



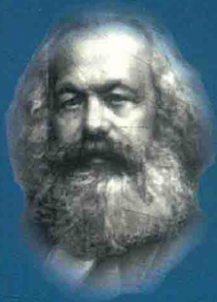
南国政治学人文库

THE HOPE SPACE OF ECOLOGY:
A STUDY OF GREEN DEVELOPMENT OUTLOOK OF MARXISM

石小娇◎著

生态的希望空间

——马克思主义绿色发展观研究



中国政法大学出版社

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General Foreword

The form of library is exploited, by the Chinese academic society and publishing community, to display the history and reality of human life and achievements and knowledge produced from the researches on the history and reality of human life, which proves a effective way. The purpose of Library of Southern Politicians, jointly published by Public Management School of Guangzhou University and China University of Political Science and Law, is to create a platform by which those young politicians could record and describe the historical changes and reforms of reality in a objective and correct way, and explore the causal associations and inner logic of these historical changes and reforms of reality in a scientific and unbiased way.

In current China, there are two uncontroversial facts, which support and summon scientific politics researches. One is that when economic reform and development advance smoothly, economy and economist are the leading actors while problems arise in economic reform and development, mere economy and economist cannot cope with the situation but knowledge in other fields and its producers are demanded, especially politics and politician.

The other is that upright people's aversion and stolidness over vulgar politics, caused by overemphasis on politics rightness and class struggle, has mitigated, while more and more people have realized

that the lagging political reform is one important factor deterring the deepening of economic reform. Thus any people aspiring to interpret, design and forecast the general social reform of China start to focus and research on political field and political life. As political life become more and more clean-figured, the enthusiasm to research on politics and politics science become stronger. Politics may become a prominent discipline.

In current China, politics is the only key to profoundly comprehend and wholly understand social reform, opening-up, transition and renaissance. Judged from human's history, any great overall social reform is triggered firstly by reform in politics field and political life and supported by innovative development in politics field and political life. The overall social reform, opening-up, transition and renaissance in China will also comply with the law.

Although economists lay much emphasis on economic field, and innovations in economic life serve as the basis for the overall social reform, opening-up, transition and renaissance in China, the remarkable major reform could not objectively explained if reforms in political field happened in the late 70s and the early 80s of 20 century are not well assessed. Because without decisive negation of Culture Revolution, and abolishment of class struggle politics, the great ideological liberation with discussion of practice criterion as content would not appear, and thus reform, opening-up in economic field and life would not emerge either.

Although economists, tending to explore the momentum of sustainable moderate growth from economic field and economic life, and even some going far to bypass political reform, indulge in so-called

pure economic reform, sustainable deepening reform strategy cannot be correctly designed and established when the tremendous impact of democracy and rule of law on market economy is not fully evaluated, and the fact that sluggish reform in political field and life, becoming the vulnerable spot of overall system construction, hinders greatly the five-in-one coordinated advancement of the society is neglected. Because political life is embedded in economic life and other social life, politics not only influence distribution of resources but also determine authoritative distribution of valuable stuff. Overall social reform, opening-up, transition and renaissance cannot circumvent the real political field and life.

Although negligence of the role of political life in overall social life and ignorance of historic and realistic significance of politics research is a drawback, only recognition of politics' efficacy and role of politics research does not mean resolving problems of politics research. For politics research, only those who are proficient in research deserve success. Many politicians have stated means and approaches of politics research, but I believe that among these numerous means, skills and approaches, there are two which is most critical and elementary.

One is that politics should serve people's desire and requirement, offering politics knowledge which can be readily accepted and employed by people by connecting with people's realities. Because it is the public with different rights and appeals who behave in political field and the causal link and inner law of political process are not provided beforehand by those influential persons but determined by a resultant force contributed by numerous forces according to the Parallel-

ogram Rule as vividly described by Engels. Thus, as Mao Zedong put, it is people, only people, who constitute the impetus to create history while it is people, only ordinary people, who are the master and creator of political life, in light of which, politics should turn into a science which can be acquired and used by ordinary people in order to scientifically understand politics and turn it into a science. Politics, as a class of knowledge, once was monopolized by a handful of people. Therefore, it can only grow robust when it is liberated from those a few elite and from dogmatic, pedant politics class, becoming a knowledge weapon for the ordinary people.

The other is that political research should serve the reform and development of China's politics. In one hand, some politics researchers erroneously regard western politics theories as common knowledge so that politics researches in China should conform to those western standards, conception and principles; in another hand, some politics researchers exaggerate the particularity of China's politics so that western elements should be refused and rejected in China's politics research. Starting from these two extreme standpoints, it is impossible to produce scientific interpretation, summarization, and forecast for China's politics. We should paraphrase the system, institution and mechanism of China's politics, as specific politics making up human's politics civilization, summarize its rule of operation, change and development by linking with the practice of China's politics and systemize its historical evolution and realistic reform. Political knowledge acquired by this way will surely unify universality and particularity, individuality and generality, which will contribute to the growth and perfection of human's politics knowledge and offer

intelligent support for the reform and development of China's politics.

Politics research is not only a cause needing ration and intelligence but also an enterprise requiring art and skill. Hobbes, a famous politician, believes that human, as the most exquisite artwork of the Nature, is rational and furthermore infers that state could only be built into a dedicate artwork by human by using art talent. However, human could only learn the art during his dealing with political life. James Harrington, a politician holding the same view as Hobbes, also indicates that defining the government according to the law or ancient prudence is a kind of art, by which human's secular society could only be organized on the basis of common rights or interests and thus gets preserved. Marxist classical authors stress that politics combines science with art; for example Lenin clearly pointed out that politics is both a science and an art.

The artistry of modern politics embodies not only in the design and construction of political facilities and institutions, but also in the governance of political life. People used to be suffered from conflicting politics, violence - dominated politics, and arbitrary man - ruling politics for a long time. Although a few politics elites in some political system are nostalgic for these cruel low politics, they are leaving us irretrievably despite some remaining forces put up a desperate struggle. People increasingly expect and pursue peaceful, transforming and developing politics and communicating, consultative and harmonious politics. Violence politics and ruling politics is based on dominance and control of power while harmonious, consultative politics asks for artistic governance.

The building of political life consisting of political system, insti-

tution and mechanism should be devised and governed by human, according to the inner law of political life. Both political design and governance require artistry while politics research should also be conducted with artistry. The artistry of politics research embodies in two aspects: one is that it should presents the artistic characteristics of modern political life, including the artistry of the design, construction and operation of political system, institution and mechanism as much as possible; the other is that the process, method of politics research should be devised with as much artistry as possible while results and knowledge of politics research should be exhibited with artistry.

Library of Southern Politicians is a common home shared by young politicians, where a batch of energetic politics researchers free from dogmas and with innovative awareness will gather. It is also a fat soil where a lot of insights for the design, construction and operation of political life will shoot and grow mature. The academic home and soil will undoubtedly yield bumper fruits.

Yan Qiang

September 18th, 2016

Nanjing University,

Nanjing

总序

以丛书和文库的形式系统、集中地展示人类生活的历史与现实，以及对人类生活的历史与现实加以研究所获取的成果与知识，已经成为近年来中国学术界和出版界积极筹划和大力推进的旨在繁荣和发展社会科学的有效方式。《南国政治学人文库》宗旨就是要努力构筑一个平台，在其上让年轻的政治学人们客观、真实地记录和描述当代人类政治生活的历史变迁和现实变革，科学、公正地探索和阐释这种历史变迁和现实变革过程的因果联系与内在规律。

在当今中国，存在两个不争的事实，支持和呼唤着科学的政治学研究。第一个不争的事实是，当经济变革、经济发展顺利时，经济学和经济学家是唱主角的；而当经济变革、经济发展出现问题时，仅仅靠经济学和经济学家就不行了，需要的是其他领域的知识及其生产者，尤其是政治学和政治学家。第二个不争的事实是，因政治挂帅、阶级斗争造成的庸俗政治曾一度使得正直的人们对政治和政治学厌恶、冷漠的时期已经结束，越来越多的人已经意识到滞后的政治改革才是经济改革不易深化的重要原因，任何有志于对中国总体社会变革作出客观、科学的解释、设计和预测的人们越来越感觉到政治领域、政治生活才是他们需要特别关注和研究的方面。风清气正的政治生活出现了，研究政治和政治学的兴趣明显增强了，政治学有望再度成为显学。

在当今的中国，政治，也只有政治才是深刻理解和全面把握总体社会变革、开放、转型、复兴的钥匙。纵观人类历史，任何伟大的总体社会变革，都是由政治领域、政治生活的变革为先导，又是以政治领域、政治生活的创新发展为后盾的。中国总体社会的改革、开放、转型和复兴也不例外。

虽然经济学家们特别看重经济领域、经济生活的革新在中国总体社会改革、开放、转型和复兴中的基础作用，但是，不充分估计 20 世纪 70 年代末 80 年代初政治领域发生的变革，以及这一变革对经济领域变革的先导作用，就无法对这场举世瞩目的大变革的发生作出客观科学的解释。因为没有对“文革”政治的断然否定，没有对阶级斗争政治的决然摒弃，以实践标准讨论为内容的思想大解放就不会出现，后续的经济领域、经济生活的改革、开放也不会出现。

虽然经济学家们喜欢从经济领域、经济生活中寻找保持经济适度增长的动力，甚至有的人试图将政治变革撇在一旁，谈所谓的纯经济改革，但是，不充分估计当代政治中民主和法治的因素对市场经济的巨大影响，看不到正是政治领域、政治生活变革的迟缓成为全面制度建设中的短板，从而极大地阻碍了总体社会五位一体的协调推进，就无法正确地设计和确立持续深化改革的战略。因为政治生活嵌入在经济生活和其他社会生活之中，政治说到底不仅影响着资源的配置，还决定着一切有价值的东西的权威性分配。总体社会的改革、开放、转型和复兴，最终都避不开、绕不了彻底、真实的政治领域、政治生活的变革。

看不清政治生活在总体社会生活中的地位，不懂得甚至轻视政治学研究的重要历史和现实意义固然是一种欠缺，但是，仅仅重视政治的效能和政治学研究的作用并不等于完全解决了

政治学研究的问题。在这知识领域中只有善于研究的人才能获得成功。有不少政治学家已经讲述过政治学研究的方法与途径，但我认为，在这些众多的方法、技巧和途径中，关键的也是最为基本的有两条。

一条就是研究政治学要服务于人民的愿望和要求。要联系人民群众的实际，努力创造出让民众能够知晓、喜闻乐见并加以利用的政治学知识。因为在政治领域中活动的是成千上万的有着不同政治权益和政治诉求的公众，政治过程的因果联系和内在规律并不是哪个有权势的人事先规定的，而是如恩格斯所比喻的，是无数分力按照平行四边形的法则汇集起来的合力。所以正如毛泽东所指出的：“人民，只有人民才是创造历史的动力。”人民，只有普通的人民和民众才是政治生活的主人和创造者。要科学地理解政治，将政治学变成科学，就要把政治学变成能够被多数人，特别是普通民众所理解、所运用的科学。政治学曾经是少数人垄断的知识门类。政治学要获得发展，既需要将其从少数政治精英的手中解放出来，也需要将其从教条式的、学究式的政治学课堂里解放出来，成为普通民众手中的知识武器。

另一条是政治学研究要服务于中国政治的变革与发展。有些政治学研究者误把西方的政治学理论视为具有普遍性的知识，强调中国的政治学研究要套用和服从西方的标准、概念和原理。有些政治学的研究者则片面夸大中国政治的独特性，强调中国的政治学研究要坚决拒绝和排斥任何西方的东西。站在这两个极端上是断然无法对中国政治学作出科学的阐释、概括和预测的。中国的政治是作为人类政治文明组成部分的具体政治，坚持联系中国政治的具体实践，梳理中国政治的历史演变和现实变革，阐释中国政治的制度、体制和机制，概括中国政治运行、

变迁和发展的规律，由此产生的政治学知识必然是普遍性与特殊性、个性与共性的有机统一，它既能为人类政治学知识的增长与完善贡献力量，又能为中国政治的改革和发展提供智力的支撑。

政治学研究不仅是一项充满理性的、理智的事业，还是一项富有艺术性的事业。著名政治学家霍布斯一方面将人看作有理性的、“大自然”最精美的艺术品，同时又进一步将国家看作人运用艺术才能创造出来的一个精致的艺术品。人只有和包括国家在内的政治生活打交道，才能逐步学到精致的艺术。与霍布斯持相同见解的政治学家詹姆斯·哈林顿也指出：“根据法律或古代经纶之道来给政府下定义时，它便是一种艺术。通过这种艺术，人类的世俗社会才能在共同的权利或共同利益的基础上组织起来，并且得到保存。”马克思主义的经典作家则从更高的层面强调政治是科学性与艺术性的统一。比如列宁就明确指出过，政治是一种科学，是一种艺术。

现代政治的艺术性不仅表现在政治设施、机构的设计和建构上，还表现在政治生活的治理上。人类曾经长时期处在对抗斗争的政治、暴力统治的政治、随心所欲的人治政治之下。这种残酷无情的低级政治正在离我们而去，虽然某些政治制度、少数的政治精英还在思维和行动上对其留恋不舍，其残余的力量还会顽固地产生作用，但是，和平、变革与发展的政治，互通、协商与和谐的政治已经成为人类期望和追求的目标。暴力政治、统治政治需要的是对权力的支配和掌控，和谐政治、协商政治需要的则是艺术性的治理。

由政治制度、体制和机制构成的现代政治生活大厦是要靠人依据政治生活的内在规律来设计、治理的。政治设计需要艺术性，政治治理需要艺术性，政治学研究必须具有艺术性。这

种政治学研究的艺术性表现在两个方面：一是要尽量展现现代政治生活的艺术性特征，包括政治制度、体制和机制设计、建构和运行的艺术性，国家治理的艺术性；二是要尽量艺术性地设计政治学研究的过程、方法，艺术性地展示政治学研究的成果与知识。

《南国政治学人文库》是青年政治学人共同的政治学术家园。这里将聚集一批充满活力、没有多少教条束缚、敢于创新的政治学的研究者。这也是一片沃土，许多关于现代政治生活的设计、建构运行和治理的真知灼见会像幼苗一样从这里破土而出，茁壮成长。这一学术家园，这片沃土，只要好好照料，定会收获一批批丰硕的果实。

严强

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2016年春于南京大学仙林校区

Preface

The hope space of Ecology: a study of Marxist Green Development View is the academic research achievement of Dr. Shi Xiaojiao during hers doctoral study. It is also a masterpiece with important theoretical and practical value closely related to the development theme of the times.

Just as a Chinese traditional saying goes that April showers bring May flowers. It's not easy for Shi Xiaojiao to achieve hers doctor's degree and accomplish this monograph. It's a coincidence that mentoring relationship has formed between Dr. Xiaojiao and me. There are not only factors of human metabolism, but also the results of institutional norms. As hers successor supervisor, take this opportunity, I want to tell responsibly to her deceased former supervisor, Peng Pingyi, "Please rest assured that your student has lived up to your hopes and has finally achieved satisfactory results." As one can imagine, the process of cultivation is quite difficult and tortuous. As a middle-aged woman, she will face many choice dilemmas, either get married, give birth to children, support hers husband, teach hers children, or sacrifice love and family for career, or manage both. Managing both means one has to spare more than twice the effort. And Shi Xiaojiao chose to manage both, to be both a wife and a mother, both a teacher and a student. Undoubtedly it is hard to manage without firm faith and

tenacious perseverance. Shi Xiaojiao has done it. Congratulations to her!

Human being as a kind of species-being is a producer with consciousness. Therefore, “the production of animal is one-sided, of human being is comprehensive.” Human beings not only produce the direct needs of their own bodies, but also the indirect needs of their society. Human beings produce not only the material, but also the spirit. Human beings produce life not only in present, but also in the future. The society that Human beings pursue is a society with the unity of nature and society. The society that Human beings pursue is natural humanism and human naturalism.

However, the production under the guidance of capital seriously challenges the essence of human being. People with selfconsciousness and freedom have been already facing life danger and survival crisis. Environmental pollution, resource depletion, species extinction, abnormal climate, natural disasters and epidemic diseases are gradually pushing human beings to the “isolated island” where there is no way to escape. Is human being the yardstick of all things? How can human being return to and possess his own nature? Facts are forcing people to think, and sober people are actively exploring the crux and solution of the problem. It is said that “The course of nature is constant; it does not survive because of the actions of a ruler as sage as Yao; it does not perish because of the actions of a ruler as brutal as Jie. If you respond to the constancy of nature’s course with good government, there will be good fortune; if you respond to it with disorder, there will be misfortune.”

The Hope Space of Ecology: a Study of Marxist Green Develop-