



世界政治与国际关系原版影印丛书



# 美国政治思想经典文献选读

AMERICAN POLITICAL THINKING:

READINGS FROM THE ORIGINS TO THE 21ST CENTURY

[美] Robert Isaak 编著



北京大学出版社  
Peking University Press

# **American Political Thinking**

Readings from the Origins to the 21st Century

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*Pace University*

Peking University Press

Beijing

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Robert Isaak; *American Political Thinking: Readings from the Origins to the 21st Century*

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ISBN: 0-15-500365-8

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### 图书在版编目(CIP)数据

美国政治思想经典文献选读/(美)艾萨克(Isaak, R.)编著.—北京:北京大学出版社, 2004.6

(世界政治与国际关系原版影印丛书)

ISBN 7-301-07123-X

I. 美… II. 艾… III. 政治思想史—美国—高等学校—教材—英文 IV. D097.12

中国版本图书馆 CIP 数据核字 (2004) 第 022988 号

书 名: 美国政治思想经典文献选读

(*American Political Thinking: Readings from the Origins to the 21st Century*)

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标准书号: ISBN 7-301-07123-X/D·0865

出版发行: 北京大学出版社

地 址: 北京市海淀区中关村北京大学校内 100871

网 址: <http://cbs.pku.edu.cn>

电 话: 邮购部 62752015 发行部 62750672 编辑部 62753121

电子信箱: zpup@pup.pku.edu.cn

排版者: 兴盛达打字服务社

印刷者: 北京大学印刷厂

经销者: 新华书店

787 毫米×960 毫米 16 开本 53.5 印张 1600 千字

2004 年 6 月第 1 版 2004 年 6 月第 1 次印刷

定 价: 68.00 元

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这套“世界政治与国际关系原版影印丛书”,正是基于上述认识而组织出版的,并且得到了我国国际关系教学与科研领域最有权威的专家教授们的认可,他们分别来自于北京大学国际关系学院、复旦大学国际关系与公共事务学院、中国人民大学国际关系学院、外交学院、清华大学国际问题研究所、中国社会科学院世界经济与政治研究所、中共中央党校战略研究所等单位,作为本套丛书的学术顾问,他们愿意向我国该学科及相关领域的广大学者和学生共同推荐这套丛书。

本丛书第一批先行选入几本经典文献选读性质的国外优秀教材,内容主要在国际关系理论方面,也包括国际政治经济学方面的优秀教材。它们皆可称为原文中的精品,值得研读和收藏,不仅如此,由于它们本身在国外的大学课堂里都是应用较广的教材和读物,所以特别适合作为我国国际关系与世界政治专业大学教学中的参考读物,甚至可以直接作为以外文授课的课堂教材。在每本书的前面,我们都邀请国内比较权威的专家学者撰写了精彩的导论,以指导读者更好地阅读和使用这些文献。

今后,我们会陆续推出更新、更好的原版教材和专著,希望广大读者提出宝贵意见和建议,尤其欢迎更多的专家学者向我们推荐适合引进的国外优秀教材和专著,以帮助我们完善这套丛书的出版,并最终形成一套完整的世界政治与国际关系及其相关学科适用的原文教学研究参考书系。

最后也要特别提醒读者,我们引进这套丛书,目的主要在于推动学术交流、促进学科发育、完善教学体系,而其著作者的出发点和指导思想、基本观点和结论等,则完全属于由读者加以认识、比较、讨论甚至批评的内容,均不代表北京大学出版社。

# 导 言

王缉思

我一向坚持认为,学习国际政治应当以政治学为基础,就像学习国际法以法学为基础、学习国际经济以经济学为基础一样。但是,国内大学里的学科设置,一直到国家级单位进行的社会科学学科分类,都没有把“国际政治”、“国际关系”、“国际问题研究”放在政治学的架构之中。这种情况,使学生和研究人员不容易接触政治学中的很多基础知识,如政治思想史。这恐怕是所谓“国际问题研究”的著述往往缺乏深度的原因之一。北京大学出版社《世界政治与国际关系原版影印丛书》的编者独具慧眼,把《美国政治思想经典文献选读》(*American Political Thinking: Readings from the Origins to the 21st Century*)列入本套丛书,让国际政治的学生和学者有机会更多地读到“原汁原味”的美国政治思想,是为推动学科建设做了一件很好的工作。因此,虽然我对美国政治思想知之甚少,还是愿意斗胆为本书写一篇导言。

本书编者、美国政治学家艾萨克(Robert Isaak)在前言中声称,他编选这本美国政治思想选读是要消除一种普遍印象,即美国政治思想就如同培育它的美国社会那样稚嫩与实用。谈起美国政治思想,人们首先想到它是西方政治思想的一部分,或者是西欧的(特别是英国的)政治思想在美国的延伸。毫无疑问,美国的思想和文化深受欧洲传统的影响。但它在两百多年的历史又孕育出独特的政治思想,孕育出一种美国人普遍接受的主流意识形态。美国早已发展出十分成熟而稳固的联邦制、两党制、分权制,以及以宪法为纲的一整套法律、经济制度。美国的社会制度同美国主流政治思想契合得简直天衣无缝。回顾过去两百多年的历史,美欧在发展模式方面的差别越来越明显。相对而言,美国的经济增长速度高于欧洲主要国家,经历的国内政治动荡少于欧洲,而贫富悬殊大于欧洲。今天美国的对外政策同欧洲国家的差距也越来越大。这些差别的一个重要原因,是美国人和欧洲人在思想文化上的差异。

那么,美国政治思想的原创性在哪里呢?编者的总导言(Introduction)着重解答了这个问题。他强调,美国的经济繁荣和社会进步,是在保护私有财产和个人自由的渐进改良中实现的,而不是在牺牲私有财产和个人自由的激进革新中实现的。艾萨克探讨的一个悖论就是,在如此崇尚个人自由的美国,政治和经济的根本制度却如此“保守”,如此巩固,以至于看不到任何对它进行剧烈改造的可能性。

艾萨克指出,美国的自由主义有着深刻的两重性。美国的保守主义,“保守”的是它的自由主义精神;而它的自由主义又是渐进的(*progressive*)、“保守”的,而非激进的,这便

是美国政治思想的独特之处。我们也可以据此推论说,美国政治思想比欧洲传统政治思想更保守,更“右”。

艾萨克分析了美国自由主义的两种传统。一种传统视个人为价值的本源,推崇自由放任的经济思想,将个人主义的最大化作为社会发展的原动力,主张将政府对社会和个人的干预减少到最低限度。我们可以想象美国“西部牛仔”影片所展现的那种图景:建国初期,个人的活动空间几乎可以无限扩展,国家领土也可以持续扩张。“管得越少的政府就是越好的政府”的思想自然深入人心。人们在自己的村镇上建立管理机构,市政府、州政府和联邦政府以及一系列与之相配套的法律制度逐渐产生和完善。这种自下而上建立起来的政府,这种基于个人权利的建国历程,在当时的欧洲是无法想象的。在那个历史时期的欧洲,封建制度尚未完全退化,王权依然巩固,政教合一的传统犹存,国家之间为领土而你争我夺。在“普天之下,莫非王土”的观念根深蒂固的大清帝国,美国人的自由观当然更是匪夷所思。所以,自由主义传统虽然源于欧洲,美国政治家也深受洛克、卢梭等英法自由主义思想家的影响,但美国比欧洲更偏向于个人自由,更倾向于保护私有财产,更少等级束缚。早期欧洲移民对宗教自由的向往,使美国人产生了“直接同上帝沟通”、“做上帝选民”的强烈愿望,而对教会直接干预政治充满反感。

艾萨克指出的第二种自由主义传统,是较晚出现的“渐进(或进步)自由主义”(progressive liberalism)。这种自由主义主张联邦政府干预经济生活和社会生活,用政府开支和信贷刺激经济,并为弱势社会群体开创机会,保障社会公平。这个传统最早的代表人物是财政部长汉密尔顿。他提倡精英政治,主张加强联邦政府权力、强化关税制度、扶植国家工业。19世纪中期,以劳工组织为代表的进步运动,以伊丽莎白·斯坦顿等为先锋的女权运动,以及惊天动地的黑奴解放运动,把自由主义思想传播到 WASP(White Anglo-Saxon Protestants,即白种盎格鲁-撒克逊人中的新教徒)主流社会之外,唤醒了劳动阶层、妇女和黑人。19世纪末到20世纪初,工业化加剧了两极分化,作家马克·吐温、黑人社会活动家威廉·杜波依斯等“激进人道主义者”应运而生,奋力抨击社会不公和种族歧视。然而,这种经济和社会的不平等却通过政府的调节和干预得到了某些纠正,其突出实例是1929年经济大萧条之后的罗斯福新政。本书选用的富兰克林·罗斯福在1932年的一篇著名演说,对于政府在社会经济生活中应起的作用,作了经典的分析说明(第576—582页)。

简而言之,在艾萨克看来,两种自由主义传统的分歧主要在于对待政府的不同态度。第一种传统透过消极的眼光,担心政府的干预过多,阻碍经济发展,削弱个人自由;第二种传统透过积极的眼光,期待政府干预经济,以维持社会公平,促进公共事业。我们看到,这两种自由主义传统今天分别由共和党和民主党所代表。两种自由主义虽然在思想理论和党派斗争中竞争激烈,但却殊途同归,都以自由、平等、权利、法治、民主、私有制为旗号,与它们心目中的专制、极权和公有制为敌。

本书的最后两篇选读,分别代表了两种自由主义传统在当代美国国家政治生活中的政策主张。1981—1988年担任总统的罗纳德·里根是典型的保守主义者。他在1981年

的国会演说(第808—816页)中,采纳了“供应学派”的经济主张,要求降低联邦政府开支,逐步实现预算平衡;减少个人税收,降低企业税率,以鼓励投资,刺激经济增长;加强市场竞争机制,削减社会福利开支;迎合右翼宗教势力,反对堕胎等“违背上帝旨意”的个人行为和社会风气。1993—2000年的美国总统比尔·克林顿则是一位有代表性的民主党人。他在1993年的长篇政策演说(第817—827页)中,同里根一样提出了减少联邦赤字和增加就业机会的承诺,但其方法是提高对富人和外国公司的税收,增加政府对教育和再就业培训的资助,加大对公共项目、基本建设、环境保护的投入,改革医疗和社会福利制度。结果,这两位思想和政见相左的总统,都在任上取得了引人注目的政绩,美国经济迅速增长,国力明显提升。这正好为艾萨克的主要观点提供了佐证:美国是在主流政治思想小幅度的左右摇摆中,在政策的渐进改良中,稳步向前发展的。

除了论述美国自由主义的两重性以外,艾萨克还特别指出了一条连专业研究者都经常忽略的美国特色:美国不是一个纯粹意义上的民主政体,而是一个代议制的共和政体。民主制和共和制的区别,以及美国为什么选择了后者,《联邦党人文集》里詹姆斯·麦迪逊的名篇(第119—124页)做出了精辟的解释。麦迪逊说:“民主政体和共和政体的两大区别是:第一,后者的政府委托给由其余公民选举出来的少数公民;第二,后者所能管辖的公民人数较多,国土范围也较大。”他又说:“很清楚,共和政体在控制党派争斗的影响方面优于民主政体。”共和政体的思想源泉,可以追述到古希腊的柏拉图和亚里士多德。所以,美国的国家制度虽然年轻,产生它的政治理论却是源远流长。

随着新移民的不断涌入,美国的种族、文化、宗教愈来愈多元,“多元文化主义”(multiculturalism)成为不可阻挡的潮流,冲击着传统的 WASP 主流文化。这对美国究竟是福还是祸?艾萨克认为,多元文化主义恰恰丰富了美国的自由主义传统,因为美国社会的多元化要求进一步推崇个人自由,又要求强化国家认同。新老移民分享着心中的“美国梦”,憧憬着共同的未来,这是美国人强烈的爱国主义感情的主要基础。因此,美国的民族主义有别于单一民族国家那种以共同血缘、人种和语言为基础的“原始民族主义”。

本书沿着上述主要思想脉络,将美国政治思想的演变划分为三个大的历史阶段。除总导言之外,艾萨克为每个历史阶段都写了一篇导言,并简单介绍了每篇著述的作者及其主要思想。要理解选读的原文,艾萨克的导言和作者简介应当是必读的。

本书同其他一些美国政治思想读物的一个不同之处,是它不仅编选了主流思想家、政治家的名篇,还收进了诸如马尔科姆·X(Malcolm X)这类激进思想家的言论。但正如艾萨克所指出的,即使处于异端的美国左翼思想家,也大都排斥社会主义和共产主义思想,而只是从左的方面去批评当政者违背了美国赖以建国的自由主义传统。

如果说到本书的缺憾,除了美国主流意识形态本身的偏颇之外,我只想指出一点。这部著作出版于1994年,正值美国在冷战结束后享受“和平红利”、集中力量发展经济之时,所以编者的眼光似乎主要投向不同的经济思想和社会发展观。对于国家安全同公民权利之间的矛盾,对于传统思想如何应对全球化的挑战,关注不多。20世纪90年代中期之后(特别是2001年“9·11”事件之后)美国政治思想中出现的新争论、新观点、新文献,

需要读者自己注意补充。

恕我直言,期待许多中国读者去全文通读这部八百多页、洋洋大观的英文原著,是不现实的,尤其是因为一些原著写于 17—19 世纪,读起来与当今流行的美国英语恍如隔世。因此,对那些尚未熟悉美国历史和文化的读者,我建议先把编者的导言读完,再自己选出一些脍炙人口的名篇进行精读。挑选名篇,不妨参照若干优秀的中文译著和中国学者的著述,如杰罗姆·艾捷尔编,赵一凡、郭国良主译的《美国赖以立国的文本》(海南出版社 2000 年版),埃里克·方纳著、王希译的《美国自由的故事》(商务印书馆 2002 年版)等。资中筠主编的《冷眼向洋——百年风云启示录》(三联书店 2000 年版)对 20 世纪美国政治思想的脉络也有精辟的论述。这些著述对美国政治思想的经典文献都有很好的介绍。

但是,不大量阅读原文著作并背诵一些名言警句,是不可能真正读懂美国人的精神和气质的。再好的翻译也不能像原文那样传神。为本书写导读的初衷,正在于此。



## Foreword

Our age is not retrospective. People long to get beyond the past and to think of the future and how they might prosper in it. It is the age of would-be 'posts': post-industrialism, post-modernism, post-cold war, post-liberalism. Yet this understandable but excessive desire to forget the past and to transcend the present ignores the limits of culture and political tradition that lie just beneath the surface. And these limits go deep, like riverbeds, usually predetermining the flow of contemporary currents over the local topography. While trying to see things anew and to constantly reinvent themselves and their organizations, Americans fall unknowingly back upon certain habits of mind deeply ingrained in their past. And while attempting to adopt certain American democratic and economic ways in order to be more successful politically and economically, foreign nations fail to perceive the cultural and political limits of the unique conservative traditions of liberalism which dominate American thinking.

This selection of readings aims to dispel the conventional assumption that American political thought is as young, green, and pragmatic as the society which spawned it. While an effort has been made to cover each of the phases of American political development with samples from works widely perceived to be "classic," equally important selection criteria were the sheer quality of the thought or writing, and the relevance to the founding, maintenance and ultimate crisis in American liberalism. As the introduction demonstrates, American liberalism is paradoxically dominated by conservative habit which conspires against social change as much as it fosters it. By incorporating both the classical laissez-faire anti-state version of liberalism and the progressive statist version, the dual tradition of American liberalism provides dynamism and a sense of choice while coopting most people in its status quo framework.

While most Americans are socialized in secondary school with a number of courses on American history and civics, few, if any, of these courses dwell on the range or quality of American political thought in any depth. Hence, the majority may graduate thinking that they "know" about American thought having barely scratched the surface. If they knew how wide-ranging, exciting and profound the field was, many more would take a college course in American political thought than is the case.

My own love affair with American political thinking may serve as an illustration. It started in the politicized 1960s when I took a graduate course on "American Political and Social Thought" at New York University with H. Mark Roelofs. The reading list consisted of 72 provocative and heavy books, none of which had been ordered at the book store. The search for these books throughout the public and college libraries of New York City became a physical challenge that all but matched the intellectual one. In addition to a final exam on *all* of these books (which taught one how to read *any* book in an hour and a half), we had to write a short term paper. Mine was on "The Use of Myth as a Tool in American Foreign Policy" and deservedly received a mark slightly lower than I had anticipated. Like a jilted lover whose passion had been (justly) dashed with criticism, I went uptown a few blocks to the New School for Social Research and submitted the paper to the Dean as a course proposal. He

accepted the idea and my university teaching career began. A decade and a half later when I was asked to come back and teach American Political and Social Thought at NYU to replace Roelofs while he was on a leave, the circle was complete. The gift of Roelofs (in addition to his charismatic oratory) was to link the wide-ranging works on American political thought to the contemporary political situation in the United States.

I have done my best to continue this tradition in the introductory materials that precede each part of the selections which follow by using the phenomenon of liberalism as a touchstone or leitmotif to inform the whole. The stress is upon the contemporary implications for the *process* of American political *thinking* as the basis for action as opposed to the sartorial gravity of American political *thought* (which implies an intimidating, finished edifice more than a spontaneous means). To become fully human, each of us must become political thinkers in our own way, coping with social realities we did not create in order to satisfy our own needs and those of others. By learning the limits of the political thinkers who have gone before us, our own thinking may become more fruitful.

The reader should be aware that many more works of high quality were excluded here than included given the limits of space. This selection represents but the tip of the iceberg in terms of the intellectual riches waiting to be discovered. I am grateful to Torsten Arnsward, Thomas Weissmann, and Alexander Keck for their able research assistance; and to David Tatom, Kathy Ferguson, David Day, Kristin Trompeter, Kelly Riche, and Deanna Johnson for their contributions at Harcourt Brace. I am also grateful to the following reviewers whose comments helped to improve the manuscript: Terence Ball, the University of Minnesota; Booth Fowler, the University of Wisconsin; Joe Kobyłka, Southern Methodist University; Joe Kunkel, Mankato State University; Sanford Lakoff, the University of California, San Diego; Michael Lienesch, the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill; and Robert Thig, the University of New Orleans. Marge Arone was a patient typist. And, finally, I am grateful to my family for tolerating a deprivation of time shared together.

R.I.

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