

中华美国学会

中华美国学丛书

美国政党 与 选举政治

张立平 著

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序 言

据我们所知，本书是国内学者专门研究当代美国政党政治的第一部学术著作。就此可以知道——也应当承认——我国学术界对美国国内政治的研究是一个相当薄弱的环节。如果对美国的国内政治不甚了了，那么对它的对外关系，包括美国对中国的战略意图和政策，理解也就有限了。

列宁在1915年就指出：“无论就19世纪末和20世纪初资本主义的发展速度来说，或者就已经达到的资本主义发展的高度来说，无论就根据十分多样化的自然历史条件而使用最新科学技术的土地面积的广大来说，或者就人民群众的政治自由和文化水平来说，美国都是举世无匹的。这个国家在很多方面都是我们资产阶级文明的榜样和理想。”* 如果对美国的政党政治知之不深，那么为什么列宁要说美国是“资产阶级文明的榜样和理想”，我们就无从理解，遑论如何从这一“文明的榜样”中借鉴有益的经验，拒绝其糟粕。

张立平博士的这本专著，通过详尽的描述和客观的分析，向我们展现了美国选举政治的复杂性及其深厚的社会文化基础。除了对政党功能、选举程序的叙述之外，她在书中回答了这样一些

* 列宁：《关于农业中资本主义发展规律的新材料》（1915年），《列宁全集》第22卷，第1页。

读者关心的问题：

● 美国的两党制是怎样形成的？它为何有如此强大之生命力？为什么第三党总是无法真正成气候？

● 民主党和共和党的意识形态、政策趋向、选民基础有何不同和相同之处？为什么在美国以外的人看来，两党的政治纲领大同小异，争论的多是一些像堕胎、同性恋这种对国家来说鸡毛蒜皮的小事，而美国政治人物对这样的纷争却煞有介事、如醉如痴？

● 既然美国的选举经常搞得热火朝天，为什么选民的投票率又很低？美国选民是根据什么标准来选择自己的领导人的？

● 书中指出，美国两党的组织都十分松散，没有“中央领导集体”，纪律涣散，缺乏权威，很难说它们是一般意义上的政党。那么，民主党和共和党是如何竞选的？执政后又是如何发挥政治作用的？

● “金钱政治”在美国政党政治中表现得如此淋漓尽致，为什么难以纠正？媒体在选举政治中起着什么作用？

● 在2000年的总统选举中，佛罗里达州选票的统计出现了纰漏，居然最后由最高法院来判定谁来当总统。外国人难以理解，而大多数美国人对此坦然接受，或不以为耻，反以为荣，为什么？

对于在中国的政治环境和文化土壤中成长起来的学者来说，理解以上问题已属难能可贵，更不用说把它们融化在自己的博士论文中了。在学风浮夸、虚假学位满天飞的今天，这样一本经过呕心沥血而写就、论述严整、具有一定开拓意义的著作，大概可以归入“凤毛麟角”的行列。当然，在材料的取舍、论证的详略方面，本书还有一些可以精雕细琢之处；对美国政党政治的分析和评价分散于各个章节，不容易给读者以很深的印象。此外，假如作者有机会在美国做更多的实地考察，相信会加强本书的

实感。

如果其他读者同我一样，对美国政治还是外行，那么本书将帮助我们超越“雾里看花”的阶段，从理性上接触到美国社会的深层。

王缉思

2002年4月14日凌晨

序于河北廊坊

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by Wang Jisi

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ABSTRACT

The author hypothesizes that American political parties still play important roles in contemporary elections, both in presidential elections and in congressional elections, in spite of tremendous social and environmental changes. Through empirical analysis and survey data analysis based on computer when the author as a visiting scholar stayed at UC, Berkeley during 2000—2001, she finds that different parts of party composition influences different levels of elections differently. The political parties are still relevant to all candidates as well as the voters.

Contrary to the general impression of the encompassing withering of the party organizations, the national parties are stronger than they were whereas state and local party organizations are more dependent on the national party organizations in financial spending for the candidates. The party declines in the following aspects: in nominating its candidates (because of widespread direct primary), in donating direct money for its candidates (because of public financing in presidential elections and the rise of the PACs in the congressional elections) and in campaign strategy and tactics (because of the use of

the high-tech in the campaign and the rise of the professional political consultants) . The party organizations are important in political ads, in offering the campaign services and GOTV (go-out-voting) movement for the candidates. She argues that party identification as a predisposition still influences the voter's choice through the evaluation of the personality, issue stands and job performance of candidates. The percentage of party identification or party affiliates does not reduce too much if we distinguish the "closet" party affiliates of the independent voters who incline either of the parties from the pure independent voters. Finally the incumbent candidates generally have a great advantage over challengers in money, name recognition, free advertising and publicity, particularly in House elections.

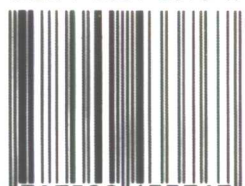
She concludes that solid American two-party system matches up with other political institutions and constantly fits new surroundings by reforming itself so that American democracy can work with its own characteristics, greatly different from other party politics across the world.

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作者简介

张立平，云南大理人，1967年生。1988年毕业于北京大学国际政治系，获法学学士学位；1991年毕业于清华大学社科系思想文化研究所，获专门史（中西文化比较）硕士学位；2001年毕业于中国社会科学院研究生院美国系，获法学博士学位。2000-2001年在美国加州大学柏克莱分校做访问学者，现供职于中国社会科学院美国研究所政治室，任副研究员。研究领域主要是美国政治和美国外交政策。有多篇论文发表。