

MAKESIZHENGZHILUNLISIXIANGYANJIU

马克思政治伦理思想研究

Thought of Marx's Political Ethics



陶艳华◎著



人民出版社

MAKESIZHENGZHILUNLISIXIANGYANJIU

马克思政治伦理思想研究

Thought of Marx's Political Ethics



陶艳华◎著

河北省教育厅著作出版基金资助



人民大学出版社

责任编辑:刘丽华

图书在版编目(CIP)数据

马克思政治伦理思想研究/陶艳华 著. —北京:人民出版社,2009.12
ISBN 978-7-01-008557-9

I. 马… II. 陶… III. 马克思主义-政治伦理学-研究 IV. A811.64
中国版本图书馆 CIP 数据核字(2009)第 229207 号

马克思政治伦理思想研究

MAKESI ZHENGZHI LUNLI SIXIANG YANJIU

陶艳华 著

人民出版社 出版发行

(100706 北京朝阳门内大街 166 号)

北京集惠印刷有限责任公司印刷 新华书店经销

2009 年 12 月第 1 版 2009 年 12 月北京第 1 次印刷

开本:700 毫米×1000 毫米 1/16 印张:20.75

字数:297 千字

ISBN 978-7-01-008557-9 定价:36.00 元

邮购地址 100706 北京朝阳门内大街 166 号

人民东方图书销售中心 电话 (010)65250042 65289539

摘 要

马克思政治思想是马克思主义的重要思想来源，也是社会主义现代化政治建设的重要理论依据。马克思政治思想是否蕴含伦理诉求，换言之，马克思是否具有政治伦理思想，有着怎样的政治伦理思想，不仅关系到完整理解马克思主义的原则方法，在当今吁求公平正义的社会背景下，还关系到马克思主义的解释力与指导力；在实践层面则关乎中国特色社会主义政治建设的价值取向与政策操作。

马克思没有明确提出过政治伦理概念，其政治观点与政治主张中却含有丰富的伦理诉求与价值关怀，因之具有确实的政治伦理思想。伦理追求不是马克思政治思想的显性话语，却是马克思政治思想的价值涵蕴。正是这种伦理追求与价值涵蕴赋予马克思政治思想以人文气质，是马克思政治思想走进现代政治生活的思维基质。对马克思政治伦理思想的彰显不仅是完整理解马克思政治思想、马克思主义的理论需要，也是回应时代对马克思主义的期盼与挑战的现实需要。本题选定的价值与目的正契合于此。

马克思政治伦理思想是从现实的、阶级的人出发，以正义政治制度为手段，追求一种相对合理、公平的政治关系，以实现政治生活状态下人的解放的最大化。同时，马克思认为，政治以阶级、国家为前提，而阶级、国家对于个体的人具有利益代表的虚幻性，因而成为人的自由发展的掣肘。因此，要实现人的彻底解放，即人的自由全面发展，必须使公共权力

失去政治性质。基于此，马克思以共产主义为最终追求，实现了对政治伦理价值的超越。

意大利马克思主义者葛兰西曾指出：“如果人们希望研究一种从来不曾被它的创始人所系统地阐明过的世界观的诞生……首先必须重现这位思想家的思想发展进程。”这一主张与马克思政治伦理思想研究极其符合。据此，马克思政治伦理思想历程是本文的开篇，这是从纵向角度对马克思政治伦理思想的梳理。设定本章的主旨是为了突显各时期的思想内容，为随后从体系上把握马克思政治伦理思想提供思想史依据，因此，思想时期的划分只具有相对意义。

贯穿于马克思政治思想的精神主线是强烈的人文关怀与伦理追求，其最终目的是求得人类的彻底解放。在唯心主义时期，马克思从理性出发，追求世界秩序的合理化。这一时期已经形成了马克思政治伦理思想的基本框架，包括出发点、理论基础、主要内容以及具体体现。在由唯心主义到唯物主义转变时期，马克思认识到唯心主义理性的苍白无力，开始寻求更加有力的科学论证。在批判黑格尔唯心主义国家观的基础上，马克思就国家伦理、人的本质、人类解放思想进行了阐述。在唯物主义时期，通过唯物史观的发现，马克思终于找寻到了道德应然的必然论证，从而为自己的理想追求确证了科学理据。马克思进一步论证了人的本质以及人的历史地位、特殊利益与共同利益、个人与集体的关系，在对共产主义历史必然性进行分析的基础上揭示了共产主义的伦理价值。

对政治主体的伦理关怀是马克思政治伦理思想的出发点，也是对政治关系的价值判断以及政治制度正义追求的基本前提与主体依据。

现实的人是马克思政治思想的出发点与落脚点。现实的人是社会关系的总和，在政治社会即表现为阶级主体的存在形式。马克思对处于剥削阶级国家中绝大多数的被统治阶级给予了深切的道德同情与道义支持。基于所处时代的关系，马克思着重关怀的政治主体是无产阶级。马克思不仅对无产阶级所处的“社会最下层”地位进行了揭示，对无产阶级“丧失人性外观”的生存状况进行了描述，同时对无产阶级最终的历史命运给予了极

大关注，并对无产阶级解放进行了理论武装与实践指导。不仅如此，马克思着眼于全人类，以人类解放即人的自由、全面发展为最终价值追求，并论证了无产阶级解放与人类解放的必然关联。

对政治关系的价值判断是马克思政治伦理思想的基本内容，也是实现政治主体的伦理关怀、政治制度正义安排的理论基础与社会条件。

马克思非常重视关系的分析，重视关系中体现出的事物本质以及伦理内含。在对政治关系的分析中，马克思表现出强烈的道义判断与伦理追求。马克思认为：个人与社会是相互创造、相互依赖、相互制约、相互促进的关系，私有制下个人与社会处于极端对立之中，因而不道德的；国家与社会的关系是人的解放的客观环境。马克思对古代社会二者的重合对人的个性自由的泯灭以及资本主义条件下人的生活的二重性进行了批判，并论证了国家复归于社会的应然追求。马克思认为：建立在私有制基础上的政治权力关系是不合理的，建立在公有制基础上的政治权力关系具有正当性；少数人统治多数人的政治权力关系是不道德的，多数人统治少数人的政治权力关系具有相对的道德合理性；从根本上说，政治权力关系本身就是不合理的。要实现人类真正彻底的合理与公正，必须使公共权力失去政治性质。政治权利也内含着与他人、与国家的关系，其实现形式主要有自由、平等、民主。自由、平等、民主具有历史性，只有共产主义社会（“共产主义社会高级阶段”）才能真正实现。

政治制度的正义追求是马克思政治伦理思想的落脚点，也是政治主体的伦理关怀以及政治关系价值追求的现实路径与实现手段。

政治制度是政治社会中政治主体交往的产物。正义是人类社会永恒的主题。在对以往思想家抽象正义的批判中，在对资本主义社会正义虚伪性的揭露中，马克思论述了以唯物史观为基础的正义思想。在马克思看来，政治制度的正义诉求体现在促进人的解放与生产力发展两方面。由此出发，马克思认为封建政治制度使人“不成其为人”，同时阻碍了生产力发展与历史的进步；资本主义政治制度既有对人的解放与对生产力发展的促进，也有对人的解放与对生产力发展的制约；社会主义政治制度（“共产

主义社会第一阶段”) 在人的解放与生产力发展的促进方面显现出较旧制度更大程度的正义性, 但其正义性仍然是历史的、有局限性的。在政治制度中, 人们必然要受到国家、阶级等“虚幻共同体”的制约, 因而不能从根本上实现人类解放。只有在共产主义社会 (“共产主义社会高级阶段”), 生产力极大提高, 自然分工被消灭; 阶级、国家不存在了, 政治制度失去阶级压迫性质而成为真正正义的社会制度。

马克思政治伦理思想评析是全文总结, 包括对马克思政治伦理思想特色的分析、时代性的把握以及研究意义的揭示。

马克思政治伦理思想具有鲜明、独特的思想特色。阶级斗争、国家统治、夺取政权、暴力革命等政治论述是其显性话语, 丰富的伦理精神和道德追求蕴含其间; 马克思政治伦理思想不仅是基于现实的价值判断与应然分析的结果, 更是人类社会发展确定不移的必然趋势; 马克思政治伦理思想的主题是求得人类解放, 实现手段是制度变革, 制度伦理是其思想的内容重心。

“思想不能邂逅历史。” 马克思政治伦理思想是特定时代的思想意识, 自然具有时代的局限。这种局限主要是相对于资本主义社会的变化而言。同时, 马克思政治伦理思想又生发于资本主义社会, 只要资本主义社会存在着, 马克思政治伦理思想就有其价值和意义, 这又表现为其思想的时代超越性, 这种超越性是相对于资本主义社会的本质特征而言。

美国学者海尔布隆纳认为: 所以向马克思求教, 是因为我们不能回避他。马克思政治伦理思想作为马克思政治思想的价值维度, 是马克思思想的重要组成部分, 对其进行发掘和探究, 有助于客观、全面地理解、把握马克思思想的精神实质与价值追求, 有助于完整、准确地理解、把握马克思主义, 从而增强其运用于现实的理论弹性与指导能力。同时, 马克思的思想宝库能持续地为现实提供鲜活的思想资源。马克思的每一政治伦理观点都可以与现实结合起来, 从而使之成为指导现实生活的理论源泉。限于篇幅与结构, 本文从对“以人为本”的实施、国家与社会关系的处理以及具体制度安排三方面分析了马克思政治伦理思想的实践价值。

关键词：马克思 政治伦理思想 伦理关怀 价值判断 正义追求

Abstract

Marx's political thought is the important source of Marxism ideas, and also the important theoretical basis of the building of socialist political modernization. Whether Marx's political thought implies ethical demands or in other words whether Marx has political ethical thought and what kind of political ethical thought is not only related to a complete understanding of the principles and approaches of Marxism, but also related to the explanatory and guidance power of Marxism in the contemporary context of calling for fairness and justice. Practically, it is related to the value orientation and policy operation of the building of socialist politics with Chinese characteristics.

Marx does not explicitly put forward the concept of political ethics. However, there exists abundant ethical demands and value concern in his political views and political ideas. As a result, he has substantial political ethics thought. Ethics pursuit is not the dominant discourse of Marx's political thought, but the value implication of Marx's political thought. It is this pursuit of ethics and values implication that infuses the humanities temperament into Marx's political thought and is the thinking matrix for Marx's political thought coming into the modern political life. The opening of Marx's thought of political Ethics not only is the theoretical demands of a complete understanding of Marx's political thought, but also the practical needs in responding to the expectations and challenges of the era that

gives to Marxism. The above mentioned is just the value and goal of this title.

From the starting point of the people in the realistic class society, Marx's political ethics thought pursues relatively reasonable and fair political relations in order to achieve maximization of human liberation in the state of the political life by a means of the political system of justice. At the same time, Marx believes that the class and state is the prerequisite for politics, which has the illusory nature concerning the benefits for the individuals, consequently has become the constraints of the free development of people. Therefore, in order to achieve the total liberation of the people, that is, free and comprehensive development of people, we must make public power lose the political nature. Based on this, Marx implements the transcendence of the ethical value of politics in pursuit the communism as the final goal.

Antonio Gramsci, Italian Marxist, has pointed out: "If people attempt to study the birth of a view of the world that was never stated systematically by its founder... we must first reproduce the development process of the thought of the thinker." This idea is extremely consistent with the study of Marx's political ethics thought. Accordingly, the development of Marx's political ethics thought is the opening part of this article, which combs Marxist political thought ethics from the vertical perspective. The main thrust of the setting of this chapter is to highlight the content of the thought of the different periods and provide the basis of the history of thought in order to grasp Marx's political ethics thought from the system for the latter parts, therefore, the delineation of the period of thought only has relative significance.

The main line of the spirit which runs through Marx's political thought is the strong humanistic concern and ethical pursuit which regards the total liberation of mankind as the ultimate aim. In the period of idealism, Marx pursues the rationalization of the world order from the starting point of the rationality. During this period, the basic framework of Marx's political ethics thought has already devel-

oped, including the starting point, the theoretical foundation, as well as a concrete manifestation of main content. In the time of the change from idealism to materialism, Marx recognizes the weakness of idealism rationality, begins to seek more effective scientific proof. Based on the critique of Hegel's idealism view of the state, Marx describes the national ethics, human nature, human kinds' liberation. In the period of materialism, Marx finally finds the inevitable argument of moral norms, and establishes the scientific evidence for his own pursuit of ideals through the discovery of historical materialism. Marx further demonstrates the essence of people, as well as the historical status of people, special interests and the common interests, the relationship between the individual and the collective, and reveals the ethical values of communism based on an analysis of the historical inevitability of communism.

The ethics concern of the subject of the politics is the starting point of Marx's political ethics thought, and also the basic premise and the main basis of the subject of value judgments on political relations as well as the pursuit of justice of the political system.

Real people are the starting point and the end result of Marx's political thought. Real people are the sum of social relations that are manifested in a form of the subject of the class in the political society. Marx gives the deepest sympathy and moral support to the vast majority of the ruled class in the country of the exploiting class. Based on the times, the political subject which Marx focused on is the proletariat. Marx not only reveals "social bottom" status of the proletariat and describes the living conditions of "the appearance of loss of human nature" of the proletariat, and gives a great deal of attention to the final historical fate of the proletariat and provides the theoretical preparation and practical guidance to the liberation of the proletariat. Besides that, focusing on all of the humanity, Marx regards the liberation of humanity, that is, free and comprehensive development of people, as ultimate pursuit of value, and demonstrates the inevitable correla-

tion between the proletarian liberation and human liberation.

The value judgments on political relations is the basic elements of Marx's political ethics thought, and also the basic arrangements for the theory and social conditions of realizing the ethical concern of political subjects and justice arrangements of the political system.

Marx attaches great importance to the analysis of the relationship and the essence of things as well as the ethical connotations which relations embody. In the analysis of political relations, Marx demonstrates a strong sense of moral judgments and ethical pursuit. Marx believes that the relationship between the individual and society is one of mutual creation, interdependence, mutual limiting, mutual reinforcing, while the individual and the society is in extreme antagonism under private ownership, and thus is immoral; the relationship between country and society is the objective environment for the liberation of the people. Marx describes the depriving of the personality and freedom of the people which brings about by the coincidence between the society and the country in the ancient society and the duality of human life under the capitalist conditions, and argues inevitable pursuit of the country reverting to the society. Marx believes that the relations of political power which is set up in private ownership is unreasonable and political power relations which is set up in public ownership is of the legitimacy, and that political power relations in which the minority of people rules the majority is immoral and political power relations in which the majority rules the minority has the relative moral rationality, and that fundamentally speaking, the relationship of political power itself is unreasonable. To achieve the true and complete rationality and fairness of humankind, we need to make public power lose the political nature. Political rights also imply the relations with other people and the country, mainly in the implementation form of freedom, equality and democracy. Freedom, equality and democracy are of the historic nature, which can be truly achieved in the communist society ("The highest stage of Communist society").

The pursuit of justice of political system is the ending result of Marx's political ethics thought, and the path of the reality and means of implementation of the ethics pursuit of the political subject and the value pursuit of political relations.

The political system is the product of the contacts of political subjects in political society. Justice is the eternal theme of human society. Marx describes the ideas of justice based on historical materialism in the criticism of the abstract justice described by the former thinkers and the opening of the hypocrisy of the social justice in the capitalist society. In Marx's view, the just demands of the political system embody in two ways, the promotion of people's liberation and the development of productive forces. Starting from this, Marx believes that the feudal political system deprived the people of the nature of being mankind and at the same time impeded the development of productive forces and the progress of the history, and that capitalist political system one hand promotes people's liberation and the development of productive forces, on the other hand restricted people's liberation and the development of productive forces, and that socialist political systems ("The first stage of Communist society") shows a greater degree of justice than the old system in the aspect of people's liberation and the promotion of the development of productive forces, but the justice is still historical and has limitations. In the political system, people are bound to be limited by "illusory communities" such as the country and class. Therefore, human liberation can not be realized fundamentally. Only in communist society ("The highest stage of Communist society"), when the productivity is greatly improved, the natural division of labor is eliminated, class and the country does not exist, the political system lose the nature of class oppression and truly become the social system of justice.

The assessment of Marx's political ethics thought is the summary of the full text, including the analysis of the characteristics of Marx's political ethics thought, the grasp of the essence keeping with the times and the revealing of the

significance in the research.

Marx's political ethics thought has distinct and unique characteristics of thought. The political discourses such as class struggle, state ruling, seizing of power, violent revolution are the dominant discourse and imply abundant ethical spirit and moral pursuit; Marx's political ethics thought is not only judgments of ethical value based on reality and the results of the analysis of the norms, but also the inevitable and positive trend of development of human society; The theme of Marx's political ethics thought is to seek human liberation and the means of implementation is the institutional change in which institutional ethics is emphasized.

"The thought can not come across the history." Marx's political ethics thought is the ideology of a particular era and naturally has the limitations of the times. The main limitations of this type are compared with the changes in capitalist society. At the same time, Marx's political ethics thought has taken root in the capitalist society. As long as there exists the capitalist society, Marx's political ethics thought has its value and meaning, which is embodied in its transcendence of the times, which is compared with the essential characteristics of the capitalist society.

Heilbroner, the American scholar, argues that we resort to Marx because we should not evade him. As the value dimension of Marx's political thought, Marxist political ethics thought is an important part of Marx's thought. The inquiring and exploring of the thought can contribute to understanding and grasping the spiritual essence and the pursuit of value of Marx's thought objectively and comprehensively, to grasping and understanding Marxism completely and accurately so as to enhance elasticity of the theory and coaching skills in the realistic application. At the same time, the treasure house of Marx's thought can provide fresh resources for the reality. Each of Marx's point of views of political ethics thought can be combined with the reality, thus making it the guiding theory of the source

of real life. Because of the limitations of the space and structure, this article describes the practical value of Marx's political ethics thought from three aspects, the "people - oriented" implementation, the dealing of the relations between the state and society, and the specific institutional arrangements.

Key Words: Marx political ethics thought ethics concern value judgment the pursuit of justice

目 录

导 论	(1)
一、问题的提出与研究意义	(1)
(一) 问题的提出	(1)
(二) 研究意义	(2)
二、马克思政治伦理思想确证	(3)
(一) 马克思思想与所有社会科学“有关联”	(3)
(二) 马克思政治思想蕴含伦理意义	(4)
三、论题的相关概念	(5)
(一) 政治伦理	(5)
(二) 政治思想、政治哲学	(7)
(三) 马克思政治伦理思想	(8)
四、论题的研究现状	(8)
(一) 马克思政治哲学、政治思想研究	(11)
(二) 马克思伦理思想研究	(13)
(三) 马克思主义政治伦理、马克思政治伦理研究	(14)
五、研究方法与研究思路	(16)
(一) 研究方法	(16)
(二) 研究思路	(17)
六、创新点、难点与不足	(18)

(一) 创新点	(18)
(二) 难点	(18)
(三) 不足	(18)
第一章 马克思政治伦理思想历程	(20)
一、唯心主义、革命民主主义时期的政治伦理思想	(21)
(一) 对社会贫苦阶层的道德同情与道义支持	(23)
1. 以“人类幸福”为职业选择的指针	(23)
2. “为穷人要求习惯法”	(24)
(二) 通过哲学干预实现政治生活合理化	(25)
1. “世界的哲学化同时也就是哲学的世界化”	(26)
2. “自由的理论精神成为实践的力量”	(26)
3. “哲学要求国家是合乎人性的国家”	(27)
(三) 自由是判断国家制度善恶的标准	(28)
1. “自由确实是人的本质”	(28)
2. 自由是判断制度善恶的标准	(29)
(四) 国家、法律、行政官员应当具有的“义务”	(31)
1. 理性国家应当平等地对待公民	(31)
2. “国家放弃自己的义务是一种罪行”	(32)
3. 法律应当真实、公平、代表普遍利益	(33)
4. 政府与行政官员应对其管理地区的贫困负责	(34)
二、由人本主义向历史唯物主义转变时期的政治伦理思想	(36)
(一) 国家伦理观	(38)
1. 国家不是“伦理理念的现实”	(38)
2. 国家权力之“人民主权”	(40)
3. 国家制度之“民主制”	(42)
(二) 人的本质论	(43)
1. 应然性：“社会特质”与“私人特质”、“类本质”	