulated pensioners who are barely subsisting and so on.

For those that suspect us of lacking empathy in the face of an unprecedented humanitarian crisis, I shall state a

clarification: these citizens, separated into different countries according to the interests of the former metropolises, fueled by old confessional egos and encouraged to permanently seek confrontation through dramatic regional conflicts in which multinationals experimented with the most sophisticated weaponry, are worthy of our Christian charity, even if they despise it because they refuse even the humanitarian aid of European Christians! I am filled with compassion for their dead due to the dramatic conditions of becoming a refugee, but this does not help anybody. I wish to extend an invitation to *lucidity and realism in talking an unprecedented global phenomenon.*

This aspect is also part of the globalization scenario (!) - a phenomenon which is given media exposure in a triumphal manner and presented as the "irreversible" direction of contemporary evolution. *A bit of doubt, even Cartesian one, is required to avoid sliding into the shadowy landscape of the interests of ideological multinationals that disseminate the culture of obedience for the purpose of gradually extinguishing national identity.*

On another plane, these facts show that the *doctrine of multiculturalism no longer has a future*, even if neither in the past nor at present has it shown that it had, or that it as resources of historical creativity.

The **fourth dimension**, but not the last, is that of *geopolitics*: ethnic groups are encouraged to separate from the countries in which they have coexisted for a long time, to form new smaller but homogeneous states... Ethnic cleansing, also encouraged in the name of democracy and freedom of choice, is, in fact, also a cynical aspect of strengthening the force of economically and militarily developed countries, that will no longer have any problems in imposing their interests at the regional level, under the authority of the global circles that have the long practiced reflex of widening their sphere of influence and domination.

This somewhat triumphalistic perspective, as it registers in the legend of the unquestionable superiority of the Western development model, although it has a long career in the international literature on the subject, can no longer be accepted *more geometrico*, as **the Chinese sustainable development experiment requires the rethinking of the social phenomenality at the planetary level**: the presence of China in all fields proves that its social macromanagement model has an international reach; *it is a global development model whose effects cannot be neglected in any global development scenario*. One clarification: China claims no role in the global process and does not propose new utopias, it only provides highly marketable products and a spiritual experience that spans millennia, which engender not only theoretical interest, but reveal themselves to be very attractive to the young generations.

China's experience has categorically refuted the thesis according to which "the states' national frameworks can no longer provide historical creativity for future". The reality is different: only national states may ensure community development, business ethics, and may pull out of marginalization or exclusion, those facing pressing existential needs.

The Western premise of globalization as an internationalization of the Euro-Atlantic values has not been confirmed, as in practice it has contributed to an increase in the social visibility of (intercontinental) asymmetries accumulated over the centuries, which cannot disarm latent conflicts or old "frozen" conflicts. This historical path calls for promoting a new approach model, centering on innovating the means of managing asymmetries, by switching the emphasis from competition to pragmatic complementarity and mutually beneficial cooperation. The old approach, in which domination over those less economically developed by those more technologically evolved prevailed can no longer be productive as the former colonies currently have an elite that is loyal to their national development projects, which are, most often, divergent from the former metropolises' economic projects.

Thus, it is appropriate to find other means of relating to geopolitical otherness and to find other means of relating. *The old models of managing generic otherness are no longer capable of historic creativity*, and their resuscitation has proved, by the rebirth of fundamentalism, inoperative for the present, and for the future of globalization they seem to be predictable utopias...

A wise man could exclaim: ***After so many utopias, why does one more matter?*** It is my luck that I am not wise!...

As simply a career Professor (sociologist), I felt obliged to advance only a few points of view with the intention to provoke a dialog over the future of the age in which we, those who were born much earlier, had the good fortune to enter...

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