

裴曉軍

政治家辦報：一個亟待澄清的概念

摘要：長期以來主導中國大陸核心的新聞理念是中共黨報理論。不過，我們也注意到，自 20 世紀 90 年代中期開始，中共領導人在重要場合屢次提起另一個與新聞密切相關的概念——政治家辦報。

仔細檢視政治家辦報理論，以及它對中共新聞事業所起的作用，恐怕它並非官方希望的那樣，它是一個成熟而有效的理論。這是因為，中共領導人在提出這個概念的時候，並沒有將之系統化、理論化，反而有碎片化之嫌，這就為後人對它的多元解讀留下了想像空間。

有關政治家辦報的研究肇始於 1950 年代末期。它與毛澤東提出這個概念有著直接的關係。1990 年代中期以後，由於時任中共中央總書記的江澤民兩次對官方重要新聞機構的視察，重提了政治家辦報的主張，學術界和新聞界隨之掀起了闡發、研究政治家辦報的熱潮。

在這股熱潮中，相關研究呈現出如下特點：一是研究者的身份多元。有政界人士（宣傳部門）、新聞管理層、新聞從業者，還有學術界。二是對政治家辦報的理解顯示出複雜局面。對該概念的理解有時不僅截然相反，而且很多研究者和新聞界人士任意引申，使得這個概念的涵義更加複雜多變。三是部分學者在研究中出現「泛政治化」傾向。

本論文在梳理前人研究成果時發現，儘管新聞界和學術界對政治家辦報理論作了大量探討，但仍然有諸多問題有待解決。它主要體現在以下幾個方面：一是政治家辦報在不同的政治領導人的心目中有著極為不同的涵義，甚至充滿著內在的矛盾。學術界對這個術語的內在矛盾性沒有認真加以辨識。從這個角度而言，本文試圖探討該術語在中共官方的話語體系經歷了怎樣一個演變歷程，其內在的矛盾性是如何表現出來的。二是作為一個歷史現象，政治家辦報可以解釋某些新聞事件；但是作為一種政治規定，它在具體操作層面又是如何與現實發生聯繫的。第三，在所有探討政治家辦報的文章中，極個別的研究者提出了不同觀點，但是這些觀點並沒有引起足夠的重視。實際上，這些看法有其內在的合理性，更值得我們反思。

概而言之，本論文在總結前人研究的基礎上，結合政治家辦報在不同歷史時期的特殊語境，試圖對該概念重新做出解讀，澄清一些似是而非的看法，以恢復其本來面目。

The Newspaper run by the Politician: A Theoretical Concept That Needs To Be Clarified

Abstract: It is CPC Organ's Theory that has been the leading news concept of Chinese mainland for a long time. However, as we notice, on important occasions, the leaders of CPC have repeatedly mentioned another concept— The Newspaper Run by the Politician which is closely related to news.

By the careful review of its proposition and its role in the CPC's journalism, it seems that The Newspaper Run by the Politician' theory is not as same as the authority hoped, but a mature and effective theory. The leaders of CPC didn't made it systematization and theorization when the concept was proposed, but probably made it fragmentization, which has left the imagination of later generations for multiple interpretations.

The research on The Newspaper Run by the Politician started in the late 1950s, and it had a direct relationship with Mao Zedong's proposition of this concept. After the mid 1990s, Jiang Zeming, then General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, inspected the important official news agency twice and renewed the proposition of The Newspaper Run by the Politician, which aroused an upsurge of elucidating and studying The Newspaper Run by the Politician among the academia and the press.

In this upsurge, the features of related research can be presented as follows: firstly, the researchers are of diversity, which varies from Politicians (in propaganda department), news management, journalists, to academia. Secondly, the understandings of The Newspaper Run by the Politician are different. Some people may have opposite views on its concept. Besides, many researchers and journalists amplify its meaning arbitrarily, making the meaning of this concept more complicated. Thirdly, some scholars show a tendency of "pan-politicalization" during the research.

During the organization of the research achievement, it is found that there are a lot of questions remained to be solved even though the press and the academia have made numerous discussions about The Newspaper Run by the Politician' theory. These problems fall into several parts: first, different political leaders have widely different understanding to the The Newspaper Run by the Politician, even filled with inherent contradictions. The academic circle didn't discern the term's inherent contradictions seriously. Based on this point of view, this paper attempts to discuss the developing process of this term in the discourse system of Communist Party of China. Second, as a historical phenomenon, the The Newspaper Run by the Politician can explain some certain news; but as a political rule, it can also explain how it connects with reality in specific operation. Third, in all papers about the The Newspaper Run by the Politician, only a few researchers raised some different views which didn't attract enough attention. In fact, these views have their inner rationality , and they are worth of reflection.

To sum up, based on the foundation of previous researches and special contexts of The Newspaper Run by the Politician in different historical period, this paper attempts to reinterpret this concept and clarify some certain plausible ideas to restore its own feature.