

编者按:新一届中央领导集体强调要“增强问题意识,坚持问题导向”。这为我们研究马克思主义提供了一个十分重要的视角和视域。那就是:马克思主义研究要面向问题、尤其是“中国问题”,同时也可以基于“中国问题”视角来理解、研究与发展马克思主义。由此,本刊编发中央党校马克思主义理论教研部韩庆祥教授、陈江生教授,以及赵培博士、蒋茜博士、王海滨博士和李双套博士就“马克思主义与中国问题”这一主题所谈的一些看法。欢迎学者和学术机构来稿讨论。

政府主导与国家治理

韩庆祥

[摘要] 在中国历史发展进程中形成的社会层级结构及其权力结构和权力运作方式对中国社会历史发展具有重要影响。十八届三中全会把改革的总目标确定为“完善和发展中国特色社会主义制度,推进国家治理体系和治理现代化”。确定这一总目标,是基于当今我们的社会存在所发生的变化,而且也是克服政府主导体制之弊端的一条新路径。

[关键词] 政府主导;国家治理

[中图分类号] D61 [文献标识码] A [文章编号] 1005-8273(2014)10-0043-02

一、一种分析框架:结构分析

历史唯物主义为我们考察社会历史问题提供了方法论,这就是要善于从社会结构状况出发来分析社会历史发展状况。按照马克思的社会结构理论,社会结构是由经济、政治和文化等因素构成的,社会结构状况影响着社会历史发展状况,其中经济因素起最终决定作用,社会要素之合力推动社会历史发展。当然,这主要反映的是近代欧洲的社会结构状况。

我已多次表达这样的见解:中国传统社会的社会结构与近代西欧社会的社会结构不同,属于社会层级结构。这种社会层级结构是在中国历史发展进程中形成的。社会层级结构,是指影响社会历史发展的有经济、政治和社会三种力量,其中政治力量起主导作用,它支配经济力量和社会力量。作为政治力量集中体现的权力是分层级的,因而社会层级结构的核心是权力层级结构:体现在权力结构上,就是政治权力过大而经济权力、社会权力较小,由此构成“金字塔式”的权力层级结构;由此产生权力自上而下、逐级管制、缺乏制约的权力运作方式。这种权力结构和权力运作方式是中国传统社会遗留下来的,其具体体现主要是形成政府主导体制。

这种权力结构和权力运作方式对中国历史发展影

响巨大,是我们思考中国历史发展和社会历史问题必须关注的一个基本事实。社会主义初级阶段是我国的基本国情,这种权力结构和权力运作方式作为一种社会存在,是我国的一种基本事实,它可以成为分析中国社会历史发展和社会历史问题的一种重要分析框架。

二、社会层级结构对中国历史发展的影响

我曾认为,这种社会层级结构及其权力结构和权力运作方式对中国社会历史发展具有重要影响。

首先,它对中国社会历史发展具有积极的推动作用,有其存在的历史必然性和历史合理性。这主要体现在如果决策正确,它可以组织动员国家一切社会资源和力量“办大事。”基于对我国处在社会主义初级阶段这一历史定位的认识,我们把这一阶段的首要根本任务确定为解放和发展社会生产力。这可通俗称为“做大蛋糕”,也可称为“发展”。一般来说,在现代化起飞阶段,首要根本任务都是创造和积累社会物质财富,解放和发展社会生产力,发展是硬道理。尤其对具有“时空压缩”特征的中国来讲,更需要解放和发展社会生产力。为了解放和发展社会生产力,“做大蛋糕”,既需要把广大人民群众动员和组织起来,聚精会神搞建设、一

作者:韩庆祥,中共中央党校马克思主义理论教研部教授。

心一意谋发展,让一切创造财富源泉涌流,让一切创新能力迸发;又需要政府主导体制,因为这种体制之最大优势,就是可以集中一切社会资源和力量“办大事”,既可以尽快“做大蛋糕”,创造和积累社会物质财富,又有助于在我国“时空压缩”背景下实施追赶战略。

其次,它对中国社会历史发展也具有负面影响。总体来讲,就是权力至上有余而能力建设不足,自上而下有余而自下而上不足,逐级管制有余而公共服务不足,人治有余而法治不足。这实际上就是我们常说的“体制机制弊端”。正因如此,它不仅会产生种种“不良作风”和“腐败现象”,而且也难以应对日趋凸显的复杂的社会问题。“蛋糕相对做大”以后,中国现代化发展进入新的阶段。这一新的阶段,可简要称之为“表达诉求、矛盾突发、攻坚克难”阶段。相对“发展起来”即“蛋糕相对做大”以后,中国现代化发展进入了表达诉求期。今天,民众在表达各种诉求,如权利诉求、民主诉求、参与诉求和公正诉求及群众维权等。民众表达诉求需要合理满足。满足需要主观与客观条件。在当下,不仅在客观上人均资源占有率较低,资源配置还不够公平;而且在主观上,大众的文明素养还不够高,一些人多讲权利不讲义务、多讲利益不讲担当、多讲民主不讲法治、多讲自由不讲纪律、多讲自主不讲责任、多讲个人利益不讲公共利益、多讲索取不讲奉献、多讲表达诉求不讲合理合法、多讲利害不讲是非……结果是,民众日趋觉醒和增强的诉求很难完全得到满足,进而产生各种矛盾,进入矛盾突发期。面对矛盾,有些人缺乏问题意识和敢于担当精神,遇着矛盾绕着走,结果使矛盾“堆成山”,成为“难啃的硬骨头”。因而,这一时期也是攻坚克难期。如何真正破解“表达诉求、矛盾突发、攻坚克难”这一新的历史起点上出现的种种难题?政府主导体制难以完全破解这些难题,需要对其进行改革,并寻求新的路径。

三、走向国家治理现代化

十八届三中全会的主题是全面深化改革,把改革的总目标确定为“完善和发展中国特色社会主义制度,推进国家治理体系和治理能力现代化”。确定这一总目标,是基于当今我们的社会存在所发生的变化,而且也是克服政府主导体制之弊端的一条新路径。

当今我们社会存在所发生的变化体现在:一是中国的社会结构正在发生变化。首先是市场经济的出现。市场经济的出现会使政企逐渐分开,这意味着经济领域相对独立,在这一领域,市场机制越来越发挥主体作用,市场在资源配置中越来越起决定性作用;市场经济的出现会逐渐培育中国人的平等意识、民主意识、自主意识、责任意识,由此会逐渐培育出社会组织。社会组织的出现会使政社逐渐分开,使社会领域相对独立;市场经济、社会组织的出现会对政府主导体制提出要求,

即转变政府职能、创新政府管理体制和管理方式、由管制型政府转变成公共服务型政府。这就逐渐形成一种新型社会结构:在中国共产党领导下的作为主体且基于法治的服务型政府、市场经济和社会组织三者相对独立又相互制约、相辅相成的三维社会结构。在这种新型社会结构中,政府在行使其服务职能的同时,依然具有基于法治的对市场经济的宏观管理和对社会治理的作用,此即“更好发挥政府作用”。这是政府主导作用的现代新型体现。这是改革开放以来中国社会所发生的最深层、最根本的变化。二是力量发生转移进而使力量结构发生变化。随着政企分开与政社分开及其经济领域、社会领域相对独立,也会发生力量转移,即使市场力量和社会力量(包括民众的力量)会相对增大。当这两种力量逐渐增大的时候,会要求政府在发挥其管理力量的同时,也注重发挥制度的力量及法治的力量。这意味着我国的力量结构在发生变化。三是社会结构和力量结构的转变,要求国家治理结构与治理方式也随之发生转变。这种转变就体现在十八届三中全会所设定的改革总目标之中,即通过推进国家治理现代化具体体现出来。

推进国家治理现代化,我的理解,其核心内容之一,首要是要解决治理国家公共权力的路径与方式问题,它要求由“政府主导体制”走向“国家治理现代化”,即建构治理国家公共权力的现代制度模式。具体来说就是:由政府主导走向注重在中国共产党领导下的国家的制度治理尤其是法治治理,使经济、政治、文化、社会、生态和党的建设各领域都纳入法治的框架和轨道内;由国家(或政府)的“统”治走向党委领导下的协同共治,既包括国家(或政府)的“政”治、社会的“自”治、公民的“能”治和“德”治,也包括基于以人为本理念,运用科技、民主和法治的方式,按照公正和公开的程序,实现动力机制上充满活力、平衡机制上达到和谐、调整机制上不断进行改革的目标;由注重国家(或政府)的“权”治走向也注重其“能”治和“德”治;由“他”治走向也注重“自”治。这种治理结构转变,本质上就是推进国家治理体系和治理能力现代化。这种治理国家公共权力的现代制度模式,并没有削弱政府的作用,反而强化了基于法治的政府的主导作用,这既有利于破除权力高度集中而又缺乏有效制约的政府主导体制的弊端,也有利于破解由“金字塔式”的权力结构及其权力至上、自上而下、逐级管制、缺乏制约的权力运作方式所形成的利益固化藩篱,还有利于用法治、共治、自治、能治和德治来化解矛盾、攻坚克难,破解发展和稳定难题。要言之,它可以为破除政府主导体制的弊端和新的历史起点上的种种难题,提供一整套制度模式与治理体系和治理能力。

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Financial Cooperation and Innovations of the Economic Belt Along the Silk Road: The economic belt along the Silk Road is a grand development strategy for China, which is to be built into the world's biggest economic corridor in three stages. As a Chinese proverb goes, "food and fodder should go ahead of troops and horses." So it is of utmost importance that financial cooperation and innovations should be utilized to provide enough funds for the development of the Silk Road economic belt. Thus we make the proposition that this should be achieved by building regional financial centers and Xi'an city is suitably qualified. In free trade trial zones, the use of RMB in settlement, foreign investment should be broadened and encouraged. Internet funding should be used for SMEs to strengthen economic foundation. A multi-variety of financial instruments like insurance claims plan, trust schemes, enterprise bonds, medium term notes, assets securitization, and private equity fund should be utilized for medium and long term development of the economic belt along the Silk Road. (LI Wu-wei XU Ping)

To Lay a Structure Foundation for the China Dream: To realize the China dream of great rejuvenation for the Chinese nation calls for a more mature and solid structural support, so as to strengthen the soft power of the Chinese model, thus contributing to human civilization. To achieve this, we should continue structural renovation to build socialism with Chinese characteristics, comprehend the universality and particularity of structural development, structural confidence and inspection, and follow the logic of top-layer design and cautious advancement. At the same time, we should improve and modernize national governance system, comprehend the utmost importance of structural development and new inside to this concept in the Chinese context, uphold the modernization orientation for the structural innovations, and perfect socialist democracy and rule of law, thus laying a structure foundation for the China dream. (HU Wei GU Jie)

Legal Studies into the Political Ecology in the Optimization of Mineral Resources: a Case Study of Latest Corruption in Shanxi Province: Corruption cases in mineral resources sector, particularly the continuous seismic Shanxi officialdom are related to mineral resources. The political problems existing in Shanxi reflects our institutional defects. This paper deals with the relationship between political problems and institutional weaknesses of ecological resources, explores the crux of the problem, theoretically observes the optimization of mineral resources in the fields of political ecology, and proposes "no corruption" legal mechanism established in this area officials recommendations. (Wang Ji-jun)

Uphold Communist Beliefs and Spiritual Pursuit: Learning from the Series of Important Speeches by Secretary-General Xi: General Secretary Xi Jinping has put forward a series of new thoughts and new ideas. What he has illustrated in connotation, meaning, route will greatly promote the ideal of socialism with Chinese characteristics Construction of a new belief system. He also made new deployment in "nurturing what kind of ideals and beliefs, how to cultivate ideals and beliefs." The ideal of socialism with Chinese characteristics is to build up the faith with scientific methodology of dialectical materialism and historical materialism is a scientific ideal and belief system. In theory, the ideals and beliefs of socialism with Chinese characteristics to enrich and improve the Marxist theory of ideals and beliefs, is Marxism in China's rich development. In practice, this theoretical innovations help solve the ideals and beliefs weakened, degenerate, simplification three issues. (LI Ran)

Development of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics and Forward Inspections for Controlling Market Economy: In Marx's original context, the market economy has dual properties productive forces and production relations: on the one hand, the market economy to achieve the optimal allocation of resources, and promote the rapid development of productive forces; on the other hand, the market economy and capital formation and eventually established closely related to the evolution of society morphology. Clear dual attributes of the market economy, socialism from capitalism to communism transition process in the future of socialism with Chinese characteristics is necessary to retain, use and develop the market economy, but also wary of capital property market economic factors in construction with Chinese characteristics a market economy, in dealing with the relationship between markets and government, market and society, to the extent possible, the rules of the market economy in the areas of economic life limit, restrict decisive role in the allocation of resources, the avoidance of negative effects to the maximum extent. (LIU Chang-jun)

China's Maritime Rights Management in New Era: Since the 1980s, Chinese government pays much more attention to China's maritime rights and interests. Continue to reform and strengthen the administrative system of marine maritime law enforcement ranks, to strengthen national maritime rights management provides organizations protection; through the development of a series of marine laws and regulations, China has gradually established a basic marine systems; while actively through diplomatic efforts, trying to peacefully resolve disputes with countries concerned about aspects of maritime rights and interests. However, due to the long time we have to pay attention to the extent of maritime rights and interests is not enough management, marine management system decentralized, poor management effectiveness and other reasons, China's maritime rights management is still facing serious challenges. (WANG Qiao-rong)

Governmental Leadership and National Governance: Social hierarchies and power structures and power mode of operation in the history of the development process in China has an important influence on the formation of the historical development of Chinese society. Third Plenary Session of the Eighteenth overall objective of the reform is determined to "improve and develop the socialist system with Chinese characteristics, promote the modernization of national governance systems and governance." Determined this overall objective, is based on our society today there is a change occurred, but also a new way to overcome the shortcomings of government-led system. (HAN Qing-xiang)

Strategic Issues to be Addressed after China Became World's Second Largest Economy: After China became the world's second largest economy, and research should focus on the following strategic issues: how to maintain stable and rapid economic growth sustained; RMB internationalization issues; homeland security issues; population issues; issues of ecological civilization construction; energy supply problem; how to promote innovation, industrial upgrading ideology; against terrorism. (CHEN Jiang-sheng)

Capital Logic and Fairness and Justice: In many contradictions of capitalism and its logic, the contradictory of the historical legitimacy of capital growth logic and the injustice of product distribution is very prominent. This contradiction also exists in contemporary China, and its manifestations are more complex. Contradictions in the current historical conditions, to overcome the logic of capital and would be converted into equity and justice in the context of our use of capital and its logic, and how to limit its impact on social equity and justice. (ZHAO Pei)

How to Tackle the Many Problems Arising from Rapid Economic Development: China has made remarkable achievements in the modernization process. However, with the rapid economic growth, a series of problems, conflicts began to highlight, and gradually become a