

吴忠民 著

山东人民出版社

走向公正的

社会公正的基本立足点在于：应当站在社会整体利益的立场上，以维护每一个社会群体和社会成员的平等权利与合理利益为基本出发点，帮助遇到不公正对待的一方解决问题。而且，在解决某一社会群体所面临的不公正对待问题时，不能损害另外社会群体的合理利益。

中国社会

吴忠民著

走向公正的中国社会

吴玉黎题

山东人民出版社

图书在版编目(CIP)数据

走向公正的中国社会/吴忠民著. —济南:山东人民出版社,2008.4
ISBN 978-7-209-04462-2

I. 走… II. 吴… III. 公正—研究—中国 IV. D62

中国版本图书馆 CIP 数据核字(2008)第 050407 号

责任编辑:金明善 王海玲

封面设计:武 斌

走向公正的中国社会

吴忠民 著

山东出版集团

山东人民出版社出版发行

社 址:济南市经九路胜利大街 39 号 邮 编:250001

网 址:<http://www.sd-book.com.cn>

发行部:(0531)82098027 82098028

新华书店经销

山东新华印刷厂临沂厂印装

规 格 16 开(170mm×230mm)

印 张 27

字 数 460 千字 插页 2

版 次 2008 年 4 月第 1 版

印 次 2008 年 4 月第 1 次

ISBN 978-7-209-04462-2

定 价 46.00 元

如有质量问题,请与印刷厂调换。电话:(0539)2925659

目 录

引言:天平不能倾斜	1
一、社会公正问题日益突显	1
二、失去社会公正意味着什么	6
三、是什么观念在妨碍着我们重视社会公正问题	11
专论 1 邓小平的两个战略构想相辅相成缺一不可	14
 第一章 社会公正的意蕴及意义	18
一、社会公正的基本规则	18
二、社会公正的基本价值取向	26
三、社会公正的基本立足点	29
四、应当区分两个层面上的社会公正问题	31
五、社会公正对制度建设的重要意义	34
1. 社会公正决定着制度能够具有“好的”特性	35
2. 社会公正决定着制度能够具有“有效”的特性	37
3. 社会公正决定着制度能够具有“公平”的特性	39
4. 社会公正决定着制度能够具有“可行”的特性	40
六、社会公正对于经济发展的重要意义	42
1. 社会公正是保证经济与社会协调发展的关键	42
2. 社会公正能够最大限度地激发社会成员的经济创造力	44
3. 社会公正有助于大幅度地扩大内需	45
4. 社会公正有助于经济发展有序地进行	46
5. 社会公正是经济安全运行的重要前提条件	47
专论 2 形成双赢:富人完税的积极意义	49

第二章 以人为本理念的基本含义及实践意义	51
一、发展应当是以人为本的发展	52
二、发展应当是以绝大多数人为本的发展	56
三、发展应当是以无数个具有平等权利的个体人为本的发展	61
专论 3 保护私有财产对大多数人的积极意义	70
第三章 中国社会公正的现状与趋势	73
一、改革开放以来中国在社会公正方面的主要进展	73
二、不容乐观的社会公正现状	77
1. 贫富差距过大	77
2. 社会成员基本权利保障的总体状况偏弱	82
三、可能的趋势	84
专论 4 不宜低估中国贫富差距问题的严重性	88
专论 5 初次分配领域同样应当重视公正问题	92
第四章 中国社会主要群体的弱势化趋向	95
一、问题的提出	95
二、中国为什么会出现社会主要群体弱势化趋向现象	99
1. “自由相对有余而平等相对不足”	99
2. 中国渐进式改革中的失误所引致的问题	104
三、中国社会主要群体弱势化趋向的主要表现	109
1. 同时经受着绝对贫困与相对贫困的双重困扰	109
2. 劳动权利的维护处在十分弱化的状态之中	111
3. 社会保障状况令人担忧	115
4. 劳动技能总体水准在下降	117
5. 程度不同的边缘化	120
四、中国社会主要群体弱势化趋向的明显特征	122
1. 社会成员基本权利的保护问题占据突出的位置	122
2. 与特定的阶层结构化过程密切相连	126
3. 有进一步加剧的趋势	129
五、中国社会主要群体弱势化趋向的负面影响	131
1. 在很大的程度上会抵消发展的意义	132

2. 削弱中国共产党赖以执政的主要社会基础	132
3. 严重削弱经济的拉动力	133
4. 对于中国社会的安全运行会造成十分有害的影响	134
六、如何应对	136
1. 确立起共享社会发展成果的基本理念	136
2. 注重维护和保障社会成员基础性的生存权利	137
3. 重建农会组织	138
4. 强化企业党组织维护工人基本权利的职能	141
专论6 工人看劳资关系——对几名工人的访谈记录	143

第五章 中国精英群体的演进及问题

147

一、现代社会精英群体的特征及其他

148

1. 精英群体的含义及构成
2. 现代社会精英群体的主要特征
3. 扭曲的精英群体现象
4. 特殊历史条件下的中国精英群体

二、改革开放以来中国精英群体的长足发展

160

1. 三大精英群体实现了同步化的发展,改变了以往一枝独秀的局面
2. 精英群体的职业化程度和专业化水准越来越高
3. 精英群体在社会经济生活中的位置越来越突显

三、中国现阶段精英群体存在的问题

181

1. “效率优先,兼顾公平”:片面的行为和政策取向
2. 公权强烈的扩张冲动
3. 精英群体之间利益结盟现象日渐明显
4. 精英群体呈现出一定的自我封闭化和壁垒化倾向

四、中国精英群体的问题所造成的负面影响

208

1. 造成公共投入的巨大浪费
2. 扭曲和损伤正处在定型过程中的现代社会阶层结构
3. 造成改革与发展两者之间的背离

五、结语

217

专论7 应高度重视社会政策对执政党的重大意义

221

1. “立党为公、执政为民”的理念与社会政策密不可分	221
2. 中国社会的发展呼唤着社会政策	223
3. 社会政策对于中国共产党具有不可替代的重大意义	224
第六章 中国中期社会危机的可能趋势	227
一、中国社会的高风险	227
1. 现代社会必然伴随着社会风险	227
2. 中国急速的社会转型必然面临着高风险	228
二、危机和社会危机的界定	232
1. 何谓危机和社会危机	232
2. 社会危机的特征	234
3. 社会危机的诱因变量和本因变量	235
4. 社会危机的可能趋势	236
三、中国中期社会危机的主要变量	237
1. “中期”范围的划定	237
2. 中国中期重要的社会危机变量	239
四、中国中期社会危机的第一种可能趋势	245
五、中国中期社会危机的第二种可能趋势	249
六、中国中期社会危机的第三种可能趋势	261
七、应对思路和对策	265
1. 建立起雄厚的战略资源战略物资储备体系	266
2. 建立起公正合理并且是制度化的利益协调机制	268
3. 形成一个“两头小、中间大”的橄榄型的社会阶层结构	268
专论 8 社会的急剧转型与社会焦虑	271
1. 社会焦虑困扰着中国社会	271
2. 社会焦虑产生的原因	272
3. 怎么办	274
第七章 中国新一轮改革的若干转变	276
一、从“无序”改革到“有序”改革	276
二、从增益型改革到利益调整型改革	278
三、从边缘层面的改革到核心层面的改革	279

四、从应对个案化的社会问题到应对整体化的社会问题	280
五、从单纯地看重经济效益到经济政策与社会政策并重	281
六、从“先富”逐渐过渡到“共同富裕”	282
七、从经济型政府逐渐转变为公共服务型政府	284
八、从经济体制的改革逐渐过渡到全方位的改革	285
专论 9 改革:开弓没有回头箭——接受某媒体记者的采访	286
专论 10 后发优势与后发劣势	295
1. 后发优势:六个方面的表现	295
2. 后发劣势:八个方面的陷阱	300
3. 扬长避短:六项对策	305
第八章 日益突显的民生问题	307
一、民生问题何以成为时代的一个重要主题	308
1. 以人为本的基本理念深入人心	308
2. 社会成员平等和独立意识普遍增强	308
3. 世俗化进程的迅速推进	309
二、民生问题的基本含义及重要意义	311
1. 民生的含义及内容	311
2. 民生问题的特点	313
3. 改善民生的一个重大意义在于防止改革与发展两者之间的背离	316
三、建立一个初级的社会公正保障体系	319
1. 问题的提出	319
2. 初级社会公正保障体系的基本内容	320
3. 建立初级社会公正保障体系的条件已经完全具备	322
专论 11 改善劳动条件同样能够大幅度增加就业机会	322
专论 12 中国教育改革发展的五大失误	324
专论 13 民生与法治:深化改革的两个有效突破口	328
第九章 构建一个和谐的社会	331
一、和谐社会的界定	332
1. 和谐社会的含义	332

2. 两种类型的和谐社会	332
3. 和谐社会的重要标志	334
二、和谐社会理论的重大意义	336
1. 和谐社会理论的理论价值	336
2. 和谐社会理论的现实意义	339
三、和谐社会建设的基本内容	342
1. 和谐社会建设的核心:维护和促进社会公正	343
2. 和谐社会建设的基础:优化社会结构	344
3. 和谐社会建设的关键:协调和理顺社会利益关系	346
4. 和谐社会建设的着力点:制定和实施系统的社会政策	347
5. 和谐社会建设的行动准则:“尽力而为”和“量力而行”	348
专论 14 中国构建和谐社会的优势	351
 附录一 从阶级分析到当代社会分层研究	357
一、阶级分析的基本价值	358
二、阶级分析的不足	362
三、中国特定语境下的阶级分析	370
四、从阶级分析到当代阶层分析	376
 附录二 社会公正研究的现状及趋向——近年来国内学术界社会公正 研究述评	383
引言:社会公正研究的崛起	383
一、关于贫富差距过大问题的研究	385
二、关于社会阶层结构层面上社会公正问题的研究	389
三、关于“效率优先,兼顾公平”的争论	394
四、社会公正基本理论层面的进展	398
五、社会公正研究的生长点	403
 主要参考书目	410
 后记	417

CONTENTS

Introduction: The balance should not be inclined	1
1. The emergence of social justice issue	1
2. What does it mean if there is no social justice in a society	6
3. What are those ideas impeding us attaching importance to the issues of social justice	11
Topic One The two strategies of Deng Xiaoping supplement each other	14
Chapter One The meaning of social justice	18
1. The basic rules of social justice	18
2. The basic values of social justice	26
3. The basic stand of social justice	29
4. Two dimensions of social justice should be distinguished	31
5. The significance of social justice to system construction	34
5.1 Social justice determines the system's "good" characteristic	35
5.2 Social justice determines the system's "effective" characteristic	37
5.3 Social justice determines the system's "fair" characteristic	39
5.4 Social justice determines the system's "feasible" characteristic	40
6. The significance of social justice to economic development	42
6.1 Social justice is the key factor to guarantee the coordinated development of economy and society	42
6.2 Social justice can stimulate the economic creativity of every social	

member to the utmost capacity	44
6.3 Social justice is helpful for expanding domestic demand	45
6.4 Social justice is helpful for economy development in an orderly way	46
6.5 Social justice is an important prerequisite conditions for economic safety operation	47
Topic Two Mutual benefit: Positive meaning of income tax of the rich	49
Chapter Two The basic meaning and practical value of human oriented idea	51
1. The development should be a kind of human oriented	52
2. The development should be a kind of most majority oriented	56
3. The development should be a kind of numerous individuals oriented with equal rights	61
Topic Three The positive meaning of private property protection for the ma- jority	70
Chapter Three The recent situation and tendency of China's social justice	73
1. Main progress of China's social justice since reform and opening-up	73
2. Hardly optimistic situation of social justice	77
2.1 The too big income gap between the poor and the rich	77
2.2 The overall condition of security of social members' basic rights is weak	82
3. The possible tendency	84
Topic Four It is not suitable to underestimate the income gap between the rich and the poor in China	88
Topic Five The justice issue should be taken consideration in the primary distribution area similarly	92
Chapter Four The tendency of turning China's major social group to the disadvantaged	95
1. The rise of the problem	95

2. The reasons for such a phenomenon	99
2.1 Sufficient freedom but inadequate equality	99
2.2 The problems caused by mistakes in the course of china's progressive reform	104
3. The main manifestation of the tendency	109
3.1 Double perplexity of absolute poverty and relative poverty	109
3.2 The weak protection of laborers' rights	111
3.3 The worrying state of social security	115
3.4 The declining level of overall laborers' skills	117
3.5 The varied degree of marginalization	120
4. Distinctive features	122
4.1 The protection of social members' basic rights stands out to be a major problem	122
4.2 The close relation to the specific social stratification	126
4.3 The tendency of aggravation	129
5. Negative effects	131
5.1 The phenomenon would nullifies the meaning of development	132
5.2 Undermining the major social foundations of the Chinese Communist party's ruling	132
5.3 The serious weakening of china's pulling force of economy	133
5.4 The phenomenon poses harmful effects on the safe running of china's society	134
6. Ways to deal with the problem	136
6.1 Building up the basic idea of sharing society's fruits of development	136
6.2 Attentions pay to the maintenance and protection of social members' basic living rights	137
6.3 Reconstruction of the agricultural organizations	138
6.4 Strengthening the responsibility and the function of the party organizations in enterprises to protect the workers' basic rights	141
Topic Six Workers' view on the labor-capital relationship—interviews with	

several workers	143
Chapter Five Evolvement and problems of Chinese elite group	147
1. The characteristics and other things of social elite group in modern society	148
1.1 The meaning and the components of elite group	148
1.2 The main characteristics of social elite group in modern society	149
1.3 The distorted elite group phenomenon	155
1.4 The Chinese elite group under special historical conditions	157
2. The fast growth of Chinese elite group since reform and opening-up	160
2.1 Three greatest elite groups increased synchronously, changed a former situation which shows only	160
2.2 The degree of professionalization and specialization of elite group turns level much higher	167
2.3 The position of elite group in the social economy life becomes more and more important	172
3. The problems of elite group in the present stage of China	181
3.1 "Priority for efficiency with fairness considered": Unilateral behavior and policy tendency	181
3.2 The public rights extend impulse strongly	187
3.3 The benefits among elite groups form alliance phenomenon gradually obvious	195
3.4 The elite group presents a certain tendency of ego closing and exclusion	204
4. The negative influence that the problems of Chinese elite group result in	208
4.1 Result in the huge waste of public devotion	208
4.2 Distort and hurt the modern social stratum structure in it's shaping process	213
4.3 Result in the deviation between reform and development	216
5. Conclusion	217

Topic Seven Pay attention to the great significance of social policy to the ruling party	221
1. The idea of “found the party for public, ruling for people” closes to social policy	221
2. The development of China needs social policy	223
3. Social policy has irreplaceable significance for Communist Party of China	224
Chapter Six The possible tendency of social crisis in the middle process of Chinese development	227
1. The high risk of China	227
1.1 The modern society accompanies with social risk by all means	227
1.2 The rapid social transformation of China faces high risk by all means	228
2. The definition of crisis and social crisis	232
2.1 What is the meaning of crisis and social crisis?	232
2.2 The characteristics of social crisis	234
2.3 The inducement variables and the independent variables of social crisis	235
2.4 The possible tendency of social crisis	236
3. The main variables of social crisis in the middle process of Chinese development	237
3.1 The delimitation of “the middle process” scope	237
3.2 The important variables of social crisis in the middle process of Chinese development	239
4. The first possible trend of social crisis in the middle process	245
5. The second possible trend of social crisis in the middle process	249
6. The third possible trend of social crisis in the middle process	261
7. Countermeasure for dealing with a situation	265
7.1 Establish a system of a strong storage of strategic resources	266
7.2 Establish a justice, reasonable, and institutional mechanism for adjusting benefits relationship	268

7.3 Form a social stratum structure of olives type with “big in the middle and small at both ends”	268
Topic Eight The sharp social transformation and social anxiety	271
1. Social anxiety disturbs Chinese society	271
2. The causes of social anxiety	272
3. How to do	274
Chapter Seven Several changes of new reformation of China	276
1. From disordered reformation to ordered reformation	276
2. From reformation aiming for profit addition to reformation aiming for coordination profit	278
3. From marginal-level reformation to central-level reformation	279
4. From coping with single social problems to coping with holistic social problems	280
5. From attaching importance to economic benefit to attaching importance to both economic policy and social policy	281
6. From “some people own wealth” to “all people share wealth” gradually	282
7. From economic government to public service government	284
8. From economy system reformation to all-sided reformation	285
Topic Night Reformation: No way to give up-Interview with journalists	286
Topic Ten Subsequent advantages and subsequent disadvantages	295
1. Subsequent advantages: Six aspects	295
2. Subsequent disadvantages: Eight traps	300
3. Utilizing advantages but avoiding disadvantages: Six strategies	305
Chapter Eight The increasingly prominent living-hood problems	307
1. Why living-hood problem becomes an important issue today	308
1.1 The “human oriented” concept deeply rooted in the mind of people	308
1.2 The consciousness of equality and independence of social members enhance universally	308

1.3	The rapid development of secularization process	309
2.	The basic meaning and significance of living-hood problems	311
2.1	The meaning and content of living-hood	311
2.2	The feature of living-hood problems	313
2.3	One of significance of ameliorating living-hood level is preventing the deviation of reformation and development	316
3.	Establish a junior social justice security system	319
3.1	The introduce of the issue	319
3.2	The basic content of the junior social justice security system	320
3.3	The conditions of establishing junior social justice security system has totally possess	322
Topic Eleven	Ameliorating work conditions also can increase employment opportunities sharply	322
Topic Twelve	Five serious mistakes of education reformation of China	324
Topic Thirteen	Liveling-hood and rule of law; The two effective holes of deepening the reformation	328
Chapter Nine	Constructing a harmonious society	331
1.	Definition of harmonious society	332
1.1	The meaning of harmonious society	332
1.2	Two types of harmonious society	332
1.3	Significant symbols of harmonious society	334
2.	The signification of harmonious society theory	336
2.1	The theoretical value of harmonious society theory	336
2.2	The operation significance of harmonious society theory	339
3.	The basic content of constructing harmonious society	342
3.1	The core of constructing harmonious society; Support and promote social justice	343
3.2	The groundwork of constructing harmonious society; Optimize social structure	344
3.3	The key point of constructing harmonious society; Coordinate and straighten out social benefit relations	346

3. 4 The point of constructing harmonious society: Establish and implement systemic social policy	347
3. 5 The ground rule of constructing harmonious society: Do utmost and do what the strength allows	348
Topic Fourteen The advantages of China to set up harmonious society	351
Appendices One From class analysis to the present social stratification research	357
1. The functional value of class analysis	358
2. The deficiency of class analysis	362
3. The class analysis in the particular Chinese language context	370
4. From class analysis to the present stratum analysis	376
Appendices Two The present study situation and trend of social justice—Review on social justice of domestic academia in recent years	383
Preface: Rising of social justice study	383
1. Research on the problem of over sized income gap between the rich and the poor	385
2. Research on the social justice problem on the social stratum structure level	389
3. The dispute of “priority for efficiency with fairness considered”	394
4. The progress on the social justice elementary theory level	398
5. The growth points of social justice study	403
References	410
Postscript	417