



以人为本

——当代中国的治国新理念

车 鸣 / 著

吉林人民出版社



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图书在版编目(CIP)数据

以人为本:当代中国的治国新理念/车鸣著.

—长春:吉林人民出版社,2005.11

ISBN 7-206-04823-4

I. 以… II. 车… III. 社会主义法制—建设—研究—中国 IV. D920.0

中国版本图书馆 CIP 数据核字(2005)第 136118 号

以人为本——当代中国的治国新理念

著 者:车 鸣

责任编辑:关 静 封面设计:陈 瑶 责任校对:周 虹

吉林人民出版社出版 发行(中国·长春人民大街 7548 号 邮政编码:130022)

网 址:www.jlpph.com 电 话:0431-5378028

全国新华书店经销

发行热线:0431-5378028

印 刷:长春市华艺印刷有限公司

开 本:880mm×1230mm 1/32

印 张:12 字 数:300 千字

标准书号:ISBN 7-206-04823-4

版 次:2006 年 1 月第 1 版 印 次:2006 年 1 月第 1 次印刷

印 数:1-2500 册 定 价:29.00 元

如发现印装质量问题,影响阅读,请与印刷厂联系调换。

中 文 摘 要

发展是时代的主题，也是时代的问题。本书按照问题与回应的思路，从理论和实践两个方面论述了以人为本的治国理念，力图澄清人们对以人为本治国理念的误解，帮助人们科学把握以人为本治国理念的内涵，全面落实以人为本的治国理念，努力构建和谐社会。

导论部分：分析了以人为本治国理念提出的时代背景、研究现状和意义，说明了本书的框架、研究路径和方法。针对当前以人为本治国理念研究中出现的两种错误倾向：以人为本就是以所有人为本、以人为本就是以人民为本，提出本书研究的价值取向——以工人阶级为内核的人民群众为本。

第一章：对以人为本治国理念进行了历史定位。强调马克思主义是中国的立国之本。以人为本的治国理念是我们党以马克思主义为指导，从全面建设小康社会的实践出发，理论自觉的新高度。通过对马克思主义思想的梳理，揭示“现实的个人”是马克思主义的理论支点，人的解放是马克思主义孜孜以求的目标。以人为本的治国理念是深入贯彻“三个代表”重要思想的重大理论成果。

第二章：分析了以人为本治国理念的理论界限。梳理了民本思想和人本主义，说明以人为本的治国理念不是民本思想和人本主义逻辑演进的结果，它们在历史观上、发展观上、解决问题的方式上有着本质的区别，提出以人为本中的“人”是以工人阶级为内核的人民群众，是对“现存的个人”的超越。

第三章：研究了以人为本治国理念的世界观和方法论前提。以人为本的治国理念坚持了社会基本矛盾的辩证关系原理，既重视生

产力，又重视生产关系；既重视技术生产力，又重视自然生产力；既重视物质生产，又重视精神生产。坚持了人民群众是历史创造者的基本原理，既强调重视人民群众的智慧和力量，又强调尊重人民群众的意志和利益。坚持了人的自由全面发展的基本原理，分析了当前实践人的自由全面发展理论的必要性和可能性，强调以人为本的治国理念是对人的自由全面发展目标的自觉追求。

第四章：研究了以人为本治国理念的新内涵。以人为本治国理念在代表的内容、代表的方式上丰富了“三个代表”的重要思想。在发展观、价值目标、发展思路、发展方式上丰富了马克思主义的发展理论。在坚持唯物史观的基础上丰富了社会主义人道主义，为我们今天处理人民内部矛盾提供了伦理基础。

第五章：从实践以人为本治国理念的客观向度出发，分析了当前我国社会中的利益矛盾及其潜在危机，揭示了惠及最大多数人的利益整合已成为我们无法回避的“中心课题”，批判了社会上一些人轻视利益冲突，以及对利益整合的错误认识。强调利益整合的重点不只是有形的物质财富，更在无形的机会。要在追求财富分配公正的基础上促进机会的均等。制度是利益整合的第一推动力，我们必须正视和消除当前制度建设的缺点。在制度建设中要重视交往理性，尤其要重视弱势群体的利益表达，同时政府要加强信息公开，为不同的利益群体提供公平的利益博弈的机会。

第六章：从实践以人为本治国理念的主观向度出发，分析了当前价值冲突的表现、根源及其后果。认为当前缺少的不是单一层次的价值观念和核心价值观念，而是综合性的价值观念和核心的价值凝集机制。要在改革开放的大背景下，找准传统的社会主义道德和当代市场经济道德的结合点，要重视具有包容性和整合力的合作精神的培养。分析了共同价值观建设的难点和方式。

第七章：从实践以人为本治国理念的体制保障的角度，分析了实践以人为本治国理念的体制性障碍主要是政府改革的滞后。要按照服务型政府的要求，在政府与市场、社会三者的功能互动中克服实践中存在的政府改革“有方向，无目标”的难题，处理好政府

与市场、社会的权力交接，强化社会管理和公共服务职能。要注意公共产品供给中出现的新问题，避免沿袭政府主导型经济的一套做法，要注意公共产品的质量和效益。建设以人为本的政务新平台和建立以人为本的政府绩效评估体系是推进政府职能转变的重要举措。

本书的主要创新之处：

1. 比较系统地对以人为本的治国理念作了马克思主义哲学的界定。以人为本的治国理念是当代中国共产党人坚持以马克思主义为指导，解决当代中国发展问题的自觉选择，是贯彻“三个代表”重要思想的重大理论成果。与民本思想和人本主义有着本质的区别。以人为本中的“人”是以工人阶级为内核的人民群众。

2. 初步探讨总结了以人为本治国理念的新内涵。其一，丰富了“三个代表”重要思想。强调理解先进生产力，还须考虑民生和可持续发展的因素。先进生产力的发展要求要从过去的以物为本，转向以人为本；先进文化必须是与人民群众这一文化主体的精神文化需要相适应的、促进人的全面发展的文化。先进文化的前进方向是面向最广大人民及其实践进行创新；从历史观和依法治国的角度界定了最广大人民及其根本利益，强调人民的根本利益是个体利益与集体利益、近期利益与长远利益、局部利益与整体利益的统一。其二，在发展观、价值目标、发展思路、发展方式上，丰富了马克思主义的发展理论。其三，丰富了社会主义人道主义。把人道主义落实到维护最广大人民的根本利益和不同社会群体的具体利益上来，坚持集体主义原则，追求彻底的人道主义，把人道原则制度化、规范化，成为协调人民内部矛盾的一个伦理原则。

3. 围绕实践以人为本治国理念的客观向度、主观向度和体制保障三方面，深入实际广泛调查研究发现：其一，当前社会利益矛盾不容忽视，利益整合的重点不只是有形的财富，更在无形的机会。利益整合要坚持效率优先和最广大人民的根本利益优先相统一的原则。分析了当前制度整合存在的主要问题和加强制度建设的途径。其二，当下，多元价值观冲突加剧，而社会又堵塞了人们，尤

其是弱势群体进入社会的通道，人们的社会认同感下降。为了寻找精神的解脱，人们要么向虚幻的世界寻找精神寄托，要么向世俗的物质寻找精神寄托，物成了不同阶层认同的标志。社会缺少的不是单一层次的价值观念和核心的价值观念，而是一种生成性的、包容性的、综合性的价值观念，一个能将正确的价值观、信念综合起来的核心的价值凝集机制。当前，重点要培养一种合作精神。共同价值观建设的难点是腐败、教育内容的不恰当和以大众传媒为主体的教育环境的不良。其三，政府主导型经济制约了以人为本治国理念的贯彻。转变政府职能，建设服务型政府的最大难点在政府与市场、社会的边界不清、权力交接不到位。在政府公共服务过程中，要防止过去政府主导型经济的一套做法重演，必须注意公共产品的质量和效益。目前政府职能转变的重点一是要打破原有的权力运行架构，加强行政服务中心建设，建设以人为本的政务新平台；二是要重视发挥“凭实绩用干部”这只“看得见的手”的作用，建立以人为本的政府绩效评估体系。

关键词：以人为本 科学发展观 治国理念

ABSTRACT

Development is the topic, as well as a problem, of the times. According to the way of thinking of issues and responses to them, this dissertation explores theoretically and practically a human - oriented state - running principle trying to clarify people's misunderstanding of the idea of human - oriented so that they can grasp its meaning, and then completely put it into effect constructing a harmonious society.

The introduction part analyzes of the epoch, research status quo, and significance of the rise of human - oriented state - running idea, and shows the framework, research path and methods of this dissertation. Against two false tendencies, that of mistaking human - oriented as human - being - oriented, and that of mistaking human - oriented as People - based, this part puts forward this dissertation's value orientation - that the "human" within the phrase human - oriented are the demos with a main body of the worker class.

Having located in the history the idea of human - oriented, Chapter One emphasizes that Marxism is the fundamental principle to establish China. The human - oriented state - running idea is a new achievement of Chinese Communist Party in the process of building a well - off society in an all - round way guided by Marxism. Having clarifying Marxist thought, this part shows that "individual in the reality" forms a theoretical pivot of Marxism, and that Marxism has been aimed at emancipation of human being. Chapter One also shows that the human - oriented state - running idea is a momentous theoretical fruit of implementation of

the important thought of Three Represents.

Chapter Two analyzes of the theoretical confines of the human - oriented state - running idea. Having clarified People - based thought and humanism, this part shows that the human - oriented state - running idea won't logically evolve from People - based thought, from humanism, or from both, for there are essential distinguishes from each other in historical view, worldview, and the way of resolutions. Chapter Two then brings forward that the " human" within the phrase human - oriented are the demos with a main body of the worker class, and that such " human" transcends the " existing individual. "

Chapter Three explores the worldview and methodological premises of the human - oriented state - running idea. This idea is completely consistent with the principle of dialectic relationship between the ends of basic social antinomies. It thinks much of productivity, technogial productivity, and material product, as well as product relationship, natural productivity, and mental product. It adheres to the principle that it is the demos who creates the human history, thinking much of demos' wisdoms and powers, as well as their wills and benefits. It also sticks to the principle that man should be developed in a free and all - round way, analyzes of the necessity and the possibility to practise the free and all - round development of individuals, and emphasizes that the human - oriented state - running idea persues self - conciously for such a development.

Chapter Four explores a new meaning of the human - oriented state - running. This idea riches the content and the represent way of Three Represents thought. It also contributes something to Marxist development theory in development view, value objects, development ideas, and ways of development. Based on historicism, it riches socialist humanism supplying us with an ethical foundation to handle contradictions among people.

From a start point of an impartial dimension of human - oriented state - running idea, Chapter Five analyzes interest contradictions and latent crises in China society, shows that interests intergration that benefits the overwhelming majority of the Chinese people has become an inevitable " central topic", and criticizes that someone makes light of interest contradictions and misunderstands the interest intergration. This part argues that the key to intergrate interests rests with not only tangible material wealth, but also with intangible chances, that we should improve equalization of chances based on a fair distribution of wealth, and that we should think better of and then remove disadvantages occurred in current construction of institution which forms an essential drive to intergrate interests. This part also holds that we should think much of inter-course rationity, especially interst expression of social vulnerable groups, in the construction of institution, and that the government should improve information public to provide fair chances for interest competition with different interest groups.

From a start point of an subjective dimension of human - oriented state - running idea, Chapter Six analyzes of phenomenon, causes, and effects of current value conflicts, argues that we need not a onefold value idea and core value idea, but a synthetical value idea and a core mechanism of value cohension, that we should make certain where traditional socialist moral combines current market economic moral within an environment of reform and open, and that we should attach importance to the culture of team spirit which implies comprehensiveness and intergration ability. This part also analyzes of difficulties and ways of collective value view construction.

From a stand point of a system safeguard of human - oriented state - running idea, Chapter Seven concludes that lag of government reform accounts for the system resistance to a practice the human - oriented state - running idea. This part holds that aiming at a sevice goverment-

ment, we should overcome a practical government reform difficulty "that there are directions without goals to reform the government" through a reciprocity among society, market, and government, among which we should manage well handover of power to intensify government function in the field of social management and public service. Chapter Seven argues that we should pay attention to new problems in the supply of public goods, and avoid problems resulted from government - dominant economy, such as that quantity and efficiency of public goods are overlooked. This part also argues that construction of a new human - oriented government affair portal and a human - oriented government performance evaluation system would be an important measure to advance the transformation of government function.

The main innovations made in this dissertation includes:

1 This dissertation makes systematically a Marxist philosophical definition of human - oriented state - running idea which is an important theoretical achievement as CCP has been insisted Marxism as rudder and carried out the important thought of Three Represents, and a CCP's self - conscious choice in its resolution to contemporary development problems in China. Distinguished from People - based thought and from humanism, the human - oriented idea takes "human" as the demos with a main body of the worker class.

2 This dissertation makes a pilot study of new meanings of the human - oriented state - running idea. First, this dissertation riches the important thought of Three Represents. Emphasis of advanced productive forces does not mean a neglect of factors of people living and of sustainable development. The idea of advanced productive forces should switch from former goods - oriented idea to human - oriented one. The advanced culture must be that that suits for the spirit cultural demand of the mass who is the main body of cultural consumer, and that advances an all - round development of human. The orientation of China's ad-

vanced culture is the innovation towards the overwhelming majority of the Chinese people and their practices. This dissertation defines the overwhelming majority of the Chinese people and their fundamental interests from a point of view of historicism and state - running - by - law, emphasizes that the people's fundamental interests are the unity of individual interests and collective ones, of short - run interests and long - run ones, and of local interests and national ones. Second, this dissertation enriches Marxist theory of development in the field of development view, value target, development idea, and development manner. Third, this dissertation enriches the socialist theory on humanism. Here humanism is fulfilled to maintain fundamental interests of the overwhelming majority of the Chinese people and to maintain material interests of different social groups. At the same time, based on the principle of collectivism, this dissertation pursues for a drastical humanism of which the principle is institutionalized and standardized so that it can be an ethical principle to harmonize contradictions among the demos.

3 Beginning with three dimensions of practice of the human - oriented state - running idea, such as impartial dimension, subjective dimension and the dimension of system safeguard, through a investigation into the reality, this dissertation comes to such conclusions: first, that it is difficult to neglect of current contradictions of social interests, and that the pivot of intergrate interests rests not only with tangible wealth, but also with intangible chances. Second, that contradictions among diverse value views in the present - day get worse, while the society itself has jammed the entrance for the social vulnerable groups into it, thus people identify less with the society than before; that people recourse to visional worlds, or to mundane goods, to achieve a spirit exitrication; and that the society needs not a onefold value idea and core value idea, but value idea of creation, comprehensiveness, and synthesis, and a value cohesion mechnisim which combines right value views with beliefs. Third,

that government - dominant economy cumbars the implementation of the human - oriented state - running idea; and that the most difficult to switch government to a service one results from amphibolous boundaries among the government, the market, and the society, and thus from improper handover of power.

Key words: human - oriented scientific development view state - running idea

序 言：为车鸣论著作

中国社会科学院马克思主义研究院副院长、教授、博导 侯惠勤

今天，关于“以人为本”的争论日增。有将它无限引申而滥造所谓的“马克思主义的人本主义”、“马克思主义的民本思想”一类指称的，也有因其含义不清而建议国家决策层慎用以致于禁用的。这种在核心理念上的混乱，对于全面贯彻落实科学发展观、建设社会主义和谐社会的大局十分不利，必须予以澄清。欣闻我的博士生车鸣的论著正式出版，该书是阐发“以人为本”治国新理念的专著，体现了作者较强的社会责任感和综合研究能力，相信其公开问世对于准确把握“以人为本”以致科学发展观都有所裨益。同时我愿借此机会，谈谈对于我党提出的“以人为本”这一理念的理解。

“以人为本”和马克思主义在当代的话语权“以人为本”作为治国执政新理念，是中国共产党回应发展与和平两大时代主题，在领导现代化建设实践中所形成的“科学发展观”和“建设社会主义和谐社会”的理论内核。因此，它决不是中国传统“民本”思想和西方人本主义的当代回声，而是对于当代走势和中国道路的科学把握，是长期执政经验的理论升华。就理论而言，儒家的“民”是政治治理的对象，是无个性的客体性存在，而马克思主义的“人”则是作为历史主体（创造者）和新中国主人的人民群众；西方人本主义的“人”是抽象的个体（就其自身的“纯粹性”而言），而马克思主义的人则是“现实的个人”（就其总是一定社会关系的载体而言）。因此，虽然科学发展观中的“以人为本”，也包含中国儒家传统的“亲民”、“德政”的某些合理成分，但是

“人民当家作主”和“依法治国”的政治理念却完全突破了传统的“民本”思想；虽然科学发展观中的“以人为本”也包含西方人本主义的对于个体生命及其价值（集中表现为人权、公民权）的尊重，并把它作为当今需注重加以解决的课题之一，但是“最广大人民的根本利益”（即人民利益高于一切）和“人类解放”（即在阶级消灭前提下的国家权力向社会的回归）的政治信念，无疑是马克思主义对于西方人学思潮（含人本主义）的革命性突破。

弄清这点非常重要。因为我们虽然已经确立了中国特色社会主义的现代化道路，但是在这一过程中的每一关口，却依然存在着道路选择的考验。归根到底，在当代西方强势话语的逼迫下，简单地回归传统是无力的，片面的“大拒绝”更是无济于事，必须在对话中获得话语权。作为弱势话语进行对话的方式之一，就是“借鸡下蛋”、“同中述异”，即在具有广泛认同度的价值理念（如人权、民主、自由等）上，发掘不同的思想内涵以保持思想独立性。“以人为本”既反映了当代历史人性化的潮流，又表达了当代人类最一般意义上的价值共识，更为重要的是它也完全可以作马克思主义式的诠释，因而我们不能弃之不用。但是，这一共同性下又包含着国情、文化及意识形态的差异，不仅有价值观冲突，更有发展道路之辨。以共性否认差异性，不仅是西方文化霸权的表现，更是“全盘西化”主张的依据；而过分强调差异性或特殊性，则不仅易置身于世界潮流之外，更是全面复古论的偏狭性所在。因此，同中述异，或合而不同，不仅是当今弱小者奋起的必由之路，也是当代世界文明的大势所趋。但是，唯有能从世界文明潮流和民族历史起点的结合点上提出问题和解决问题，才能真正走出文明多样性的道路。就此而言，坚持中国化的马克思主义的指导和中国特色社会主义的方向，是我们讨论一切问题的前提。

“以人为本”和科学发展观对于“以人为本”进行准确的理论定位，必须首先厘清科学发展观内在规定各要素（即全面、协调、可持续和以人为本）间的相互关系。“全面”是科学发展观的价值目标，是全面建设小康社会的战略性构想和人的全面发展指导思想

的价值基础。“全面”的基本含义有二：其一，价值指标的复合性。在全面建设小康社会和实现现代化的过程中，虽然要以经济建设为中心，但决不是以经济价值为最高价值，而是以满足人的全面发展的需要为最终目的。人的需要的全面性，决定了其价值体系的复合性。就社会发展而言，全面建设小康社会是四大价值指标（即物质文明、精神文明、政治文明和可持续发展）的统一，而不是某个单一的指标（例如GDP一类）；就个人发展而言，是个性化和社会化、工具理性和价值理性、身心及德智体美的和谐发展，而不是畸形发展的“单面人”。其二，价值实现过程的全面性。虽然在发展过程中各种价值目标不可能齐头并进，某一时段、某一范围会突出这一或那一价值，但绝不能顾此失彼、搞“单打一”。就总体而言，价值目标的实现必须是大体上同步。因此，我们决不做所谓的“先污染再治理”、“先扭曲人性再呼唤人性”、“先制造对立再缔造和谐”一类价值失衡的蠢事。总之，坚持价值目标的复合性以及各类价值目标在发展过程中的平衡实现，是贯彻科学发展观的基本价值取向。

“协调”揭示了我国发展过程中必须特别关注和致力于解决的主要矛盾关系，这就是“五个统筹”（即统筹城乡、经济社会、区域、人和自然以及对外开放和对内改革的协调发展）。上述五大关系的统筹思想，既是当前我国发展所面临的主要挑战，又是我们已有实践经验的科学总结。统筹城乡发展思想是在既充分认识到我国现存的城乡二元结构对于现代化建设的严重障碍（不利于市场拓展、资源集约化和社会稳定等），又充分借鉴外国城市化过程的经验教训的基础上，以符合中国国情的新型城市化道路的提出为背景形成的；统筹经济社会发展的思想是在经历了若干经济波动、社会矛盾异动后，克服片面经济增长观（GDP崇拜）的基础上，形成经济社会发展综合指标及相应的体制支撑为背景提出的；统筹区域发展的思想是在一方面区域之间的差距日益扩大、其恶果日益显现，另一方面国力有了长足增长、区域均衡发展已具备客观可能的基础上，以“开发西部”和“振兴东北”的大战略的形成背景

提出的；统筹人和自然发展思想是在自然资源日渐枯竭、生态承受力抵达极限、转变经济增长方式已成为共识的基础上，以新型工业化道路的基本成型为背景提出的；统筹对外开放和对内改革进度的思想是在改革开放既要与国际接轨、推动国内的市场化取向的改革，又要抵制西方“西化”、“分化”图谋、巩固和完善社会主义制度认知下，以将开放的程度、改革的力度和社会可能承受的程度“三统一”为背景提出的。由此可见，“协调”是个分析矛盾、解决问题的动态过程，是抓方向、抓全局、抓成效的基本思路，是实施科学发展观的方法论原则。

“可持续”实际上就是发展的基本方式和必由之路，就是从根本上拒斥“一次性”。由生产生活构成的历史本质上是不可终止、不可割断的连续过程，正如马克思所断言的那样，“不管生产过程的社会形式怎样，它必须是连续不断的，或者说，必须周而复始地经过同样一些阶段。”^①“任何一个民族，如果停止劳动，不用说一年，就是几个星期，也要灭亡，这是每一个小孩都知道的。”^②只是由于环境、资源等全球性问题的压力，使得当代不能不把这种认识更为自觉、更为强烈地加以表达而已。追求发展的理性与节制，主张需要和限制的平衡，兼济代内和代际的公平，集中体现在“循环经济”和产生生态化的新思路上。因此，“可持续”不仅是生态平衡，也是人自身需要和发展的平衡。通过可持续的方式，人和自然、人自身的生产和物质资料的生产、个性发展和社会进步等的统一将成为现实。

上述分析表明，科学发展观的提出确实表明我们对于社会主义现代化建设规律认识的深化，是在新的历史条件下维护、发展和实现人民利益的重大思想成果，因而作为贯穿其中基本精神的“以人为本”，就是以人民利益为本、以服务大众为本。它既是中国共产党“全心全意为人民服务”宗旨的传承，又是“三个代表”重

① 《马克思恩格斯全集》，第23卷，第621页。

② 《马克思恩格斯全集》，第32卷，第541页。