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俄羅斯聯邦近二十年來政治轉型之分析

An Analysis of the Political Transition in the Federation of Russia from the 1990s to the 2000s

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摘要

本文透過政治菁英與領導階層、黨國體系、意識型態，以及市民社會等四個面向，探討俄羅斯聯邦近二十年來政治轉型的演化路徑與類型特質，嘗試為非民主國家、極權主義國家的比較政治研究提供一種概念架構。在政治菁英與領導階層方面，表面上是普京的強人領導掌控全局，實際上國家安全與技術官僚透過統一俄羅斯黨而形成的共治共生結構，值得深入關注。黨國體系方面，蘇聯瓦解之後，俄羅斯的國家機器凌駕於政黨之上，掌握國家機器，才是普京大權在握的關鍵。意識型態方面，俄羅斯經歷1980年代末期、1990年代初期的急速改革與震盪治療，社會主義、共產主義已難主導全局，主權民主與管理式民主亦非官方全力打造的意識型態，民族主義、愛國主義、種族主義反而是較為明顯的意識型態，普京政權與東正教會的關係亦值得注意。市民社會方面，普京掌握的國家機器採用各種策略，試圖掌控非營利組織的發展，包括壓制非政府組織與扶植政府主導的非政府組織，以及壓制媒體與網路言論。這四個面向的探討，或許可以幫助我們建立概念架構，進一步比較俄羅斯、中國、北韓與古巴等國家政治轉型的演化路徑與類型特質。

關鍵詞：政治轉型、普京、俄羅斯聯邦、極權主義、後極權主義、威權主義

Abstract

The author discusses the political transition of the Federation of Russia in the past two decades by focusing on the dimensions of political elite and leadership, party-state system, ideology, and civil society. The purpose is to pave the way for constructing a research framework for comparing non-democratic countries and (post-) totalitarian countries, such as Mainland China, Russia, North Korea, and Cuba. Though Putin has been the strongman ruling Russia in the past decade, the symbiotic framework based on the cooperation of the national security system and technocracy is noteworthy. In Russia, controlling state power has been far more important than organizing political parties. The leading ideologies of Russia in the past two decades have been nationalism, patriotism, and ethno-racism, rather than socialism and communism though political parties of communism and socialism have been involved in politics. Finally, the Russian state under Putin has been trying to control the civil society by suppressing the development of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and the internet, on the one hand, and establishing governmental NGOs (GONGOs), on the other. The exploration of the Russian political transition of the paper could be instrumental to expanding the comparative research agenda of totalitarian and post-totalitarian states.

Keyword : political transition, vladimir putin, federation of russia, totalitarianism, post-totalitarianism, authoritarianism