

PARTY (1)

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华盛顿：告别词，1796年

“我已经提醒你们，在美国存在着党派分立的危险，并特别提到按地域差别来分立党派的危险。现在让我从更全面的角度，以最严肃的态度概略地告诫你们警惕党派思想的恶劣影响……它往往干扰公众会议的进行，并削弱行政管理能力。它在民众中引起无根据的猜忌和莫须有的惊恐；挑拨派系对立；有时还煽起骚动和叛乱。它为外国影响和腐蚀打开方便之门……”

What is political party?

An enduring association of people who identify themselves by a public label and who are joined together under this label for the primary purpose of winning control of the government by means of presenting their own candidates in elections for public office on the basis of a common public platform. (Satori and Schattschneider)

The functions of Political party

- Control of the government and take public positions
- Political tools for mobilization
- The platform and institutional bases for interest aggregation
- Offer long-term political coalition
- Labelling effect

Functions of Political Parties

	Cooperate	defect
Cooperate	$(-2, -2)$	$(0, -3)$
defect	$(-3, 0)$	$(-1, -1)$

Table 2.3 A Second Collective Action Problem with Incentives for Party Formation and for a Norm of Universalism via Weingast's Theorem

Legislator	Bill		
	X	Y	Z
A	3	-1	-1
B	-1	3	-1
C	-1	-1	3

Independent voting Outcome: All bills fail. Payoff (0, 0, 0)

Pareto optimal result Pass all bills. Payoff (1, 1, 1)

Universalism norm Outcome: Pass all bills. Payoff (1, 1, 1)

Party of A and B Outcome: Pass bills X and Y. Payoff (2, 2, -2)

Universalism theorem (Weingast, 1979)

Outcome: Pass all bills. Ex ante payoff (2/3, 2/3, 2/3)

Table 2.5 A Social Choice Problem and Incentives for Party Formation

	Preference Ranking		
Legislator	1st	2d	3d
A	X	Y	Z
B	Z	X	Y
C	Y	Z	X
Utility value	4	3	-9

Round-robin tournament, voting independently and sincerely

X beats Y (A, B) Y beats Z (A, C) Z beats X (B, C): **Outcome: ?**

Sequential agenda: sincere voting

1st vote	Final vote outcome	Payoff to (A, B, C)
a. (X, Y) = X ^a	(X, Z) = Z	(-9, 4, 3)
b. (X, Z) = Z	(Z, Y) = Y	(3, -9, 4)
c. (Y, Z) = Y	(Y, X) = X	(4, 3, -9)

Sequential agenda: sophisticated voting

a. (X, Y) = Y	(Y, Z) = Y	(3, -9, 4)
b. (X, Z) = X	(X, Y) = X	(4, 3, -9)
c. (Y, Z) = Z	(Z, X) = Z	(-9, 4, 3)

Equiprobable order of voting Expected outcome: (2/3, 2/3, 2/3)

Temporary coalitions A and B coalesce, yielding X;

C offers to coalesce with B, yielding Z;

A offers to coalesce with C, yielding Y;

B offers to coalesce with A again.

Thus, there is a cycle in coalitions.

Party of A and B Outcome: Pass X. Payoff (4, 3, -9)

^a(X, Y) = X, for example, denotes that alternative X is voted against Y with X winning. Boldface denotes the final, winning outcome.

BOX 11.2

Types of party organization

	<i>Elite party</i>	<i>Mass party</i>	<i>Catch-all party</i>
Emergence:	19th century	1880–1960	After 1945
Origins:	Inside the assembly	Outside the assembly	Developed from existing elite or mass parties
Claim to support:	Traditional status of leaders	Represents a social group	Competence at governing
Membership:	Small, elitist	Large card-carrying membership	Declining, leaders become dominant
Source of income:	Personal contacts	Membership dues	Many sources, including state subsidy
Examples:	19th-century conservative and liberal parties, many post-communist parties	Socialist parties	Many modern Christian and Social Democratic parties in Western Europe

Source: Adapted from Katz and Mair (1995).

party substitutes:

- provincial political machine controlled by local officials
- financial-industrial groups
- Advocacy groups / personal vote organization / political action committee
- Issue group

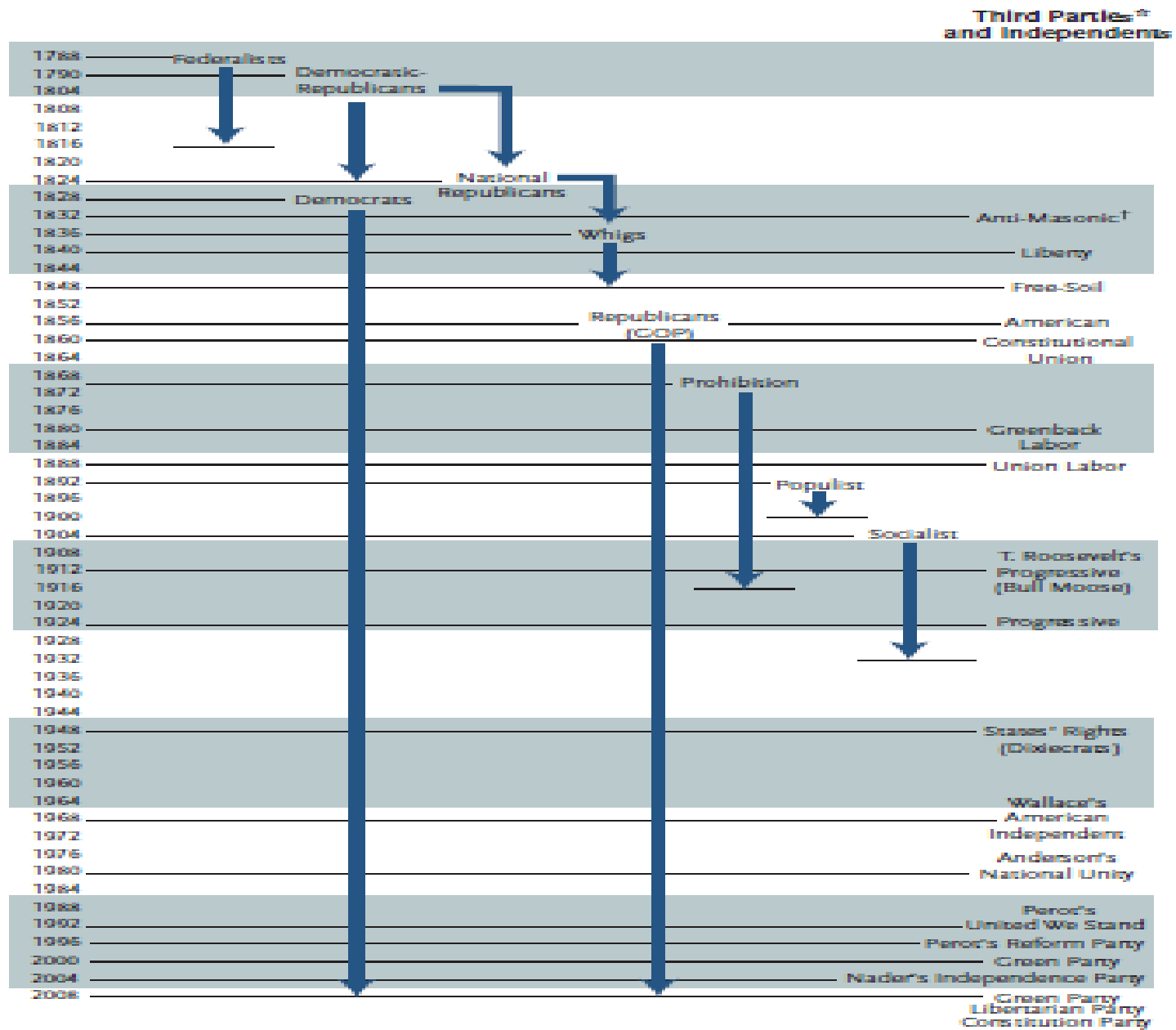
Political parties and social cleavages :

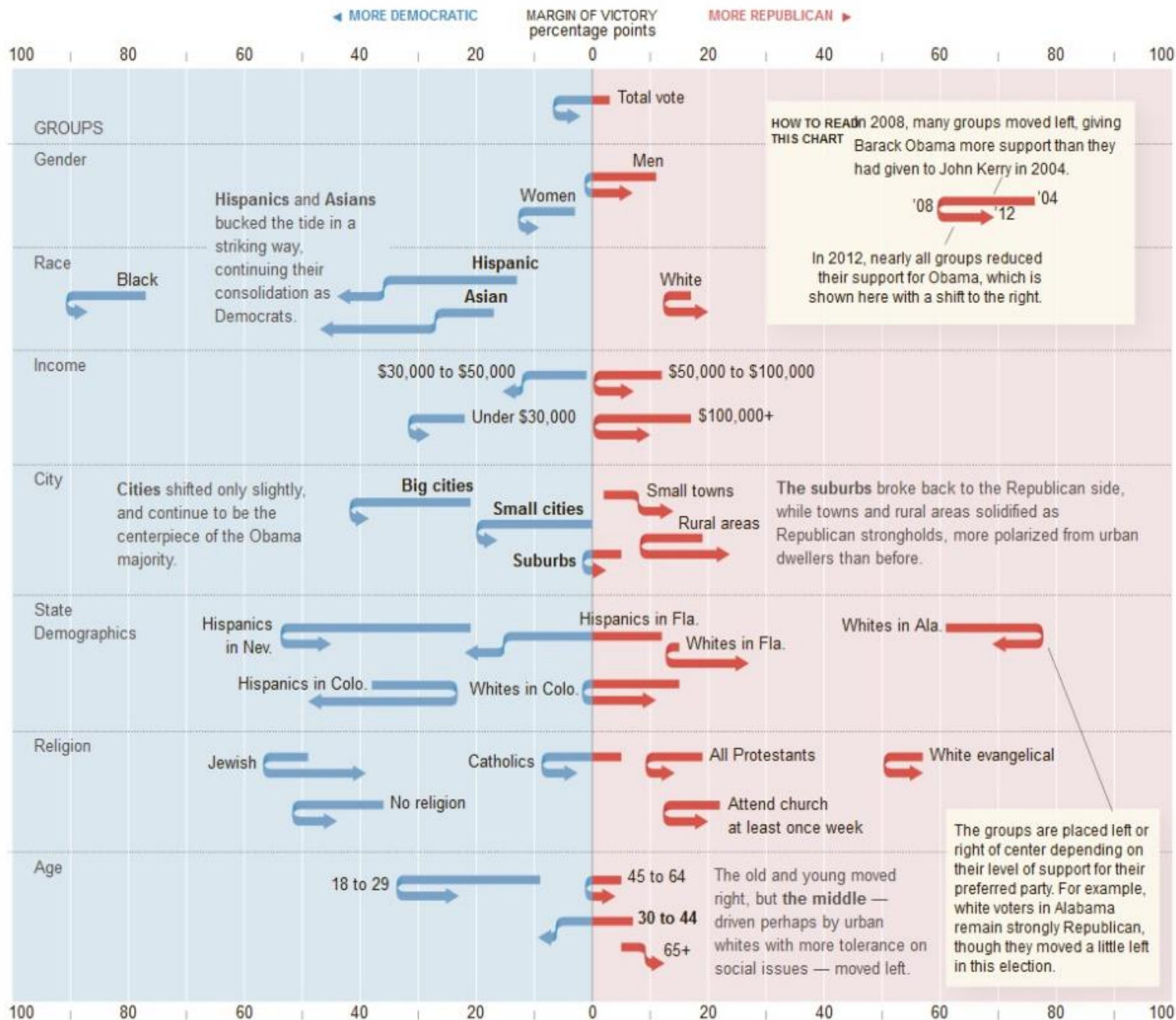
- Old social cleavages as a result of national revolution and industrial revolution (Lipset & Rokkan)
- National revolution: the cleavage between the center and peripheral; the cleavages between modern state and the church
- Industrial revolution: the cleavage between landed class and capitalists; between working class and middle class/capitalists
- The emergence of new political issues, “new social movements” and possible social cleavages after 1960s: environment protection; social equity, nuclear problems, gender equality, the transformation of life-style, etc; the previous party system was gravely challenged

政党制度 (party system)

- The number of major parties competing for power
- The organization of parties
- The balances of power between and within party coalitions
- The social and institutional bases of parties
- The issues and policies around which party competition is organized

FIGURE 11.4 HOW THE PARTY SYSTEM EVOLVED





1980	John Anderson	Independent	5,720
2000	Ralph Nader	Green	2,883
1948	Strom Thurmond	States' Rights	1,176
1948	Henry Wallace	Progressive	1,157
1972	John Schmitz	American	1,099
1980	Ed Clark	Libertarian	921
1976	Eugene McCarthy	Independent	757
1996	Ralph Nader	Green	685
2000	Pat Buchanan	Reform	449
1988	Ron Paul	Libertarian	432
1992	Andre Marrou	Libertarian	292
1984	David Bergland	Libertarian	228
1988	Lenora B. Fulani	New Alliance	217
1976	Roger McBride	Libertarian	173
1952	Vincent Hallinan	Progressive	140
1940	Norman Thomas	Socialist	116
1956	T. Coleman Andrews	States' Rights	111
1944	Norman Thomas	Socialist	79
1972	Benjamin Spock	People's	79
1984	Lyndon H. LaRouche.	Independent	79
1944	Claude Watson	Prohibition	75
1952	Stuart Hamblen	Prohibition	73
1940	Roger Babson	Prohibition	59
1968	Henning Blomen	Socialist Labor	53
1960	Eric Hass	Socialist Labor	48
1960	Rutherford Decker	Prohibition	46
1964	Eric Hass	Socialist Labor	45
1956	Eric Hass	Socialist Labor	44
1964	Clifton DeBerry	Socialist Workers	33

Sources: Congressional Quarterly, Washington, DC, *America at the Polls*, 1920–1996, 1997; *America Votes*, biennial.