

組織內捲與列寧式政黨的調適與變遷： 中國共產黨個案分析

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自黨的八大、十三大到十六大，中共所面臨的困境如一，即對黨政權力運作失衡，欠缺反省與因應。中共試圖保持現存的結構，透過「修補」來解決問題，因此在漸進而零碎的政治改革中，顯現出傳統力量與變革力量之間相互拉扯，所強調的是「中國特色」及「自我完善」，使得當前無論在政府或黨內，仍然存在許多不受監督的「保留領域」，以及對依附於公民或黨員身份中許多排他性的限制。在「四個基本原則」的框架內，中共一直處於民主承諾與威權鞏固的緊張狀態當中。本文嘗試藉由歷史制度論以及組織內捲化的理論，探討中共在組織與制度方面的調適，包括黨的包容性的擴大、資本家入黨問題、黨內民主的倡議，以及黨在變遷過程中難以突破的困境，以期為中共自改革開放後的種種變化，提供一個反映這種政治上動態的變遷過程的分析架構。

關鍵字：中國共產黨的變遷、民主集中制、黨的包容性的擴大、資本家入黨、黨內民主、組織內捲化、中共黨組織改革

Organizational Involution and the Adaptability of a Leninist Political Party: The Case of the CCP

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ABSTRACT

Since becoming a ruling party in 1949, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) has been distraught by a chronic problem: An unbalanced power distribution between the Party and the state. While trying to maintain the status of the power structure, the CCP has been trying to cope with the problem of adaptability by making trivial amends. These small measures of reform have exposed contradictions between forces supporting tradition and modernity. The emphasis of "Chinese characteristics" and "self-perfecting" has left many "reserved areas" inside the party and the state. Under the constraint of the "four cardinal principles", China has been strained between a promise to democratize and consolidating one-party dictatorship. Relying on historical institutionalism and the concept of involution, this article discusses the problem of adaptability in terms of the CCP's organization and institutions. Specifically, the article explores the policy of inclusion that the CCP has used to enlarge its basis of support, including the issue of allowing the capitalist class into the party and inner-party democracy. The article also analyzes the difficulties that the Party has faced in the process of transition. The purpose is to provide an analytical framework to reflect the dynamic process of

change that the Party has encountered since the introduction of market economy.

Key Words: Change and adaptability of the CCP, democratic centralism, inclusion and corporatism of the party, capitalist class joining the CCP, inner-party democracy, organizational involution, structural reforms of the CCP