

中国共产党

执政行为的分析框架

An Analytical Framework of Governing Behavior of CCP

游斐/著

政治学论丛

本书通过基于经验事实的字理探究，从技术层面构筑了中共执政行为的分析框架。书中结合国内外政党政治研究取得的成果，提出了“C-P-B”（环境+主体+行为）“三”范式，该范式是对“C-P-B”（刺激+反应）“二”模型和“C-O-A”（目标+行动）“二”模型的扬弃以及“C-P-B”（刺激+有机体+反应）“三”模型的提升，它既强调主体与环境的多维互动，也强调主体选择性与回应性的统一。全书基于“C-P-B”范式，分别从分析线索（执政发展）、实然（执政生态）分析、应然（执政机制）分析、对策（执政优化）分析对中共执政行为的核心主题、客观依据、内在逻辑与基本路径进行了验证和阐释，并归纳出中共执政行为的基础性变量，为中共执政史、执政理论提供了一个分析工具。



北京大学出版社
PEKING UNIVERSITY PRESS

中国共产党

游斐／著

执政行为的分析框架

An Analytical Framework of
Governing Behavior of CCP

政

治

学

论

丛



北京大学出版社
PEKING UNIVERSITY PRESS

图书在版编目(CIP)数据

中国共产党执政行为的分析框架/游斐著. —北京:北京大学出版社, 2012. 1

(政治学论丛)

ISBN 978-7-301-19999-2

I. ①中… II. ①游… III. ①中国共产党-执政-研究 IV. ①D25

中国版本图书馆 CIP 数据核字(2011)第 277717 号

书 名: 中国共产党执政行为的分析框架

著作责任者: 游 斐 著

责任编辑: 胡利国

标准书号: ISBN 978-7-301-19999-2/D · 3027

出版发行: 北京大学出版社

地 址: 北京市海淀区成府路 205 号 100871

网 址: <http://www.pup.cn> 电子邮箱: hlgs0380@sina.com

电 话: 邮购部 62752015 发行部 62750672 出版部 62754962

编辑部 62765016

印 刷 者: 三河市博文印刷厂

经 销 者: 新华书店

650mm × 980mm 16 开本 26 75 印张 410 千字

2012 年 1 月第 1 版 2012 年 1 月第 1 次印刷

定 价: 52.00 元

未经许可,不得以任何方式复制或抄袭本书之部分或全部内容。

版权所有,侵权必究

举报电话:010-62752024;电子邮箱:fd@pup.pku.edu.cn

摘 要

本书旨在为中共的执政史、执政理论研究提供一个分析工具,即通过基于经验事实的学理探究,从技术层面构筑中国共产党执政行为的分析框架。

在研究方法上,书中通过对国内外政党政治研究成果的批判和扬弃,提出了“环境—主体—行为”范式。该范式是对“刺激—反应”)模型和“目标—行动”模型的扬弃以及“刺激—有机体—反应”模型的提升,它既强调主体与环境的多维互动,也强调主体的选择性与回应性的统一。相应地,书中综合运用了经验分析、规范分析、辩证批判分析的基本方法,并在多学科交叉中对政党政治经典性研究理路进行了批判性选择性应用。基于这一研究范式和这些研究方法,书中分别就研究对象的分析线索、实然分析、应然分析、对策分析进行了展开。除引论、结语外,全书共三篇九章。

中共执政史、执政理论是由政党、国家、社会多种因素交互作用的范畴,涉及面多,情况复杂,本书以“执政发展”为主线进行分析工具的建构。引论对执政发展这一分析线索进行了界定。现代政治是政党政治,执政发展是指现代政党政治下执政党推进自身建设与发展以及引领国家和社会建设与发展这一持续运行和提升的过程和状态,其实质是一种同质连续体革新。在现代政党政治下,执政党的自身建设与发展同国家和社会的建设与发展是一个问题的两个方面,执政发展是中共执政行为的核心主题与基本线索所在。

上篇是实然分析。在现代政党政治下,作为执政主体,执政党是执政行为的分析起点。执政生态系统是由执政生命系统和执政环境系统构成的属人有机体。在以中共为生命主体的执政生态中,中共既是一个因变量,又是一个自变量。整个执政生态的一般属性和基本趋向体现为基于

历史因素、社会主义因素、全球化因素、中共自身因素的独特性。作为执政党,中共担纲着政党或阶级层面与国家或民族层面的双重价值。执政生态的运行发展为这双重价值的实现提供了载体。执政生态的动力包括内源性动力、外源性动力,并要求实现二者的正向合流。在比较视角下,西方、苏联和东欧、中国的政党政治生态演化的历史轨迹从不同侧面表明:现代政党政治没有固定的实现形式。无论哪种政党政治运行模式都是特定历史—社会—文化—地缘因素以及执政主体的选择性和回应性共同作用的产物。而且,政党政治生态再现同质演化的连续性以及异质转变的断裂性的经验性特征。从局部执政到全国执政,中共执政生态共发生了五次历史性转变。其中,全面执政下经历了三次转换:第一次转换中,“文革”“再造”是一种同质性断裂,为一种不成功的适应性转换,尽管没带来党执政地位的丧失,却对党自身、国家、社会造成了深重的影响;第二次转换开启了执政生态的适应性进程;第三次转换进程已经发生并展开。上述基于执政生态分析对执政生态演化轨迹的历史考查,既是利用分析工具对研究对象的分析和梳理,又是对分析工具的事实性检验与反证。在这一双向过程中,可以获得中共执政行为这一研究对象的经验性分析线索:现代政党政治下,执政党、国家、社会三者关系的发展性及其限度;政党体系的动态稳定性;适应性革新这一执政党适应性路径的技术性分析框架。本篇的基本结论是:执政生态的运行发展是中国共产党执政行为发生发展的客观依据。

中篇是应然分析。“每个人的自由发展是一切人自由发展的前提条件”是对人的“个性”与社会“共性”内在关系的基本界定。人的“个性”与社会“共性”的共融、互动与发展,是包括中共在内的马克思主义执政党全部理论和全部实践的核心价值所在。这一核心价值的实现需要一个合法化的实践过程,需要时代化、具体化为可实践的执政目标体系。而时代化、具体化的执政目标体系的达成,必然需要时代化、具体化的执政手段体系的支撑,这是一个基于实践的合理化过程。相应地,时代化、具体化的执政目标体系与执政手段体系需要立足于实践的有效性评判、选择与反思,体现为时代化、具体化的执政评价体系。在人民当家作主的社会主义国家,与执政目标体系、执政手段体系以及执政评价体系相对应的合法性、合理性以及有效性内涵,体现为事实合法性与认同合法性的统一,

价值合理性与工具合理性的兼顾,以及基于事实标准与价值标准一体化的效果、效能、效率并重。包括中共在内的马克思主义执政党执政的合法性、合理性与有效性及其在执政进程中时代化、具体化所伸延的执政目标体系、执政手段体系与执政评价体系,共同构成执政党执政行为的内在逻辑。其中,人性是执政行为内在逻辑的基点,其内涵是基于人的“个性”的社会“共性”,是个性、共性的共融、互动与发展的统一体。从这一逻辑基点出发,执政合法性、执政合理性、执政有效性构成执政行为的三个逻辑维度。这三个逻辑维度基于实践的时代化、具体化,分别构成社会主义核心价值现实化的动因(起点)、桥梁(中介)和尺度。时代化、具体化成为消解理想性与现实性、价值性与事实性之间张力并实现一体化的现实途径和逻辑纽带。本篇的基本结论是:马克思主义政治哲学视野下,执政机制是中国共产党执政行为所应遵循的内在逻辑。

下篇是对策分析。本篇的对策分析,仅为研究线索而非具体答案,是有关“如何做”的探讨,所探讨的是中国共产党执政行为在实践层面的基本路径。这一基本路径涉及四个基本要素:执政生态链、执政流程再造、执政资源规划和执政治理。它们之间的逻辑关系可以用函数简约表示为:执政优化 \propto 进程:执政生态链+工具1:执政流程再造+工具2:执政资源规划+工具3:执政治理。其中,以中共执政生态第三次转换为背景,执政使命的时代化、执政资源的稀缺性、执政生态的演化构成了中共推进执政优化的基本动因;执政生态链是推进执政优化的逻辑进程和运行平台,为执政优化提供基本方向和整体规划;执政流程再造是基于流程设计和优化的现代理念和革新手段,是破除官本位、推进执政优化的有效工具和切入点;执政资源规划是基于资源整合理念以及现代技术手段(管理技术以及IT)对执政资源的有效整合、调控与开发,其实质是对执政行为条件的整合、优化与开发,旨在为推进执政优化提供支撑性、基础性条件;执政治理是民主治理、科学治理、有效治理以及追求善治的过程和状态,是中共推进执政优化的具体实践。本篇的基本结论是:执政优化是中国共产党执政行为实践层面的基本路径。

结语强调,分析线索(执政发展)、实然(执政生态)分析、应然(执政机制)分析和对策(执政优化)分析是一个整体,共同构成中国共产党执政行为的分析框架。相应地,执政发展,以及与之相联系、相适应的执政

生态、执政机制、执政优化,分别作为中共执政行为的核心主题、客观依据、内在逻辑、基本路径,共同成为中共执政行为发生、发展和现实化展开的基础性变量。

Abstract

The dissertation aims to supply the research of governing history, governing theory of Chinese Communist Party with an instrument of analysis, that is, engineer an analytical framework of governing behaviors of the CCP through doctrinal exploration based on empirical facts in a technical way.

As far as research methods are concerned, the dissertation puts forward the paradigm of “E-S-B (environment-subjectivity-behavior)” through criticizing developing and discarding studying paradigms of party politics of domestic and foreign scholars, which is the develop and discard of both “S-R (stimulus-response)” model and “O-A (objective-action)”, as well as the advancement of “S-O-R (stimulus-organism-response)” model, which not only emphasizes multidimensional interactions between subject and environment, but also is unification of selectivity and responsiveness of subject. Accordingly, the dissertation exercises integration of basic methods such as empirical analysis, normative analysis and dialectic analysis, and applies critically and choicely the classical approaches about party politics in the way of crossing disciplines. Based on this paradigm and above studying methods, the dissertation explores respectively the subject matter from its analytical clue, what it is, what it should be, and prescriptive analysis. Except for introduction and conclusion, this dissertation consists of three parts constituted by nine chapters.

Governing history, as well as governing theory, of CCP is a scope being functioned by multi-factors of party, state and society, and then the dissertation centers on “governing development” to structure the analytical instrument. The introduction defines the analytical clue-governing development. Modern politics is party-based politics, which refers to political behaviors, political phe-

nomena and analytical paradigms of parties and party systems which are directly or indirectly interlocked to political power. In the discourse of modern party politics, governing development, which substance is a kind of innovation of homologous continuum, is a process and situation of governing party promoting self-construction and self-development as well as leading the construction and development of state and society. Among modern party politics, the construction and development of governing party itself as well as state and society is two sides of one thing. Therefore, governing development is the core theme and basic clue of governing behaviors of the CCP.

Part one is the analysis of what it is. Governing party, as governing subject, is the jumping-off point of analyzing governing behaviors in modern party politics. Governing ecosystem is a humanly organism, which consists of governing life system and governing environment system. Among governing ecosystem which life subject is the CCP, the CCP is a dependent variable as well as an independent variable. General attributes and basic trends of whole ecosystem are shown by the characteristics based on four main factors including history, socialism, globalization and the CCP itself. The CCP, as governing party, takes on double values from both party or class and state or nation. The operation and development of governing ecosystem serves as carrier to realize the double values. The impetuses of governing ecosystem include endogenous and exogenous ones which are required to integrate in a positive direction. From a comparative perspective, the history of party politics ecosystem evolvement of West, Su Dong and China shows from different profiles that there are no settled realizing formats for modern party politics. Whatever party politics running model, it is a product of special history-society-culture-geography factor as well as selectivity and responsiveness of governing subject which act together. Further, party politics ecosystem reflects the empirical characteristic of continuity of homologous development and break of heterogenous development. The CCP's governing ecosystem has experienced 5 historic shifts from its governing part of China to whole of China. Three of them happened after the CCP's governing whole China; the 1st shift was an unsuccessful adaptive shift which

didn't bring the loss of governing status but took a gone effect on the CCP itself, state and society. Among them, the "reengineering" of "the Cultural Revolution" was a kind of homologous break; the 2nd shift unsealed adaptive process of governing ecosystem; the 3rd shift has approached and is gradually developing. Above historic examination on governing ecosystem evolvement not only puts analytical instrument into practice to analyze and hackle the subject matter but also is a test and disproof of the analytical instrument. During bidirectional processed, empirically analytical clues of governing behavior of the CCP is acquired as follows: the developmentness and limit of the relationship among governing party, state and society under modern party politics; the dynamic stability of party system; adaptive innovation is an adaptive approach of governing party, whose technically analytical framework was put forward. The basic conclusion of this part is that running and development of governing ecosystem is the objective gist of governing behavior of the CCP.

Part two is the analysis of what it should be. "The free development of each is the condition for the free development of all" defines inner relationship between personal individuality and social commonality. The integration, interaction and development of individuality of human and commonality of society is core value of all theory and practice of Marxism governing parties including the CCP. The realization of the core value requires a legitimized practice process, and practicable governing ends aspects which are specific and meet their epoch. The realization of governing ends aspects which are specific and meet its epoch needs supports from governing means aspects which also are specific and meet its epoch, which is a rationalization process based on practice. Accordingly, governing ends aspects and governing means aspects which are specific and meet their epoch require effective evaluation, judge, choice and reflection based on practice, which embody governing assessment and evaluation aspects which are also specific and meet its epoch. So, among socialism nations whose people are owners, legitimacy, rationality, and effectiveness which corresponding to governing ends aspects, governing means aspects and governing assessment and evaluation aspects should materialize unification

of factual legitimacy and identity legitimacy, value rationality and instrument rationality, as well as effect, efficacy and efficiency based on combination of factual standard and value standard. The governing legitimacy, rationality and effectiveness of Marxism governing parties including the CCP, as well as governing ends aspects, governing means aspects and governing assessment and evaluation aspects, extending from governing process which are specific and meet its epoch, together constitute inner logic of governing behaviors of governing parties. And humanity, standing for social commonality based on personal individuality, which is unification of integration, interaction and development of individuality and commonality, is the logical pivot of governing behavior. Beginning from this logical pivot, governing legitimacy, governing rationality and governing effectiveness consist of three logical dimensions which, based on practice which are specific and meet its epoch, constitute respectively drive (starting point), bridge (medium) and measure of actualizing socialism core value. The materialization and specification from epoch to epoch become actual approach and logical tache which disintegrate the strain between ideality and reality as well as between value and facts, and realize unification. The basic conclusion of this part is that, from the perspective of Marxism political philosophy, governing regime is the inner logic which governing behavior of the CCP ought to follow.

Part three is prescriptive analysis. The prescriptive analysis (it's only a studying clue, not a specific solution) is about "how to do", that is, examining the basic trajectory how the CCP puts its governing behaviors into practice. The basic trajectory involves four basic elements-governing eco-chain, governing process reengineering, governing resources planning and governing governance. The logical relationship among them can be shown as a simple function: $\text{Governing optimization} \propto \text{system-process: governing eco-chain} + \text{tool 1: governing process reengineering} + \text{tool 2: governing resources planning} + \text{tool 3: governing governance}$. Among them, under the background of the 3rd shift of governing ecosystem of the CCP, governing mission meeting its epoch, scarcity of governing resources and evolvement of governing ecosystem constitute the

dynamic of the CCP advancing governing optimization; Governing eco-chain, supplying governing optimization with basic direction and overall planning, is the logical system-process and running platform advancing governing optimization; Governing process reengineering, based on modern ideas and innovation means of design and optimization based on process, is an effective tool and cut-in point breaking official-based idea and advancing governing optimization; Governing resources planning, based on resources integration idea and modern technical means (management skill and IT), aims to supply the advancement of governing optimization with supportive and basic conditions by means of the effective integration, control and exploitation of governing resources, whose substance is the integration, optimization and exploitation of conditions of governing behaviors; Governing governance is a process and situation of democratic governance, scientific governance, effective governance, as well as realization of good governance. It is specific practice advancing governing optimization by the CCP. The basic conclusion of this part is that governing optimization is the basic trajectory of governing behaviors of the CCP in practice.

Conclusion stresses that analytical clue (governing development), the analysis of what it is (governing ecosystem), the analysis of what it ought to be (governing regime) and prescriptive (governing optimization) analysis are compositions of a whole, which constitutes the analytical framework of governing behavior of the CCP. Accordingly, governing development, governing ecosystem, governing regime, governing optimization which respectively is core theme, objective gist, inner logic, basic trajectory of governing behavior of the CCP, together constitute basic variable and sufficient and necessary condition of development and actualization of governing behavior of the CCP.

序

李君如

摆在读者面前的这本书,从它的书名《中国共产党执政行为的分析框架》,就可以知道这是一部对中国共产党的执政经验进行学术研究的专著。

这部著作和国内研究同类问题的著作,在研究方法上明显不同。作者结合国内外政党政治研究的成果,提出了中国共产党执政行为的分析模型,即“环境—主体—行为”(E-S-B, environment-subjectivity-behavior)范式。在国外中国学研究中,有许多研究模型,比如有以费正清为代表的学者提出的“冲击—反应”(impact-response)模型,有以沃尔夫、柯文为代表的学者提出的“中国中心”(China-centered)模型,有以史华慈、沃马克为代表的学者提出的“刺激—有机体—反应”(situation-consciousness-action)模型,等等。“E-S-B”范式,既注意了环境(E)对于中国共产党执政实践的影响,又注意了主体(S)在中国共产党执政实践中的作用,还注意了行为(B)在中国共产党执政实践中的重要性,是对费正清等国外学者提出的研究模型的扬弃和提升。

全书基于“环境—主体—行为”范式,分别分析了中国共产党的执政发展线索、执政生态、执政机制、执政优化,对中国共产党执政行为的核心主题、客观依据、内在逻辑与基本路径进行了验证和阐释,并归纳出中国共产党执政行为的基础性变量。这一学术专著,选题新颖、逻辑严密、层次分明,是一本有新意、有创新的优秀论文,所取得的成果是有开创性的,具有较高的学术价值和应用价值。

作者游斐是我带的首届博士生,对于创新研究方法有很大的兴趣。在研究工作中构建分析框架,是国外社会科学经常采用的一种方法,但我

国学者很少用。运用这样的方法,不仅需要系统设计、小心求证,而且涉及古今中外的知识结构、贯通学科交叉的研究方法以及超越价值偏好的技术性洞识。应该说,游斐进行这样的尝试,风险是很大的,有人可以指责他把复杂问题简单化了,有人可以批评他故弄玄虚,也有人会说看不懂。但是进行这样的尝试,包括引起这样那样的议论,都是好事。因为它可以推动人们去创新研究方法,深化中国的学术研究。

20 世纪,世界曾以“苏联行为”^①为题剖析前苏联的沉浮;21 世纪,“中国行为”^②又成为国际社会探究中国崛起的议题。毋庸置疑,无论是对“共产党苏联”的全面认识,还是对“共产党中国”的深入把握,都需要一个科学的分析工具。《中国共产党执政行为的分析框架》不仅给出了自己的答案,向这一目标迈出了可喜的一步,而且以中国共产党执政行为为考量对象,为人们提供了一个可以借鉴也可以质疑的全新的入口和路径。

2011 年 9 月 9 日夜

于昆玉河畔

① 由美国外交家和历史学家乔治·凯南(George Frost Kennan,1904.2.16—2005.3.17)首次提出。1946 年 2 月 22 日,时任驻苏代办的乔治·凯南向美国国务院发的八千字电文,以及 1947 年,他在《外交》季刊上以 X 署名发表的《苏联行为的根源》,激起了美国乃至世界的热议,促成了冷战时期的美国强硬外交,乔治·凯南也因此获得了“冷战之父”的称号,成为“遏制政策(containment)”始创人。

② 阎学通.中国行为的根源[N],《联合早报》(新加坡),2011 年 3 月 31 日;以及关于中国道路、中国模式、北京共识等的探讨与热议。

目 录

摘 要	1
Abstract	1
序	1
引论 执政发展:中国共产党执政行为的分析线索	1
第一节 现代政党政治语境下的执政发展	1
第二节 研究现状:成果、特点与趋势	15
第三节 研究进路:分析框架、研究方法与全书结构	24

上篇 执政生态论

第一章 执政生态:系统、特性和动力	35
第一节 执政生态系统	36
第二节 执政生态的特性	47
第三节 执政生态的动力	59
第二章 执政生态演化的历史轨迹:一种比较的视角	69
第一节 西方政党政治下执政生态的变迁	69
第二节 苏联东欧执政生态的剧变	84
第三节 中国共产党执政生态的演进	95
第三章 适应性革新:历史性启示	112
第一节 执政党、国家、社会三者关系的发展性及其限度	112
第二节 政党体系的动态稳定性	125
第三节 适应性革新:一种技术性框架	136
本篇小结 中国共产党执政行为的客观依据	151

中篇 执政机制论

第四章 执政合法性:中国共产党执政的目标体系	155
第一节 合法性	155
第二节 社会主义本质新论(上)	
——实践中的社会主义的合法性维度	165
第三节 中国共产党的执政合法性	
——兼论中国共产党执政的目标体系	175
第五章 执政合理性:中国共产党执政的手段体系	189
第一节 合理性:思维历程与重构	189
第二节 社会主义本质新论(中)	
——实践中的社会主义的合理性维度	198
第三节 中国共产党的执政合理性	
——兼论中国共产党执政的手段体系	210
第六章 执政有效性:中国共产党执政的评价体系	225
第一节 有效性	225
第二节 社会主义本质新论(下)	
——实践中的社会主义的有效性维度	236
第三节 中国共产党的执政有效性	
——兼论中国共产党执政的评价体系	250
本篇小结 中国共产党执政行为的内在逻辑	264

下篇 执政优化论

第七章 执政优化:动因、进程和流程再造	269
第一节 动因:第三次执政生态转换	269
第二节 进程:执政生态链	280
第三节 工具1:执政流程再造	290
第八章 执政资源规划	303
第一节 工具2:执政资源规划	303
第二节 执政资源规划(一):组织提升·制度	
规范·资源优化	314

第三节 执政资源规划(二):文化整合·系统 推进·历史课题·····	330
第九章 执政治理·····	345
第一节 工具3:执政治理·····	345
第二节 民主治理的实践形式:人民民主(二阶共识)·····	355
第三节 科学治理的基础架构:四维模型 ——兼论有效治理的内在要求与善治的基本归向·····	366
本篇小结 中国共产党执政行为的基本路径·····	379
结语 中国共产党执政行为的基础性变量·····	380
第一节 简短结论·····	380
第二节 两点展望·····	382
参考文献·····	383
后 记·····	408