

DOCTORAL THESIS

村民自治與黨的領導: 中國農村黨政關係的類型研究

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村民自治與黨的領導——中國農村黨政關係的類型研究

Village Self-Government and Leadership of Chinese Communist Party:
Study on the Types of the Relation between
the Party and Village Government

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中文提要

《村民委員會組織法》(1987)在中國農村實施十年來，所推行的普選制度導入了一種自下而上的、獨立的政治權力。農村自由、公平的選舉活動，使選舉產生的村委會與上級委任的黨支部之間的關係發生了變化。在一些農村，村委會與黨支部能夠平穩合作；而在另一些地方，則是一方支配另一方；還有一些村莊，兩者為獲得支配權而鬥爭。

本文利用於 1995-1998 在廣東、湖南、湖北、河南、河北、江蘇等省所收集的訪談與文獻資料，區分了村委會與黨支部關係的四種類型，分別是“黨強村強”、“黨弱村強”、“黨強村弱”和“黨弱村弱”。本文認為農村黨政關係的四種類型，在本質上是村民選舉、農村經濟結構和民間社會力量(宗族組織與宗教組織等)這三種因素相互作用的產物。分別揭示了如下三種格局：1)富於競爭性的村民選舉，村委會挑戰黨支部權力壟斷地位的可能性大；2)村集體經濟有利于“黨強”，而農戶經濟則傾向於“村強”；3)民間社會力量傾向於加強村委會的地位，除非他們被村支書所控制。

本文的基本結論是，村民選舉提供了一種制度化的渠道，社會經濟的不同利益都可以通過這個途徑尋找政治代表。長遠來看，中國農村在這一發展過程中將逐步走向政治多元化。

Abstract

The implementation of the Organic Law of Villagers' Committees (1987) in the past decade has introduced popular elections as an independent, bottom-up source of political power in Chinese villages. As free and fair elections have taken hold in the countryside, the relationship between elected villagers' committees (VCs) and appointed village party branches (VPBs) has begun to change. In some places, they cooperate smoothly; in others, one dominates the other; and in still others, they fight to dominate each other.

Using interviews and archival data collected in Guangdong, Hunan, Hubei, Henan, Hebei and Jiangsu from 1995 to 1998, this dissertation distinguishes four types of VC/VPB relationships: Strong VPB/Strong VC, Strong VPB/Weak VC, Weak VPB/Strong VC, and Weak VPB/Weak VC. It argues that these four types of VPB/VC relationship are essentially the results of the interplay among three factors: village elections, village economic structure, and social forces (lineage organizations and religious organizations). The following three patterns are discovered: First, the more competitive village elections are, the more likely villagers' committees may challenge the village party branch's monopoly of power; Second, collective village economy tends to favor strong village party branch, while household economy tends to favor strong villagers' committees; and third, strong social forces tend to favor strong villagers' committees unless they happen to be controlled by the village party secretary.

This dissertation concludes that the introduction of village elections has provided an institutional channel through which various social and economic interests may seek political representation. In the long run, this process will gradually lead to political pluralization in Chinese villages.

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