



QK1727362

国家社科基金资助期刊

政治学 研究

CASS JOURNAL OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

中国社会科学院主管
政治学研究所主办

4
2017

政治学研究 (双月刊)二〇一七年第四期 (总第一三五期)

主编:房宁

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Contents, Abstracts and Keywords

Rule by “the Grace of Heaven” and the Formation of Chinese Ancient Concept of Governance: On the Political Thought during the Shang and Zhou Dynasties Yang Yang(2)

Abstract: During Shang and Zhou Dynasties the concept of Kingship legitimacy, i. e. ‘Rule by the Grace of Heaven’, which generated from witchcraft, contained primitive thought characteristics, and the monopoly of the communication between Heaven and Man was still the most important symbol of King’s receiving the Grace. But in the shell of ‘Rule by the Grace of Heaven’ it contained the presumption of Receiver’s responsibilities. From ‘Breeding the Multiple’ to ‘Protecting the People’ the content of requirement of receiving Grace expanded constantly and the importance of receiver’s subjective virtue arose increasingly, which led to rational reflections of political gain and loss and the primary presumptions about dynastic governance. These reflections and presumptions, though in the shell of the faith of the Heavenly Grace, became the beginning of the 3000 years long history of Chinese political thought, whose value orientation, cognitive framework, and even concrete principles of governance at large confined and defined the problem consciousness, contemplative orientation and thought boundaries. During Shang and Zhou Dynasties was the foundation era of Chinese ancient political thought and Chinese political civilization.

Key words: political thought; ‘Rule by the Grace of Heaven’; ‘Breeding the Multiple’; ‘Respecting the Heaven and Protecting the People’

Examining the Limitations of “Oriental Despotism” on the Basis of Chinese Facts: Analysis and Supplement of Marx and Engels’ Argument about Oriental Politics Xu Yong(15)

Abstract: In the long history, some Western scholars have regarded “the Orient” as an undifferentiated whole and have simply attributed the politics of oriental countries to the conceptual framework of “oriental despotism”. Although this view is criticized theoretically, it still needs to be corrected on the basis of Chinese facts. From the perspective of interaction between politics and society, Marx and Engels have noticed that the economic and social basis of the oriental countries are different, and these react differently to politics. However, the understanding is confined to limited facts and fails to fully develop, which even result in political prejudice by future generations’ inappropriate use. On the basis of a large number of field investigations, it finds that Marx and Engels’ assertion of “oriental despotism” are built on two foundations: one is water governance, and the other is village community; and the main source of material is from India and other oriental countries. In fact, far away China has its own characteristics. In addition to water governance by the state, there are a large number of self-governed and collective water organizations at grass roots level. Rather than the village community system, the household as the basic organizational unit has been established a long time ago in rural China. Water governance at grass roots level and household system have not only created the rich agricultural civilization, but also shaped the proactive, dynamic and independent personality. It makes the grass roots society with endogenous vitality and dynamism, which has a positive impact on national politics; and this explains why traditional China has not been into a state of negative stagnation and servitude as other Eastern countries.

Key words: Chinese facts; orient; despotism; limitation

The Dual-Track Pathway to Expand Citizens’ Orderly Political Participation: A Theoretical Analysis Based on the Practical Experience since China’s Reform and Opening-up

..... Xiao Bin, Fang Muhuan(23)

Abstract: The study on citizens’ political participation mainly starts from two perspectives including political rights and political power, and aims to provide insightful theories and thoughts on how to expand citizens’ orderly political participation. However, theoretical deficiency can be found in these two perspectives. Based on the understanding of the political concepts and the review on the western practical experience, the author has integrated the two perspectives into a whole brand-new analytical framework named “the dual-track pathway” as the theoretical foundation. The one track is to take the political participation as one’s political right while the other is to regard the political participation as one’s political

power. In the exploration practices ever since the reform and opening-up, the expansion of Chinese citizens' political participation has been developing following these two different tracks in parallel and has thus created the unique dual-track pathway with two demonstrations: the precedence diagram of orderly expanding citizens' political rights; and the ladder diagram of stably improving citizens' political power. In comparison to the models of elitism, populism and liberalism, the dual-track pathway of both the precedence and the ladder diagrams better reflects the reality of contemporary China and hence creates a significant meaning for the realization of the strategic goal of expanding citizens' orderly political participation.

Key words: orderly political participation; the dual-track pathway; the precedence diagram; the ladder diagram

On the Transformation of International Order and China's Path Xiao Xi(38)

Abstract: The current international order theory, which is mainly based on the international political experience of Europe and the United States, could have hardly adopted any international cooperation theories of other areas, has failed to respond the influence and theoretical demands brought by the rise of non-Western powers in recent years. The Chinese international order theory may not lack of theoretical reflections and critical elements, but theoretical construction is still missing. In the analysis of the relationship between the rise of the great powers and the international order, the western academic research methods can be in a rather sharp contrast to the Chinese scholars' attempts to seek inspiration from history. The existing research results provide inspiration and reference for further research, and more attention to correlative research should be seen as a critical part of international relations research. Large amount of academic literature has studied on China and the international order in a grand narrative rather than empirical way; providing countermeasures rather than related historical and theoretical results; The study of Chinese traditional ideology history provides a new perspective for the analysis of international order. Regarding the China's strategy of establishing international order, the domestic scholars and overseas scholars have different emphasis and views, which makes it a controversial issue. However, current research is mostly at the macroscopic level, lacking policy concreteness. More historical research, theoretical research and empirical research is needed in this research area.

Key words: international order; the rise of great powers; China's diplomatic strategy

The Logic on Interests Individual Organization and Interest Organization Politicization

..... **Chen Wen(49)**

Abstract: Interests individual organization and interest organization politicization are the two basic topics of interest group theory. Seeking individual economic interests, striving for the common interests of the group, defending the basic rights of citizens, holding similar political views, the real needs of living together, and the inducement of sudden social events are likely to promote the interests individual organization and become politicized. Organized interest groups often influence political processes by means of contact with social relations, elite agents, providing intelligence information, influencing social opinion, participating in elections, legal or illegal forms. On the one hand, interests individual organization and interest organization politicization help to build a rational political order, to promote scientific democratic decision-making, to overcome the fault of the over-authority power, to cultivate the spirit of compromise. On the other hand, interests individual organization and Interest organization politicization may threaten the stability of social order due to some interest groups are closed, divisive and exclusive and illegal forced political participation.

Key words: interest organization; interest group; interests individual organization; interest organization politicization

Ultimate Issues and Solutions of Chinese Government Performance Evaluation

..... **Shang Huping(60)**

Abstract: Government performance depends heavily on its context, thus it takes different forms in different nations. The particularities of government performance in China are manifested in the administrative democracy that is determined by the nature of socialist state system. The socialist system has eliminated exploitation and established equality to the whole society. Till socialist state system established, the main task in China is to develop productivity and extensive participation of the people continuously. In addition, the performance promotion tradition to cast out the wicked and cherish the virtu-

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ous, the culture of “public officials as teachers” and “clean officials” (honest, uncorrupted and upright officials) form the special terms of government performance in China. However, when Chinese local governments began to learn to use the tool of performance evaluation from the western countries, they transferred the original issues of the western result-oriented “chain-style tool”. Such “hard-embedded” problems prevent government performance evaluation from reflecting Chinese particularities of government performance. All the above constitute the ultimate issues of Chinese government performance evaluation. To solve these problems, it is needed to integrate the Chinese particularities of government performance into performance evaluation process.

Key words: government performance evaluation; chinese particularities; “chain-style tool”; ultimate issues

‘The Nominal and Real’ in China: the Strategies Used by Local Governments Under the Double Constraints of Economic Development and Rule of Laws Construction

..... **Chen Guoquan, Chen Jieqiong (71)**

Abstract: ‘The nominal and real’ as an effective strategy has been widely used by local governments in China to deal with the task conflict between economic development and rule of law construction. However, Why this strategy was used so widely among local governments and how this phenomenon happens has rarely been explained. This paper attempts to answer these questions. Firstly, this paper proposes a hypothesis that local governments’ behavior effected deeply by environment outside and inside the organization and a framework called ‘contextual-process’ including four elements, namely the situation outside and inside of the organization, the actors, the results. Secondly, on the base of framework, this paper attempts to reveal the mechanism of ‘the nominal and real’ in local governance. Thirdly, this paper find a case to verify the hypothesis. This paper shows that ‘the nominal and real’ strategy is a rational choice used by local governments when they faces the conflict between economic development and rule of law construction. On the one hand, the pressure from economic development and rule of law construction is different, the former troubled local governments more than the later. Under this context, local governments formed the behavior logic that ‘economic development first and rule of law construction in consideration’. On the other hand, local governments partly reconstructed organization inside to adapt to the organization outside and form the rule of ‘efficiency first’ to exercise power. However, the formal rules with deficiencies are not suit to the ‘efficiency first’ rule, while the informal rules obey it because of its flexibility. Thus the phenomenon of informal operation of formal authority exists widely in the process of power exercise among local governments and some behavior of local governments even beyond the present legal provisions. Though the pressure of obeying the laws to the local governments is not so hard, it does regulate their behavior to some extent, because when they broke official process of power exercise, they will probably be called to account. However, by using the strategy of ‘the nominal and real’, local governments’ behavior appears legal and could escape punishment from the central government. Although it is reasonable to use the strategy of ‘the nominal and real’, the risk behind it should not be neglected, because this strategy may lead public power to lose control, bring the problems of corruption and collusion among local governments, and thus shake the legitimacy of whole power system.

Key words: process of power exercise; the nominal and real; hard constraint; soft constraint; corruption

The Political Economics of the Institutionalization of Local Deliberative Democracy: Evidence from 36 cities in China **Wu Jinjin, He Baogang (84)**

Abstract: Local deliberative democracy has been developing in both urban and rural China. But why have some cities been more likely to initiate and organize public hearings than others? Although some scholars have developed a functionalist explanation of the origin of deliberative democracy in contemporary China, there are few quantitative studies to map how wide public deliberation has spread across China and to explain why local governments adopt public deliberation. Using public hearings documents in 36 Chinese cities as a form of institutionalization of public deliberation, this paper examines the effect of the key political, economic and social factors on the institutionalism of public hearings in relation to the number of public hearing documents. It finds that the level of economic development, trade openness, social conflict and the governmental social response are the main determinants of public hearings. We suggest that in-

centives of improving government capacity, especially the capacity to address eco-social issues is one of the most important drivers for the institutionalization of China's local public deliberation.

Key words: deliberative democracy; public hearing; key factors; institutionalization

The Changing of Party Governance Model in Contemporary British

—— **From Party Autonomy to Ruling by Law on Party Public Behavior**

..... **Liu Honglin (95)**

Abstract: The governance model of political Parties is composed with the Party rule mode by government and the internal governance model of Party in every country. Being as a birthplace of modern political parties, Britain had taken political party as private organization for a long time, and allowed political parties full autonomy. But the law of "political party, election and referendum" made in 2000 have began to strictly regulate the political party registration, political donations, election expenses and electoral campaigns. This means the major changes on the governance patterns of political parties, and has marked the beginning of legalization the political elections acts in the United Kingdom, but preserving the political tradition of autonomy within the political parties. To comparing the Labor Party and Conservative Party in internal self-government, we have found that the Labor Party pursues centralization based on pluralistic democracy, and pay attention to the party's democracy, integrity, representation and sociality; but the Conservative Party is like corporate governance on internal self-government, and has pursued oligarchy and leadership. This research shows that the State attitude towards political parties has determined the basic pattern of Party governance, the organizational principles and relationship of specific Party have determined the features and style of internal self-government, and the Party governance model and way are diversity in the world.

Key words: british party politics; party governance model; party autonomy; rule by law; internal self-government

The Basic Functions of Multi-party Cooperation System in State Administration

..... **Zhang Xiansheng (106)**

Abstract: State governance is the meaning of the multi-party cooperation system. Democratic parties are important subjects of state governance. It is the distinctive characteristics of our party system. The multi-party cooperation system has a unique advantage in national governance. It is helpful for gathering strength, decision making, subject participation, making win-win situation, creating Long-term effect, and an important means to improve the national governance capacity.

Key words: multi-party cooperation; national governance; function

Seek Interaction and Balance of Professional Value and Political Value: A Comparative Study on the Value Orientation of Sino-American Experts Participation in Decision-making

..... **Dong Shitao (115)**

Abstract: The essence of experts participation in decision-making is how to deal with the relationship between knowledge and politics, which includes the duality of professional and political values, and there is an inherent tension between them. The value orientation of Chinese experts participation in decision-making has experienced the following periods: the relative independence of professional value and political value, the dependence of the former to the latter, the separation of them, and the interaction between them with the domination of ideology. In America, it has also gone a long history, which is from the advocating of professional value to the leading place of political value, the flourishing of professional value, and the resurgence of political value, then their mutual dependence. There has something in common between Sino-American experts participation in decision making, that is, the political value has externally influenced the display of professional value, and the latter has provided credit support for the former, the essence is to seek the interaction and balance between them. The difference is that, in China, it is reflected as rational profession in overall politics, while in America is the professional practice in multiple politics. In a summary, in order to achieve interaction and balance of professional value and political value in the future, we need to highlight the role of experts' participation as honest agent, to promote the formation of the ideological market, and to provide institutional support for information communication.

Key words: expert participation in decision-making; value orientation; professional value; political value; Sino-American Comparison

2017年8月18日出版

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出版单位 社会科学文献出版社

印 刷 北京玺诚印务有限公司

国内发行 北京报刊发行局

国外发行 中国国际图书贸易总公司(北京399信箱)

零售订阅 社会科学文献出版社期刊运营中心

订阅电话 (010) 59366555 (010) 59366561

邮发代号 82-838

国外发行代号 Q5496

ISSN 1000-3355

CN 11-1396/D



社科期刊网

ISSN 1000-3355



9 771000 335171

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举报电话: 010-63094651

定价: 35.00 元