

孙进著

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平等思想研究

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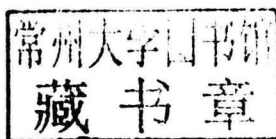
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中文摘要

毛泽东平等思想是毛泽东思想的重要组成部分。毛泽东一生都致力于为中国建立一个自由平等的社会而不断探索和实践,给我们留下了丰富的思想遗产。认真总结研究这份珍贵的思想遗产,不仅有助于我们深入理解和把握毛泽东的平等思想,而且有助于我们完整准确地理解毛泽东思想,更为重要的是能够为我们科学地把握社会主义平等价值观的本质要求提供更为坚实的理论基础和历史视野,为研究当代中国社会的平等问题及其平等的实现路径提供方法论指导。

本文以辩证唯物主义和历史唯物主义为指导,以马克思主义平等思想为理论基础,立足近代以来中国社会深刻变迁的现实,在全面深入解读毛泽东平等思想相关文献的基础上,运用哲学、历史学、政治学、社会学、经济学等多学科的理论和方法,对毛泽东平等思想的思想渊源、发展脉络、基本内涵、主要特征进行了系统论述,全面阐述了不同历史时期毛泽东平等思想的历史演变及其蕴含在其中的深刻的时代变革特征,进而深刻揭示毛泽东平等思想的当代价值。

全文除绪论、结语外,共分五章。

第一章,主要分析了毛泽东平等思想产生的理论渊源。毛泽东平等思想产生的理论渊源在于毛泽东对中国历代政治思想家平等思想的扬弃与超越,对西方政治思想家平等思想的借鉴,特别是对马克思主义平等思想的继承与发展。中国古代和近代平等思想,既有有识之士甚至包括统治阶级上层对平等理想的诉求,也有广大农民阶级为摆脱压迫剥削,在历次农民起义中提出的平等主张,还包括近代随着民族危机和社会危机的加剧,以康有为、孙中山等为代表的中国先进的知识分子反思传统文化,开始向西方寻求救国真理,为谋求中华振兴而提出的平等思想。毛泽东平等思想吸收大同理想和等贵贱、均贫富思想的有益养分,剔除其中的封建主义思想元素,坚决主张废除封建等级制度,赋予民族独立和大同思想以新的内涵,力图把中国建设成为一个人人平等的社会,屹立于世界民族之林。作为西方政治思想重要内容的平等思想,也深深影响了毛泽

东,其中无政府共产主义思想,卢梭和孟德斯鸠的平等思想,都对毛泽东产生过较大的影响。马克思平等思想第一次揭示了人类实现平等的客观规律性,找到了社会实现平等的正确途径,超越了以往所有政治思想家对平等的阐释。因此,马克思主义经典作家关于平等思想的立场、观点和方法,是毛泽东平等思想赖以形成的基石和最直接的理论来源。可以说,毛泽东平等思想继承和发展了古今中外许多重要思想家的平等思想。这些思想文化交相辉映,共同构成毛泽东平等思想的重要来源。

第二章,主要论述了毛泽东少年时代至中国共产党成立前的平等思想。这一时期是毛泽东萌发平等意识并逐步形成平等思想的重要阶段。求诸圣贤伟人的历史观,是毛泽东少年到青年时期社会意识观念中的突出印记。在圣贤历史观的主导下,毛泽东朴素的平等意识开始萌芽。而后毛泽东通过自身社会实践和“五四”大潮洗礼,又由先前的求诸圣贤转向了质疑圣贤、突出个人价值、张扬个性、批判奴性。反对各种强权,主张民族和国家之间的平等,是青年毛泽东平等思想的有机组成部分。他主张民族自决,倡导世界大同,对存在于当时中国社会中的各种强权,进行了广泛的揭露、批判和剖析。在这一时期,毛泽东逐步形成了朴素的平等价值取向,产生了对独立自由的平等人格的崇尚,以及对民族不平等的强烈抗议和对实现大同社会的追求。毛泽东早年十分倾向于中国传统的“大同”社会理想,并试图在湖南进行“新村试验”,但终因其陷于空想,脱离实际而被迫放弃,转而投身革命。

第三章,主要阐述了新民主主义革命时期毛泽东的平等思想,揭示了毛泽东平等思想在新民主主义时期的探索实践中逐步成熟的过程。这一时期,毛泽东在经济平等、政治平等、文化平等乃至性别平等等诸多方面都形成了一系列较为成熟的观点,其中经济平等中的土地所有制变革占有突出的地位。与经济平等紧密相连的是政治平等。新民主主义革命时期,毛泽东以建立各革命阶级联合专政为政治平等的前提条件,以人民基本权利和自由为核心内容,集中体现在为人民争得生存权、工作权、选举权、教育权,以及集会、结社、言论、出版等各项平等权利。这一时期,毛泽东还十分重视文化领域里的平等问题,积极推进民族的科学的大众的新民主主义文化建设,主张不同民族、不同阶层、不同政治团体、不同学术流派都要从思想上和制度上实行文化平等。毛泽东还致力妇女解放,并以之作为衡量普遍解放实现平等的天然尺度。新民主主义时期,毛泽东平等思想的价值目标是为绝大多数人争取权利的平等,这符合马克思主义的观点,也与人类社会剥夺少数人的特权而使多数人享有权利的发展方向相一致。

第四章,主要梳理了新中国建立后毛泽东平等思想发展演变的曲折历程。中华人民共和国建立后,毛泽东率领充满胜利喜悦的中国人民,开始了建设全面平等社会的新革命,提出了一系列关于社会平等的思想观点,推行了一整套社会平等的制度性变革。在经济上,通过改造生产资料私有制建立健全社会主义的公有制,以实现社会生产资料占有和利用关系上的平等权利;通过实行计划经济,强化经济生活各领域的统筹,以避免两极分化,确保社会公平。在政治上,通过建立人民代表大会制度,以实现人民创制政府、监督政府的权利,确保人民主权的真正实现;通过确立中国共产党领导的多党合作与政治协商制度,以实现民主党派和民主人士的政治参与权利;通过建立民族区域自治制度,以实现真正的民族平等;通过反对官僚主义,消除国家工作人员的特权,以实现干部和群众之间相互关系的真正平等。在文化上,通过废除教育特权,以保证人民大众享有文化教育的平等权;通过确立“百花齐放、百家争鸣”这一科学文化工作的基本方针,以发展和繁荣科学文化事业,建设平等的文化发展环境。在社会生活方面,力图通过制度上的设计,来保障人人拥有平等的劳动权、文化教育权以及享受物质生活权利,以消灭三大差别,实现人格平等。在国际关系领域,通过坚持和平共处五项原则,以实现国家关系的平等。新中国成立后,在毛泽东平等思想的指引下,平等作为一种社会理想,开始在中国这块古老的大地上真正付诸实施,其获得成效是巨大的,经验是十分丰富的,但教训也是深刻的。这些都为当代中国构建平等正义的社会主义和谐社会提供了十分重要的思想遗产。

第五章,主要对毛泽东平等思想进行了辩证的、实事求是的历史评价。毛泽东平等思想在毛泽东思想中占有非常重要的地位。他继承和吸收了包括马克思主义经典作家在内的中外政治思想家平等思想的合理因素,逐步形成了具有自身鲜明特点的平等思想。毛泽东把马克思主义平等理论与中国的具体国情、民族实际相结合,创造性地发展了马克思主义平等理论,形成了具有中国特色的毛泽东平等思想,为马克思主义平等理论的中国化作出了重大贡献。毛泽东一生都在不懈地探索,寻找实现社会平等的真谛。他以平等的理想,去进行社会制度的根本性变革;积极地按照人民的意志制宪立法,并以之作为实现平等的法理基础。他把谋求人民利益最大化作为实现平等的核心要求,并着力以科学的政策安排作为实现平等的重要保障。但由于受特定的时代环境和社会历史条件,以及个人性格的影响,毛泽东的平等思想也存在一定的历史局限性。这些局限性作为深刻的历史教训,是我们今天在进一步认识、理解和把握社会主义的平等原则、正义价值,努力构建社会主义和谐社会中必须反思的重要课题。



Abstract

Mao Zedong's idea of equality is an important part of Mao Zedong thought. Mao Zedong dedicated his whole life to China to establish a free and equal society. And for this, he paid through hard work and left us abundant ideological heritage. Summing up and researching the precious heritage can not only help us understand and grasp the idea of equality of Mao Zedong thought, but also help us get a complete and accurate understanding of Mao Zedong thought. Most importantly, it can provide us a more solid theoretical and historical perspective to grasp the essential requirements of the equal values of scientific socialism and a methodological guidance for studying into the equality-related problems of Chinese society and finding the corresponding solutions.

This dissertation, based on the historical materialism and dialectical materialism, guided by the Marxist's idea of equality as the theoretical basis, and with a macro view of the development of western equality, according to modern China's profound social changes, in the reality of the full in-depth reading of Mao Zedong equality shown on the related materials, uses a multi-disciplined theory and method including philosophy, history, political science, sociology, economics, and so on to systematically discuss the idea of equality of Mao Zedong, from its origin, development context, the basic connotation and main characteristics. It also expounds the overall historical evolution of the equality thought of Mao Zedong through different historical periods and its profound time-changing characteristics, and then deeply reveals the contemporary value of Mao Zedong equality thoughts.

Besides introduction and conclusion, the dissertation is composed of five



chapters.

Chapter One is concerned with the theoretical origins of Mao Zedong's idea of equality. Mao Zedong's idea of equality abandons and exceeds the ideas of equality advocated by China ancient thinkers, refers to those of the western thinkers, especially inherits and develops Marxist's. The ideas of equality since ancient times and modern times of China embody not only the ideals of equality appealed to by the people of insight as well as the upper ruling class, the slogans striving for equality put forward by the peasant class in peasant uprisings to get rid of oppression and exploitation, but also the ideas of ethnic equality and social equality proposed by Youwei Kang, Zhongshan Sun and Duxiu Chen on behalf of advanced intellectuals in modern times of China who began to seek the truth saving China from the West after reflecting the traditional Chinese culture during intensified ethnic and social crisis. Absorbing the beneficial elements from A Perfect World and the idea of equality between the rich and the poor and removing their ideology of feudalism, Mao Zedong's idea of equality proposes to abolish feudal hierarchy and gives a new meaning to national independence and A Perfect World, making an effort to build a new China with people being equal. Mr. Mao was also influenced and attracted by the ideas of equality considered as the critical point in the Western political ideology, in which Anarchy Communism, Utopian socialist ideas, Rousseau and Montesquieu's idea of equality and American democratic ideas had an important influence on him. Marxist's idea of equality discloses the objective law to realize human's equality for the first time, finds a right way to achieve social equality and surpasses the thinkers before. Marxist's position, viewpoints and methodology lay a solid foundation for Mao's idea of equality and the ideas of equality advocated by Marx, Engels and Lenin are its direct theoretical origin. The idea roots in the excellent traditional culture of China, inherits and develops the similar ideas of many significant thinkers at home and abroad. All these ideas and cultures combine to contribute to Mao's idea of equality.

Chapter Two deeply analyzes Mao Zedong's idea of equality from his childhood to the period before the foundation of the Communist Party of

China. This period is the important part in which Mao Zedong started his equality consciousness and gradually formed the idea of equality. To resort to the sage's historical view is the outstanding characteristic of Mao Zedong's social consciousness from his childhood to youth. Under the leading orientation of sage's historical view, Mao Zedong's simple equality consciousness began its rudiments. Later under the influence of concept of equality of western ideologists, Mao Zedong transferred former appeal to sage's historical view to questioning sages and the highlight of individual value and advocating personality and criticizing servility. Opposing all kinds of power politics and advocating the equality between nations and countries are the component parts of young Mao Zedong's idea of equality. He advocated national self-determination and A Perfect World and also comprehensively revealed and criticized and analyzed all kinds of power politics in China at that time. During this period, Mao Zedong gradually formed his simple equality value orientation, and started his advocate of independent and free equality personality and strong outcry against inequality among the nations as well as sweet fantasy about the reality of a perfect society. In the early days, Mao Zedong was inclined to realize a traditional "perfect" society of China and carried on "New Village" experiment in Hunan Province. But due to the fantasy which was divorced from reality, Mao Zedong abandoned it and transferred to revolution.

Chapter Three mainly elaborates Mao Zedong's idea of equality during the period of new-democratic revolution and proves the gradually mature process of the thoughts in social revolution practice during this period. It is in the period of new-democratic revolution that Mao's idea of equality gradually gets mature. During this period, Mao gained relatively mature achievement on almost all the thoughts and practice about equality, such as economic equality, political equality, cultural equality, and sex equality. Among Mao's idea of equality, economic equality and equitable distribution take a prominent position. In Mao's opinion, the material foundation of social and economic equality in China is the realization of three major economic programs, that is, confiscation of feudal classes' landed estate to the peas-



ants, confiscation of bureaucratic monopoly capital to new democratic country and protection of national industry and commerce. By doing so, Mao Zedong seized the core of equality problems in China, broke the bondage of traditional thinking that understood equality as average and even attributed equality to absolute equalitarianism, and insisted such values and a course of action as “giving consideration to both public and private interests”, “giving consideration to both army and people”, “making people gain as well as lose” and “making all the major classes feel reasonable and rational”. Political equality closely relates to economic equality. During the period of new-democratic revolution, Mao Zedong put the building of joint dictatorship of all revolutionary classes as the prerequisite of political equality, took people’s fundamental rights and freedom as core content and struggled for various rights of people, such as the rights of survival, work, vote, education, assembly, association, speech and publishing. He proved the validity and rationality for the masses to equally enjoy various fundamental rights, pointed out the fundamental rights which should be enjoyed by the masses, explained that these rights had the features of “affinity to the people”, universality and practicality, and explored the forms and organizing principles with distinct Chinese characteristics to realize the masses’ various fundamental rights. Mao Zedong also emphasized the equality problems in cultural field, actively promoted national, scientific and popular new democratic cultural construction. He claimed that different ethnic groups, different social classes, different political groups and different academic schools should realize cultural equality from both the thought and the system. Mao also committed to women’s liberation and took it as a natural measure of common liberation and realizing equality. During the new democratic period, the value target of Mao’s idea of equality was to fight for equality rights for the great majority of people. It accordance with both Marxist view and the development trend that the privileges of a minority of people should be deprived to make most people enjoy rights.

Chapter Four focuses on the process of development and tortuous evolution in Mao Zedong’s idea of equality after the foundation of the new China.

After the People's Republic of China had been founded, our Chinese communists with great joy of victory, led by Mao Zedong with boundless enthusiasm, started a new revolution to build a fully-equal society, raised a series of thoughts on social equality and implemented a whole set of institutions and policy changes in social equality. Economically, our communists established a perfect socialist public ownership by transforming the private ownership of means of production to achieve the equal rights of relation between the possession and the use of the means of production; strengthened economic co-ordination in all areas by a planned economy to avoid polarization and ensure social fair. Politically, our communists established the people's congress system to realize people's rights to create and supervise the government's behavior, and to ensure the realization of people's sovereignty; established the Chinese Communist Party-led multi-party cooperation and political consultation system to achieve the rights of political participation of democratic parties and democratic personages; established the regional ethnic autonomy system to achieve genuine national equality; eliminated staff privileges by combating bureaucracy to achieve the real equality of the relationship between cadres and the masses. Culturally, our communists abolished the educational privilege to ensure the masses' equal right to enjoy education; established the basic principle of science and culture, "let a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend" to develop the scientific and cultural projects and build an equal cultural environment for development. In social life, our communists established such systems of safe guards as people's equal engaging in productive labor, accepting cultural education, and enjoying the material life to eliminate three major differences and achieve equality of personality. In the field of international relation, our communists carried out the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence to achieve the equal relationship among countries. Through the overview, we can include that Mao Zedong's idea of equality and equality practice are the intersection of insights and contradictions, right and wrong. The victory of new-democratic revolution and the foundation of the socialist system laid the necessary institutional basis for the realization of Mao Zedong's great thought-establish-



ment of equal society. On the base of this system, our communists began to apply the idea of equality to economic, political, cultural and social fields and then fully put it into practice and continually enriched this thought. It was during this period that Mao Zedong's equality ideals and equality requirements were widely implemented in social management, with great successes, and also with huge mistakes and failures. However, as a real value pursuit implemented in China for the first time, equality provided a very important material and spiritual heritage for future generations to rebuild an equal society on the basis of Mao Zedong's construction of equal society.

Chapter Five makes an in-depth historical evaluation on Mao Zedong's idea of equality dialectically and objectively. Mao Zedong's idea of equality is a very important part of Mao Zedong Thought. Mao inherited and absorbed the rational factors of the idea of equality from Chinese and foreign thinkers, including Marxist thinkers, and gradually formed his own idea of equality with distinctive characteristics, which has a strong militant, active practical, distinctive national character and the romantic nature of poetry. Combining the equality theory of Marxism with China's national conditions and reality, Mao creatively developed Marxist theory of equality, formed Mao Zedong's idea of equality with Chinese characteristics and made a significant contribution to Marxism's localization in China. He has devoted his whole life to exploring and finding the true meaning of social equality. To make fundamental changes in the social system as a primary prerequisite for the achievement of equality, in accordance with the will of the people's constitutional legislation as a reliable basis for the achievement of equality, seeking to maximize the interests of the people as to achieve equality the core requirements, the right policy arrangements as an important guarantee for the achievement of equality, finally he found a successful solution to China's equality problem. Mao Zedong's idea of equality made a significant contribution to the development of human thoughts, leaving a lot of valuable spiritual wealth. A series of important ideas and views have had and will have extensive and far-reaching impact on Chinese society and China's development process. Due to the impact of the era and personal qualities, there are

many limitations in Mao Zedong's idea of equality. His lack of in-depth political, economic and social analysis of equality in theory made his idea enthusiastic rather than rational. His over-emphasis on equality of personality made him neglect to explore the content and approaches of equality from human rights and legislation and have a lot of fantasy color when making equal social practice. But Mao Zedong's idea of equality still made a significant contribution to the development of human thoughts, leaving a lot of valuable spiritual wealth, which have had and will have extensive and far-reaching impact on Chinese society and China's development process. It provides us a path of thinking to further understanding of the principle of socialist equality, to build a harmonious society, and in particular, to solve equality issues in contemporary Chinese society, and also provides an important methodological principle for the study of contemporary social equality theory.

目 录

绪论	1
一、研究目的及意义	1
二、研究现状评述	6
三、研究方法和创新之处	14
第一章 毛泽东平等思想产生的理论渊源	17
一、中国古代平等思想的扬弃	17
二、中国近代思想家平等思想的超越	26
三、西方思想家平等思想的借鉴	32
四、马克思主义平等思想的继承与发展	36
第二章 建党前毛泽东的平等思想	43
一、“大同圣域”：朴素的平等价值取向	43
二、根除奴性：崇尚独立自由的人格平等	47
三、反对强权：民族不平等的抗议	50
四、“新村”设想：大同社会理想的追求	57
第三章 新民主主义革命时期毛泽东的平等思想	60
一、变革土地所有权：社会经济平等的物质基础	60
二、建立人民民主专政：社会政治平等的前提条件	69
三、建设新民主主义文化：社会文化平等的不懈追求	80
四、致力妇女解放：衡量男女平等的天然尺度	98