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Secretary Shultz at the University of Hawaii
国务卿舒尔茨在夏威夷大学的演讲

THE UNITED STATES:
A NATION OF THE PACIFIC

美国：太平洋国家

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The United States: A Nation of the Pacific

Secretary of State George Shultz delivered the following speech on relations between the United States and the Asia-Pacific nations on July 21, 1988, at the University of Hawaii, in Honolulu.

美国：太平洋国家

一九八八年七月二十一日，国务卿舒尔茨在火奴鲁鲁的夏威夷大学发表了下列有关美国和亚太地区国家关系的演说。

I conclude my travels in Asia as Secretary of State here in Hawaii — a symbol, if ever there was one, that America is a nation of the Pacific and a nation of the future. This nine-stop trip covered Southeast, East, and Northeast Asia, as well as Oceania. I am more impressed than ever with Asia's diversity, with its dynamism, and with the region's potential. And I am more convinced than ever of how critical America's ties to Asia will be for our own prosperity, freedom and security in the years ahead. But if, we, the free nations of the Asia-Pacific region, are to continue to advance in the next century, we all must learn to meet the challenges arising from the very successes that we have achieved together.

A Success Story

The story of the Asia-Pacific region in the post-war period is one of profound success — for the United States, and for the other countries in the region that have cast their fate with us. The accomplishments of the countries of East Asia have become so prominent a feature of the global landscape that it is getting hard to remember the time in the years just after World War II when their survival — let alone their success — was not at all assured.

The Pacific region, with its long history of national rivalries and warfare, has enjoyed a remarkable period of stability and economic advance, especially in the past two decades. In the years since World War II, long-time adversaries have become allies, friends and trading partners. Once poor countries have become prosperous. Nations once divided from each other are working

我以国务卿的身分访问亚洲之行到此结束了，如果确有一个象征，显示美国是个太平洋国家和有前途国家的话，那么夏威夷便是这样的象征。这次访问九个地点的行程包括了东南亚、东亚、东北亚以及大洋洲。我对亚洲的多姿多采、生气勃勃和地区潜力，有了比以往更为深刻的印象。同时我也比以往更为深信，在未来岁月中美国与亚洲的纽带对于我国本身的繁荣、自由和安全将是何等的重要。可是，我们这些亚太地区的自由国家如要继续向下一个世纪迈进，大家就必须学会应付由于我们共同获得的成就而出现的种种挑战。

成功的经历

战后时期亚太地区的经历是高度成功的经历——对于美国，对于这个地区中把它们命运同我们连结在一起的其它国家来说，都是如此。东亚各国的成就成了全球形势中如此突出的特征，这实在令人难以回忆起第二次世界大战刚结束时那些年头，当时它们连生存——更不用说成就了——都是根本没有把握的。

充满民族对抗和战争的漫长历史的太平洋地区，已经享有一段形势稳定和经济发展的光辉时期，尤其是在过去二十年里。在第二次世界大战之后的岁月中，曾经是长期敌对的国家已经成为盟国、友邦和贸易伙伴。曾经是贫穷的国家也已变得繁荣昌盛。曾经分裂的民族则

together pragmatically to realize shared interests and concerns. And authoritarian political orders of the past have given way to the give-and-take of democratic politics.

Among the reasons for this extended period of reconciliation and constructive growth is the fact that for more than 40 years, the United States has pursued farsighted and effective policies toward the region — as it has toward the world as a whole.

The Fundamentals of U.S. Policy

What are those policies and on what precepts are they based?

First, collective security. Our leaders in the post-war years rightly sensed that our world had become a place where no nation could protect its security interests in isolation. Therefore, we and other nations of the free world joined together in a global web of alliance and security ties, to which each of us has contributed our individual strengths. This structure of collective security has maintained the peace in the face of four decades of unrelenting challenges from the communist world.

Second, regional conflict resolution. In today's ever-more integrated world, age-old conflicts and regional conflagrations pose ever greater threats to the global community. Therefore, we and our partners have sought to use our collective strength to ensure that violence does not spread and to further the prospects for negotiated settlements of disputes.

Third, open economies. Despite our strong defenses, we know that it is not possible for any country to ensure its security through military means alone.

实事求是地携手合作，以实现共同利益和共同关注的目标。过去独裁主义的政治秩序，也被民主政治的公平相处所取代。

出现长期和解与建设性发展有着种种原因，其中一个事实是，美国四十多年来对这个地区推行了有远见有成效的政策——正如它对整个世界所采取的政策一样。

美国政策的基本要点

那些政策是怎样的，而它们又以什么理念为基础呢？

第一是，集体安全。战后年代我们的领导人已正确地认识到，我们的世界已经变成一个任何国家都不能单独保障其安全利益的地方。因此，我们与自由世界其它国家团结起来，结成一个全球性的联盟和安全连系网，我们每一个成员都对它贡献出各自的力量。这种集体安全的架构在面对四十年来共产集团不断的挑战中一直维系着和平。

第二是，解决地区性冲突。在今天这个空前紧密联系的世界里，连续多年的冲突和地区性战火对于整个世界构成了愈来愈大的威胁。因此，我们和我们的伙伴都一直力图运用我们集体的力量，以确保动乱不致扩大，并使谈判解决争端的前景进一步明朗化。

第三是，开放经济。尽管我们有强大的防卫力量，但我们也了解到，任何国家都不可能单凭军事手段来确

Economic vitality is the essential foundation of national strength. Thus, we have actively promoted economic recovery and development. Moreover, economic development has been spurred by an open and competitive global trading system. Therefore, the United States has pursued policies designed to strengthen open markets and facilitate the flows of technology and capital that can accelerate global growth.

Fourth, democratic values. Development places a high premium on creativity, on advanced levels of education, entrepreneurship, the decentralization of responsibility and the free flow of ideas and people — all hallmarks of open and democratic societies. Therefore, for reasons of political commitment as well as practical effect, the United States has encouraged processes of democratic institution-building. We and our allies have supported those around the world who are struggling for their freedom against the authoritarian right as well as the totalitarian left.

Collective security. Regional conflict resolution. Open markets. And democratic values. For four decades these policies have been a powerful formula for national development, security and regional stability in the world and in the Asia-Pacific region. And it is no coincidence that countries that have joined with the United States in the post-war coalition of free nations have turned out to be the most productive, the most stable and the greatest contributors to a secure global environment.

Today, the communist powers — first China, and now the Soviet Union — seem to have begun to realize the power of these policies. We encourage them to recognize the need to settle draining and dangerous

保其安全。经济活力乃是国家实力的主要基础。因此，我们一直都在积极地促进经济的复兴和发展。而且，开放和竞争性的世界贸易制度也促进了经济发展。所以，美国所推行的政策，都旨在加强开放性市场，并促进那种能够加速世界经济发展的技术与资本的流通。

第四是，民主的价值准则。经济发展在在很大程度上促进了创造力、教育水平的提高、创业精神、职责的分散化，以及思想自由交流和人民自由交往——而所有这些都是开放和民主社会的标志。因此，基于政治义务和实际效果，美国一直在鼓励建立民主体制的进程。我们和我们的盟国支持世界上那些为着本身自由而反抗右的独裁主义和左的极权主义的人。

集体安全、解决地区性冲突、开放性市场以及民主的价值准则，这些政策四十年来一直是促进民族发展、国家安全以及世界和亚太地区区域性稳定的强有力的方略。因而，那些在战后与美国结成自由联盟的国家，都成了最有生产力、最稳定和对全球性的安全环境作出最大贡献的国家，这实非偶然。

今天，共产大国——先是中国，现在是苏联——似乎已开始认识到这些政策的力量。我们也鼓励它们认清，必须解决那些既损耗人力物力又充满危险的地区冲突，

regional conflicts, to end confrontations with the United States and its allies, to decentralize their economies and open up to the world. And they are giving indications of doing so.

Coping with Success

So, the trends are going our way — toward peace, toward a lessening of tensions, toward free markets and democratic values. The United States has helped the countries of the Asia-Pacific ride the wave and to solve the problems associated with economic growth and political maturation. Now, we and our partners are facing another set of challenges, but of a qualitatively different kind — we must learn to cope with the problems created by our own successes.

As we have seen, America helped powerfully to create an environment that enabled many of the nations of Asia to come into their own. As a result, our world is no longer dominated by one or two “superpowers.” There are increasingly numerous national centers of economic strength and political power. Peoples once accustomed to American preeminence and protection are ever more determined to shape their own futures. From the Philippines to Korea, long-established security arrangements are being reassessed, and throughout the region domestic economic policies are being reviewed in the context of pressures for more open markets, currency revaluations and the new requirements of an age of information-based innovation and production. Into the bargain, we have China’s reorientation toward economic reform and more constructive interchange with its neighbors. And we see a new Soviet activism

终止同美国及其盟国的对抗，放松它们经济的集中程度并向世界开放。而它们也显示出这样做的迹象。

对付由于成就所引起的问题

因而，形势正依循我们的途径发展——迈向和平，迈向缓和紧张局势，迈向自由市场和民主的价值准则。美国一直在协助亚太国家破浪前进，并解决那些跟经济增长和政治成熟有关的各种问题。目前，我们与我们的伙伴又面临着另外一系列的挑战，性质上截然不同的一类挑战——我们必须懂得去应付由我们本身的成就所引起的种种问题。

正如我们所看到的，在美国的大力协助之下创造出来的环境，已使许多亚洲国家得以兀然自立。结果是，我们的世界已不再受到一两个“超级大国”的支配。各国所形成的经济实力和政治力量的中心，数目正日益增加。一些国家的人民曾一度习于以美国马首是瞻和接受保护，现已变得愈来愈有决心去拓展自己的前途。从菲律宾到韩国，对长期建立起来的安全体系正进行重新评估；而整个地区也正面临进一步开放市场的压力和货币重新定值，面临一个以信息为基础的革新和生产时代所提出的新要求，在这种情况下，它们检讨了国内经济政策。需要考虑的，还有中国之重新制订方针，迈向经济改革并与其邻邦作更有建设性的交往。同时我们也看到苏联对太

towards the Pacific.

All these developments present challenges. We and our partners will be equal to them if we hold fast to the primary sources of our achievements: the cooperative coalition of free nations that has served us all so well.

Asia as a Policy Model

Let's take a closer look at how the elements of our policy have shaped U.S.-relations with the Asia-Pacific region and at some of the challenges we now face:

Security. First comes security. The U.S.-Japan alliance remains the cornerstone of our policy in the region, enhancing the security of our friends and allies as well. While maintaining its fundamental commitment to remain a non-military power, Japan has steadily improved its self-defense capabilities in recent years and has broadened bilateral defense cooperation with the United States.

In the Republic of Korea, with American help, Korean troops have held the front line for more than three decades against a formidable northern adversary. At the same time, the stability that the U.S. presence has lent to this strategic peninsula has boosted the ROK's economic and political development.

In the Philippines, another area of strategic significance, the United States has helped a struggling democracy beat back a communist insurgency and promote economic growth. And, by supporting an important U.S. military presence, the Philippines — like Korea — has made a major contribution to its own and to regional and global security.

平洋的新的积极行动。

所有这些事态发展都提出了挑战。如果我们牢牢掌握住我们各种成就的本源——一直对我们全体发挥良好作用的自由国家合作性联盟，我们同我们的伙伴就能抵受这些挑战。

亚洲是实施政策的样板

且让我们更进一步观察一下，我们政策中的各项要素如何影响美国与亚太地区的关系，以及我们目前所面临的一些挑战：

安全。首先是安全。美日同盟仍然是我们对这个地区的政策的基石，它也加强了我国盟国与友邦的安全。日本在遵守其基本承诺保持非军事强国身分的同时，近几年来一直在逐步提高它的自卫力量，并扩大同美国的双边防卫合作。

在韩国，该国军队在美国的帮助下，坚守前线达三十余年，防御着北方的强敌。与此同时，美国的驻军也给这个具有战略意义的半岛带来稳定的局面，促进了韩国经济和政治的发展。

菲律宾是另一个具有战略意义的地区，美国在这里帮助一个正在艰苦奋斗的民主政权击退共产党的叛乱并促进经济的增长。菲律宾也和韩国一样，支持美国驻扎军队这一重要措施，从而为自己国家、为该地区和全世界的安全作出了重大的贡献。

Thailand has been an ally for over 30 years and to-day remains the front line state resisting Vietnamese aggression in Cambodia. In turn, America has supported Thailand diplomatically, militarily and politically against security threats. The presence, even as I speak, of U.S. ground, naval and air units on bilateral exercises in Thailand demonstrates that our commitment to Thailand's security remains firm.

Our ally Australia has devoted the resources necessary to modernizing its military forces; and, by its steadfast support for defense cooperation through our joint facilities, has made important contributions to effective deterrence.

Just as the United States and our allies benefit from the strong web of security ties we have formed in the Asia-Pacific region, each of us also draws strength from the constancy and resolve of free nations elsewhere in the world. The successful way the United States and our allies in Europe handled the Soviet SS-20 threat demonstrated that our commitment to NATO would not be at the expense of security in Asia. At every step in the negotiation of the INF treaty we consulted with our friends and allies in this part of the world as well as in Europe. Their views were reflected in our positions at the table. From the outset, we made it plain that we would insist on the elimination of the Soviet missiles in this range aimed at Asia as well as Europe. The treaty had to be global in scope, just as the structure of our security ties is global in scope.

The clear lesson of this experience is that the ties among the world's free nations are interdependent and indivisible. For four decades, our collective strengths

泰国三十余年来都是我们的盟友，今天依然是在第一线抵抗越南对柬埔寨进行侵略的国家。美国则在外交、军事和政治上支持泰国抗御对安全的各种威胁。甚至在我现在演讲的时候，美国派出陆、海、空部队参加在泰国举行的两国联合军事演习，也足以证明美国对维护泰国安全的承诺依然是坚定不移的。

我国的盟友澳大利亚已对军事力量的现代化投入了必要的资源，并且通过两国的联合设施坚定地支持了防卫合作，对有效的阻遏作出了重要的贡献。

正如美国及其盟友从我们在亚太地区建立起来的强大安全网得到好处一样，我们每个国家还从世界其它地区自由国家的坚韧不拔的意志和决心中汲取了力量。美国及其盟友在欧洲成功地对付苏联 SS-20 型导弹威胁的方式表明，我们对北大西洋公约组织的承诺不会牺牲亚洲的安全。在中程核导弹条约谈判的每一个阶段，我们都征询过亚洲和欧洲的朋友及盟国的意见。我们在谈判桌上的立场就反映了他们的观点。我们从一开始就摆明，我们将坚持要求销毁苏联对准亚洲和欧洲的中程导弹。该条约的范围必须包括全世界，正如我们的安全关系结构的范围包括全世界一样。

这次经历的明显教训是，世界上自由国家之间的关系是互为依存、不可割裂的。四十年来，从国家、地区

have reinforced the structure of peace nationally, regionally and internationally. The Asia-Pacific region is more secure and stable today than ever before. But keeping it so requires commitment and hard work on the part of all countries. We cannot take the framework of peace we have built together for granted. The post-war generation understood this; yet today complacency is perhaps the greatest threat we face. Our challenge is to help new generations see the fundamental importance of keeping that framework strong and suited to the times.

Some of our allies in Asia are now reviewing whether the components of our security presence — port and air facilities, and naval access — are really necessary to their security. Some wonder whether it might not be better to go it alone. Their reassessment is appropriate; it is the essence of a voluntary alliance of free nations. But they should not forget that our collective efforts have kept the peace for 40 years, and that our combined strength has brought our adversaries to the bargaining table, making possible the stabilizing reductions in armaments that we all seek.

Likewise, we cannot be complacent in the face of new challenges to regional and global security. Terrorism requires a collective response. And the increasing proliferation of high-technology weaponry — aircraft, missiles, nuclear material and chemical weapons — into areas of regional conflict requires restraint or collective controls on the part of all weapons-exporting states, as well as effort to resolve the sources of conflict themselves.

Resolution of conflicts and Reduction of Tension. The

和国际来说，我们的集体力量都使和平的结构得到加强。亚太地区今天比以往任何时候都更安全和稳定。但是要维护这种局面就需要所有国家承担责任和艰苦奋斗。我们不能把我们合力创建的和平架构认为是当然会出现的事。战后的一代人明白这一点：但是我们今天面临的最大威胁也许是自满。我们的重大任务是帮助子孙后代了解到，使这个架构保持强大并适应时代的要求是极其重要的。

我们的有些亚洲盟友正在考虑，港口和机场设施以及可动用的海军力量这些保证我们安全的因素，对他们的安全是否真的不可或缺。有的则认为，各管各的事是不是会好一点。他们重新进行评估是合乎常理的，这是自由国家自愿结盟的精髓所在。但是他们切不可忘记，由于我们的集体努力，才使和平保持了四十年，也由于我们联合一致的力量，才使我们的对手不得不坐到谈判桌边来，终至有可能达到我们都在追求的稳步削减军备的目标。

同样的，我们在危及地区和全球安全的新挑战面前也不能踌躇满志。对恐怖主义需要作出集体反应。对高科技武器（如飞机、导弹、核材料和化学武器）愈来愈多地扩散到区域性冲突的地区，需要所有武器输出国进行克制或集体控制，而且要作出努力来解决冲突本身的根由。

解决冲突和缓和紧张局势。我们维护安全的集体努