

## 美国的政治参与：政党

### 政党产生和存在的原因

关于派系: "A zeal for different opinions concerning religion, concerning government, and many other points.....an attachment to different leaders ambitiously contending for pre-eminence and power..... have, in turn, divided mankind into parties, inflamed them with mutual animosity, and rendered them much more disposed to vex and oppress each other than to co-operate for their common good. So strong is this propensity of mankind to fall into mutual animosities, that ..... the most frivolous and fanciful distinctions have been sufficient to kindle their unfriendly passions and excite their most violent conflicts." — 麦迪逊《联邦党人文集》第十篇

The spirit of party agitates the community with ill-founded jealousies and false alarms, and kindles the animosity of one part against another. — Washington

If I could not go to heaven but with a party, I would not go there at all. — Jefferson (1789)

Where the principle of difference is as substantial and as strongly pronounced as between the republicans and the monarchs of our country, I hold it honorable to take a firm and decided part and as immoral to pursue a middle line, as between the parties of honest men and rogues, into which every country is divided. — Jefferson (1800)

My basic argument is that the major political party is the creature of the politicians, the partisan activist, and the ambitious office seeker and officeholder. They have created and maintained, used or abused reformed or ignored the political party when doing so has furthered their goals and ambitions. — Aldrich, 《Why Parties》

### 政党的功能

- 选举功能
  - 组织选举和提名候选人
  - 提出政纲
  - 资助选举
  - 动员选民
- 施政功能
  - 降低政策制定中的合作成本
  - 提高执行政策的效率

### 政党的发展历史

1796-1824: 民主共和党 (杰弗逊党) (Jefferson、Madison) VS. 联邦党 (Hamilton、Adams、Washington)

1828-1856: 民主党 (杰克逊党) (Andrew Jackson) VS. 辉格党 (Henry Clay)

1860-1892: 民主党 VS. 共和党

1892-1928: 民主党 VS. 共和党

1932-1968: 民主党 (Franklin Roosevelt, 如日中天) VS. 共和党

1969-? : 民主党 VS. 共和党 (平分秋色, 共和党复兴 — 凯恩斯主义的衰落+美国冷战后的外交政策+文化保守主义的议题)

- 美国社会核心问题的变迁
  - 国家建设 (19世纪前半叶)
  - 种族歧视 (19世纪后半叶)
  - 社会经济 (20世纪二三十年代)

### 两党制的原因

- “first past post system”, 即“第一个跳过栏杆的人胜利选举制度”, 赢得最多选票的人可以通吃所有选票
- 两党自身的调适能力

### 政党的衰落

- 现象
  - 拥有明显政党倾向的人数在减少
  - 对政党有好感的人数在减少
  - 政党对党内的人员约束力降低
- 原因
  - 制度改革削弱了政党的资源掌控能力
    - 公务员改革
    - 提名权改革
    - Soft Money 改革
  - 现代传媒的兴起
  - 政党的“极端化”
  - 政党的民意整合能力

### 政党的两极化

政治积极派和政治冷漠派的两极化

"The American public appears to be increasingly divided into two groups: the politically engaged, who view politics in ideological terms, and the politically disengaged, who do not." — Abramowitz, 《The Disappearing Center》