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吉林大学政治学理论
研究中心系列丛书

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平等

人类对理想 社会的诉求

◎ 杨海蛟 / 著



吉林人民出版社



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内容提要

平等，作为人类社会的价值选择和理想目标，千百年来为人们所赞美和追求。然而，在我国对平等的研究一直十分薄弱。我之所以选择平等作为研究主题，来自两个方面的考虑：

其一，拟在为中国的战略发展目标提供理论支持和理论服务。随着中国改革开放的不断深入，特别是社会主义市场经济体制的建立和发展，社会生活发生了深刻的变革。多种所有制结构形式的并存，多种分配方式的实行，使得社会成员的收入差距日益加剧，贫富悬殊正在扩大，地区发展不平衡更加突出。古今中外的经验告诉我们，如果这种状况不能尽快改变，就会带来社会的动荡和不安。因而从政治哲学的高度，就中国社会如何最终实现共同富裕，全面进入小康社会，并逐步达到真正平等，进行较为系统、全面的前瞻性研究，是为了更好地适应时代的呼唤和实践的需要。

其二，针对国内理论界对平等问题研究较为欠缺的状况，在认真学习、全面继承中国政治学研究成果的基础上，拟站在历史的高度和时代的前沿，从总体上全方位地审视既有的理论，力争对平等这一政治学的基本范畴、基本理论进行学术层次和理论层次的进一步提升，拓展其深度，从而为平等理论和政治学理论的创新和发展贡献绵薄之力。

论文主要运用规范研究的方法，对平等的涵义、平等的属

性、平等在社会生活各领域的体现、平等的政治价值、中西平等思想观念的演进与差异、中西平等制度的创制及不同进行了研究，对一些基本理论问题提出了自己的见解。

第一，博采众长，从历史与逻辑、理论与实践的结合上界定了平等的涵义。认为平等是不同社会主体在一定历史阶段的交往过程中处于同等的社会地位，在社会领域享有同等权益、履行同等义务的理念、原则和制度。它较之以往的定义，主要强调了几个要素：1. 用社会主体替代“人们”，将平等地位的主体，由“人们”扩展为地域、国家和民族等，解决了交往主体多元性与原有定义偏狭性的矛盾；2. 将平等置于一定的历史阶段，把平等与生产力、生产关系和生活方式联系起来，从而找到了平等的价值基础和价值评判的标准；3. 将平等的范围扩展到社会各领域，更加明确了平等不是一个抽象的原则，而是在社会生活方方面面的具体落实和体现。这样就使得平等的内容更加全面；4. 将享受同等权利和承担同等义务作为平等的重要内容，旨在避免对平等的片面性理解而产生的诱惑、狂热和混乱；5. 将平等程度表述为同等，而非无差别的相同，以便使人们明确平等不是完全、绝对的一致，而是具有很大的相对性；6. 将平等界定为一种观念、原则与制度，从多角度、多侧面界定了平等的确切内涵和外延，有利于形成严整、系统的平等理论体系。与此同时，为了加深对平等涵义的理解，本文对公平与平等、正义与平等、公正与平等进行了词义和内容上的辨析，使得平等在政治学理论中的地位更加明确。

第二，文章认为区别于其他范畴，平等具有自己的属性，有自己独立存在的理由。诚然，平等尽管有自己的相对独立性，有自己产生、演变的内在逻辑，但无论从哪个角度分析，它并不是绝对独立存在的。在论及到平等与经济的关系时，论文并没有人云亦云，将商品经济作为实现平等的决定性因素。

而是运用历史唯物主义的观点,从更为开阔的眼界,在回顾人类历史发展的轨迹和观察分析当今世界平等发展的状况后认为:商品经济内在地存在着决定平等关系的因素,但决定平等与否的真正的决定性因素是经济关系,而非经济体制。文章特别指出,平等不会自然而然实现,而是人类长期斗争的结果。在分析平等的阶级性时,论文主要从需要——利益为切入点,使阶级观点建立在唯物主义的基础上。此外,论文还把政治文化、政治制度与平等的关系联系起来,将平等置于整个社会的互动过程中予以分析和考察。

第三,文章认为由于人类活动领域的广泛性和多样性,以及人类在其活动中所形成的各种关系的丰富性,人类所追求的平等是多方面的。其经济平等主要包括社会主体在物质生产领域中的平等和在一定社会经济关系中所享有的经济平等权利。这种平等主要包括:社会主体占有生产资料的平等、劳动的平等和分配劳动产品的平等。经济平等是一切平等的基础,只有经济上实现平等,人类才能摆脱一切奴役,最终成为自己和社会关系的主人。也正是通过这样的分析更加明确了资产阶级平等制度虚伪性的症结之所在。

第四,从专业特点出发,运用政治学原理,具体分析了平等的政治价值。认为在人类社会还存在政治现象的情况下,平等的政治价值就在于它能最大限度地维护政治稳定,促进政治发展。具体而言,平等有助于维护社会政治心理稳定,保证社会成员在交往中保持心理平衡,并具有较为科学的情感、态度和主人翁意识与责任感,从整体上保持对既有社会制度、政治权威的认同。有助于政治制度、国家政权的稳定。因为平等的观念和制度有利于更好地协调利益关系,缓和冲突、消除矛盾,巩固自己的阶级基础。有助于增强公共权力主体的合法性和政治权威。这主要体现在只要坚持平等的原则,通过一定的

程序进行平等的选举，就能保证公民对权力体系的认同感，形成凝聚力，避免合法性危机。

第五，全面、系统地挖掘、梳理了中西平等思想观念的主要内容和演进的历史过程，并通过比较认为，中西的平等思想观念不仅话语系统不同，而且更为主要的是平等思想观念的繁荣程度不同。西方的平等思想观念从古代到现代，流派繁多，思想丰富。特别是到了现代，西方思想家们对平等的研究十分活跃，不仅新自由主义、新保守主义、平等主义而且西方马克思主义、民主社会主义都染指此问题，从政治哲学、伦理学、制度经济学、政治经济学等各学科进行深入的探讨。相比较而言，中国的平等思想观念从未形成严整的体系和流派。此外，中西平等思想观念的内涵有很大的差异。西方的平等思想观念，大多将平等与权利、正义、自由、民主、法治联系在一起。特别是到了现代，平等已经深化为不分民族、国家所有人的普遍要求，其精神已融入现代社会并成为其基本特征，对平等的认识正在从抽象转变为具体，从原则性、必然性向现实性和理性化转变。而中国的平等思想观念无论是思想家们以经世致用为基本价值取向，探讨和寻求治国平天下的学问和方法，还是中国历朝历代的大同思想所蕴含的平等或平均因素，以及农民运动提出来的平等的政治口号和政治主张，统统都摆脱不了封建主义的影响。

第六，较为系统地考察、分析了中西平等制度的创制过程，揭示了各自的阶级本质。特别是从理论基础、创立过程以及平等的范围和真实程度等几个方面论述了二者的差异。认为西方平等制度的理论基础是“人民主权”和“天赋权利”学说。这种理论尽管具有合理成份，也曾在历史上发挥过积极作用，但它无法说明平等权利的来源、阶级属性和实现程度。马克思主义揭示了人类社会各个发展阶段平等的权利和义务的不

同特点和不同内容。明确指出,平等的产生、发展都必须以一定社会的经济、文化条件为基础,工人阶级所争取的平等只有消灭阶级之后才能实现,如此等等,科学地回答了平等制度建设和发展的规律,为无产阶级实现平等指明了方向。论文还认为中西平等制度创建过程所花费的时期长短不同。西方的平等制度,无论是英、法,还是美国,都经历了较长的时期,而中国平等制度的创建仅用了五十多年的时间。这从一个侧面告诉我们,只有中国共产党、只有社会主义才会有中国平等制度的确立和巩固。在平等制度的创建过程中,西方表现出极大的狭隘性,将注意力主要集中于政治平等方面,而中国的平等制度在创立过程中,一开始就十分全面和彻底,不仅关注政治平等,而且一直推动经济平等制度、社会平等制度的创制。此外,中西平等制度的实施范围和真实程度也截然不同。

不容否认,平等涉及的内容十分丰富,本文只选择了以上几个问题予以研究。文中论述过程中所提出的一些观点都带有极大的探索性,特别是对平等问题的透析,需要综合运用政治学、法学、社会学、伦理学、哲学、经济学、历史学等多学科的知识,这是一个学人很难具备的,因而本文也只能是一孔之见,具有诸多不足。

ABSTRACT

People have praised and pursued equality that be regarded as selected value and ideal target for thousands years. However, it is very weak to research equality in China. There are two reasons that I choose equality as the topic of my thesis: at first, I intend to provide supports and services for Chinese developing strategy with theories. With the developing of the Reforming and opening in China continuously and thoroughly, especially with the establishing and developing of socialism market economy system, social life has changed deeply. The difference of income between social members turns worse increasingly, the distance between richer and poorer is extending, and the unbalance of region development becomes more outstanding, because various systems of ownership exist in the same time and various methods of allotment are executed. The experiences that come from China and foreign tell us, we must change this condition as soon as possible, or it will bring the social turbulence and discomfort. In order to suit the calls of times and the demands of practices, we must study these problems systematically and completely with political philosophy: how Chinese society can realize common wealthy, enter middle-class family society completely, and attain true equality. Secondly, I hope to contribute my humble effort to developing and creating the equal theory and political theory.

There is the condition that we lack the research on equal theory. Equal problem is the basic category and the fundament theory. I hope to try my best to promote its academic and theoretical level and expand its depth. In order to attain this goal, I have studied and inherited the achievement of Chinese political theory completely, and examined the current political theories from all aspects.

With the method of the standard research, I have studied following problems in the thesis: the connotation of equality, the attribute of equality, the expressions of equality in every realm of social life, the political value of equality, the developing of Chinese and Western equal thoughts and their differences, the creation of Chinese and western equal systems and their differences. I put forward my own views on some basic theory problems.

The first, I adopt others' good points on equal theory, define the connotation of equality by the methods of combining logic with history and combining theory with practice. I think equality is a kind of idea, principle and system that different kinds of social corpus enjoy the same rank rights and undertake the same rank duties in all social realm, when they associate each other in the stage in certain history. This definition emphasizes a few main factors primarily: 1, the author solves the contradiction between the diverse quality of social corpus and the old definition of equality by replacing people with the social corpus, expanding the corpus of the equality position to region, state and nation etc. from people. 2, the author explains the value foundation and the evaluation standard of equality by placing equality in the stage in certain history, connecting equality with the productivity, the relation of production and the mode of production. 3, by expanding equal scope to every social realm, the author makes it clearer that equality is not an

abstract principle, but embodies in all aspects of social life. Thus the contents of equality are more comprehensive. 4, not only enjoying the equal right but also undertaking equal duty are the same important contents of equal. My aim is to avoid people fall in tempting, crazy and confusion condition because of unilateral understanding of equality. 5, equal degree means the same rank. In other words, equality does not mean every people are identical without difference. The people must know they cannot be equal completely and absolutely, but relatively. 6, equality is a kind of idea, principle and system. I define the connotation and extension of equality from many angles and sides, which contributes to build a formation and systematic theory of equality. At the same time, in order to understand the connotation of equality deeply, the author differentiates and analyzes the relation between equality with fairness and justice. This makes the position of equality in political theory clearer.

The second, the author thinks that equality has its own attribute different from other categories, and its own reasons that it can exist relatively independently. Equality has relative independence and inside logic of production and development, but it cannot exist absolutely independently. On the relation between economy and equality, the author doesn't agree with other expert's opinion that merchandises economy is the decisive factor to equality. The author think before we discuss this problem we must use the method of historic materialism, widen our field of vision, look back the development of human history, and analyze the development of equality in contemporary world. My conclusion is that the decisive factor to equality is economic relation but not economic system, though merchandise economy has some factors that can influence equality inside. The article points out specially that

equality cannot be realized naturally and it is the result that mankind struggle over a long period. While analyzing the characteristics of equal social class, the thesis make the analysis established on materialism by fixing eyes upon the relation between benefits and needs. In addition, the thesis combines equality with political culture and political system, and analyzes equality by putting it into the process that social member influent each other.

The third, the article thinks equality pursued by people is various, because the human actable realm is extensive and various, and the relation formed in the human's active process is abundant. Economic equality primarily includes social corpus' equal position in material produce realm, and economic equal right in certain social economy relation. In detail, economic equality includes following aspects that the social corpuses occupy the production data equally, labor equally and assign labor product equally. Economic equality is the foundation of the whole equality. Only realizing economic equality, mankind can get away from slavery and become the owner of the society. It is clearer that the equal system of propertied class is false by analysis.

The fourth, the thesis analyzes the political value of equality by using political theories. It is suit for political science characteristics. The political value of equality is to maintain political stable and promote the political development. In detail, equality is beneficial to maintain the social political equilibrium, make the social member form scientific emotion and attitude, possess master's consciousness and sense of responsibility, keep the approbation to the current social system and political authority in general. It is beneficial to the stability of the political system and national political power, because the equal idea and system benefit to coordinate the relations between benefits,

mollify the clash, cancel the antinomy, make the foundation of its own social class stronger. It is beneficial to strengthen the legitimacy and authority of the public power. Insisting equal principle and keeping equal election in certain procedure are beneficial to make the citizen keep the approbation to the power system, form cohesive force, and avoid the legitimacy crisis.

The fifth, the thesis scoops and combs the connotation and the history process of the evolution of Chinese and western equal thought completely and systematically. Comparing the Chinese equal thoughts with western equal thoughts, we will find that their difference includes not only the words language system, but also the prosperous degree of equal idea. Western equal thought has numerous schools and plentiful connotations from ancient times to modern. Especially in modern time, western thinkers research equality very stimulatingly. New liberalism, new conservatism, equal doctrine, western Marxism and democratic socialism, all of them try to study this problem from various visual angles such as political philosophy, ethics, system economics, political economics, etc. Relatively, there is not formed theory system or school in Chinese equal thought. In addition, there is very big difference between the connotation of Chinese equal thought and the connotation of western equal thought. Western equal thoughts were connected with right, justice, freedom, democracy, and rule of law mostly. In modern time, equal idea has already become the common demands of all people, no matter which country or nation he or she comes from. The spirit of equality has been melted into the modern society and become its basic characteristic. The understanding on equality has changed from abstraction to specification, from principle to reality, from necessity to reasonableness. Chinese equal thought, no matter it is knowledge and

methods that thinkers pursued following the guided value of attaining practical use, or it is the factors of equality or average that were contained in the Great Harmony thought of every dynasty in the past, or it is political slogan or view that was put forward in farmer campaign, cannot get away from the influence of the feudalism at all.

The sixth, after inspecting and analyzing the creating process of the Chinese and Western equal system, the author explains their innate characteristics of social class. Especially, this thesis distinguishes them from their theoretical foundation, creating process, equal field, and true degree. The theoretical foundation of western equal institutional is "people sovereignty" and "natural right". Though this kind of theory is reasonable in some sense, and developed the positive effect in the history, it cannot explain the source, the social class characteristics and the realized degree of equal right. Marxism has announced that equal right and duty reflect different contents and characteristics when they are in different development stages in human history. Marxism has pointed out that the creation and development of equality must base on economic condition and cultural condition in certain sociality. If the working class wants to attain equality, they must exterminate all social classes. Marxism explains the law of the building and developing of equal system, indicates the direction for the proletariat to realize real equality. The thesis thinks the period length of creating equal system is different between china and foreign. Western equal system experienced a longer period, regardless it is in England, France, and the United States. Chinese equal system experienced no longer than 50 years. This tells us that only the Communist Party of China and socialism would establish equal system and make it stronger. In the process of creating equal system, the westerners express tremendous narrow-

ness; they only concentrate on political equality. In the process of creating equal system, Chinese pay attention to equality completely and thoroughly from the beginning. They not only pay attention to the political equality, but also promote the creation of economic equal system and social equal system. In addition, the differences between Chinese equal system and western's, such as realized range, true degree, are outstanding.

No doubt, the contents of equality are very abundant; the author chose a few problems to research. Some standpoints I put forward in this thesis are most exploratory. It needs to use many kinds of knowledge synthetically, such as political science, science of law, sociology, ethics, philosophy, economics, and science of history. It is very difficult to have all of them for a scholar. Because I study it only from my own sight, this thesis must have many shortages.

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