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An American Reader

美国读本

(英文版)

金衡山/主编



美国读本《英文版》

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American Reader Series

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History Behind the Documents John Resch

The American Reader is an important book for understanding American intellectual and cultural tradition. The range and variety of sources (from 1616—2009; from John Winthrop to Barack Obama) represent the diversity and richness of that tradition. The selections in this volume represent the main currents of American thought and values that continue to shape the United States. By studying these documents students will gain a deep and rewarding insight into American culture that will not only illuminate that nation's past but also help to illustrate similarities and differences between China and America.

What do we learn from these documents? One current in America's cultural tradition appears in the first part of the book is the significance of the concept or principle of Liberty. The Colonial Mind, especially in New England, is informed by philosophy of Natural Rights and the role of civil society in translating that abstraction into tangible civil liberties. The Mayflower Compact and John Winthrop's "The Little Speech" show the influence of British customary rights, the principle of consent, and the religious reinforcement of these secular principles in forming colonial law and society. In Winthrop's other famous speech, "A Model of Christian Charity" (1630), recommended as complementary reading, the Puritan minister tells those following him to Massachusetts that they have formed a "covenant" with God to follow God's law in forming their civil society. It is instructive to read exactly what he meant by following God's law. Although Winthrop preached individual virtue and responsibility his sermon placed special emphasis on a person's role in community, "to do justly, to love mercy, to walk humbly with our God. For this end we must be knit together as one man. We must entertain each other in brotherly affection. We must be willing to abridge (give up) ourselves of our superfluities (excess wealth) for the supply of others' necessities...in all meekness, gentleness, patience, and liberality. We must delight in each other, make other's conditions our own; rejoice together, mourn together, labor and suffer together...as members of the same body.... For we must consider that we shall be as a City upon a hill. The eyes of all people are upon us." Winthrop's image of an exemplary society founded on the Christian values of brotherhood (social harmony) and charity, and the Compact's principles of liberty and justice achieved through a social contract continued to sustain the foundation of the America's intellectual and cultural heritage. Any student of American thought should start with the documents in this volume.

As this book of documents richly illustrates, Winthrop's vision is one of many that formed the foundation of America's cultural traditions. Voices in the American Revolution spoke a new language that incorporated the lessons of Classical Greece and Republican Rome, the thought of the French and Scottish Enlightenment, and the experience gained from protesting British tyranny and their war for independence. More than separation from England, the Americans produced a revolution that resulted in a radical change in both

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society and government, according to historian Gordon Wood and political theorist, Hannah Arendt. The sovereignty of the people, not kings or institutions, would be part of the foundation of America's cultural and intellectual tradition. Thomas Paine in Common Sense (1776)—recommended as complementary reading — said as much when he urged British subjects in America to throw off English authority to transform themselves from subject into citizens who would create a new world, a kind of secular "city upon a hill." Paine and his fellow revolutionaries such as Benjamin Franklin, James Madison, James Monroe, and Thomas Jefferson were fully aware that Americans had an opportunity that few peoples in history ever had-to start anew. They fully realized that they were beginning a new experiment in self-government, liberty and equality. The documents collected in this book dealing with the Revolution, the Constitution, and American Character richly illustrate the radical nature of social and political changes unleashed in this era. Rather than creating a blueprint to be rigidly followed, they established an experiment based on guiding ideals and principles, such as "All men are created equal and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights." Their meaning and application would be derived through a complex political system that divided and separate powers within government and between the national and state governments.

Madison stated in Federalist #10 that the experiment would be based on a realistic view of human nature which recognized that people are contentious and often misguided by their own interests. Madison wrote in Federalist #51, "If men were angels, no government would be necessary. If angels were to govern men, neither external nor internal controls on government would be necessary. In framing a government which is to be administered by men over men, the great difficulty lies in this: you must first enable the government to control the governed; and the next place oblige it to control itself." Instead of relying on an appeal to human virtue, as had earlier republics, Federalists such as Madison, Jefferson, and Hamilton advocated a combination of democracy and republicanism, the rule of law, autonomous judiciary, a Constitution independent of party or legislative tampering, and the separation and distribution of powers as mechanisms that would compensate for the deficiencies of virtue. They believed that this novel blend offered the best hope to protect liberty against the tyranny (by government or by the majority) and to achieve the public good while offering the greatest degree of individual liberty. They envisioned a clash and competition of interests, ideas, values, and visions, fostered by freedom of speech, press, and assembly in open civic and political arenas that would produce a dynamic and organic society. Future generations, driven by high ideals and operating pragmatically, would have to sustain the experiment through changes and, as Tocqueville said, "many small revolutions." "Generation yet unborn," in the words of the Founders, would be both inheritors of these tradition and makers of new traditions as they sought to fulfill their charge given in the preamble to the Constitution: "We the People of the United States, in Order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America." The selections in this book document the struggles of "future generations" to build on the intellectual and

cultural foundation expressed in the Revolution and Constitution. Their record would be one of tragedy and triumph, failure and success.

The ideal of Equality was unleashed in the early years of the Republic. An abstract notion expressed as "all men are created equal" produced unintended effects that contributed to the formation of new features of American culture. Abigail Adams had urged her husband, John, "To remember the ladies," and within a generation at Seneca Falls women posted their own declaration for equal civil rights. Future generations would succeed to gain rights and thus redefine the meaning and application of civil equality that had been only the privilege of white men at the nation's founding. The contradiction between the ideal of equality and existence of slavery produced conflict and eventually the Civil War. In 1790 Benjamin Franklin introduced a resolution in Congress on behalf of the Quaker Anti-Slavery society to abolish slavery in the United States on the grounds that it is inhumane and that its abolition was necessary to "secure the blessings of liberty" to all Americans. Thus began a conflict over the meaning of equality that would produce scathing attacks on slavery, as shown in this volume by Frederick Douglass, and impassioned defenses, such as that presented by George Fitzhugh in 1857. By 1860, in Lincoln's words, America had become "half free and half slave," and a "house divided against itself." The Civil War, he said at Gettysburg, was a test of whether a society conceived in liberty, dedicated to the idea of equality, and to a government "of the people, by the people, and for the people," could succeed. With the abolition of slavery and the granting of citizenship to former slaves the "house" was no longer "divided." Nevertheless, the legacy of racism began a bitter battle over civil rights that lasted over a century and left scars on American culture that appear even today. The words of E.B. Dubois and Martin Luther King, Jr., printed in this volume, illustrate that century of struggle against racism and discrimination. Their battle for equal rights led to great victories in the 1950s and 1960s that added new meanings to the idea of equality that only a few in the 18th century, like Abigail Adams and Benjamin Franklin, would have considered the norm.

The empowerment of the individual to govern themselves and society invigorated and transformed America culture. In politics, disenfranchised men demanded the right to vote and found a champion in Andrew Jackson. By the end of his administration in 1836, the customary property requirement to vote had been removed and virtually universal male suffrage practiced, long before its appearance in Europe. Women also sought their right to vote, finally acquiring it through the 19th Amendment to the Constitution in 1920. As Madison had foreseen, the American experiment was producing profound institutional, intellectual, and cultural changes as succeeding generations applied their own visions and experiences to founding ideals and principles. America, according to St. Jean De Crevecoeur, was producing a new people, "a new man," as a result of the release hereditary rule and individualism. Alexis de Tocqueville provides the most insightful analysis of American culture. Tocqueville invented the term "individualism" to label a new product of democracy and equality. Not greed or self-centeredness, forms of behavior found everywhere, Tocqueville's individualism meant that people stood on their own, were independent, and formed their associations voluntarily rather than compelled by class and custom. The writers in the American Renaissance, Emerson and Thoreau, celebrated this form of individualism as expressions of American intellectual originality and as non-conformity in the form of

civil disobedience. Others, later in the 19th century, added the rags to riches theme to express themes of individualism and liberty that morphed into a version of American culture that is expressed in the slogan, "The American Dream."

American culture and intellectual tradition contain a paradox. It includes ideas and institutions to ensure stability, but they also promote change, or as Tocqueville observed, small "revolutions". That tradition limits government authority in order to reduce the threat of tyranny yet, at the same time, supports the use of government power to promote liberty. as Lincoln did in freeing slaves without compensating the owners of this property. The emergence of industrial capitalism tested this paradox in the late 19th century and that challenge continues today in the new global forms of a market economy. The documents in this Reader illustrate features of that part of the American tradition that developed as a response to industrialism. In particular Americans had to assess new meanings of liberty, democracy, and equality that emerged in a society increasingly polarized by wealth and concentration of political power. Commercial and Industrial leaders such as John Wannamaker, Henry Ford, and Hebert Hoover celebrated the liberating effects of industrialism and capitalism by promoting material progress and individual opportunity in new careers. Thorsten Veblen and the IWW focused on the dark side by stressing the corrupting effects of materialism, the corruption of democracy by plutocracy, and the threat to freedom poised by wage labor. The selections in the Reader represent a vibrant and wide reaching debate within American culture that include the Social Darwinist defense of laissez faire economics that allowed private enterprise to act virtually unchecked. Other contributors to American intellectual tradition not represented in this text, such as Henry George and Edward Bellamy, attacked unfettered free enterprise and the supremacy of property rights over personal and political rights. Walter Rauschenbusch proposed Christian Socialism as a remedy to the inequities and injustices he observed. William Jennings Bryan led a Populist revolt against plutocracy in winning the nomination of the Democratic Party for President of the United States. His defeat did not, however, crush Populism which remains a vibrant force in American culture.

John Dewey, Woodrow Wilson, and Theodore Roosevelt, and later Franklin Roosevelt through the New Deal and Lyndon Johnson's Great Society produced the "Progressive" tradition in American culture. These progressives sought to sustain the benefits of industrial capitalism while mitigating its deleterious effects. They viewed government not as a bystander or as an agent of industry, but as an umpire that acted on behalf of the public interest. They energized the Founders' vision expressed in the Constitution that the national government acted on behalf of "We the People ...to promote the General Welfare." They also embraced a form of democracy that William James would call "pragmatic." American tradition, as James pointed out and as progressive leaders practiced, shunned ideologies and the straightjacket of social theories by testing or experimenting with ideas and policies that resonated with the fundamental ideals and principles—Equality, Liberty, Democracy, Natural Rights and a sovereign people. New circumstances such as industrialization, the emergence of masses of wage earners, the creation of urban and commercial society, and the shocks of economic depressions, especially 1929—1941, caused a clash of interests and ideas that, as Madison had envisioned, produced new meanings of old principles within the American tradition. Self-reliance came to mean not only standing on one's own two feet

but also contributing to the social safety net to ensure security from the devastating effects of unemployment, accident, and illness. The meaning of liberty came to mean not only owner's governance of property but also restrictions on its use through bargaining with employees and equal treatment of people in public establishments, a right guaranteed by the 1964 Civil Rights act that Martin Luther King, Jr. had supported in his "I Have a Dream" speech. Democracy expanded with the Voting Rights Act of 1965 which removed the barriers for blacks to vote. The last half of the 20th Century ushered in what several intellectuals call a new "rights revolution" in America, such as that described by Betty Friedan in this volume.

The second half of the 20th century presented the American tradition with an unprecedented challenge. Prior to 1941 the United States clung to "isolationism" that was strengthened by recriminations for its imperialist adventures at the turn of the century, by bitter regrets for entering World War I, and by rejection of the League of Nations. Protected by two oceans rather than by a large military, isolationists sought to create "fortress America" insulated from Europe and Asia that were engulfed in war begun by fascists and militarists. Pearl Harbor and the "Cold War" that followed World War II compelled a new vision for America's role in the world from that of being just a "city upon a hill" and trader in world markets, to becoming at first the "arsenal of democracy" to defeat German and Japan, and then to assuming a new and unaccustomed role of a world leader. The documents in this text provide insight into this fundamental change and the tumultuous effect it had on America's cultural and intellectual traditions.

The effect of the Cold War on American society in the 1950s is represented by the documents in the Reader. On the one hand that society was shaped by the fear of Communist subversion, as shown in the speech by Senator Joseph McCarthy. On the other hand, the ideological struggle with Communism led Americans to a critical introspection of the gaps between founding principles and actual practices. Post-war prosperity led intellectuals, such as David Riesman and C. Wright Mills, to wonder if materialism had transformed American individualism into mass conformity. Others, such as the students writing the Port Huron Statement, urged their generation to reject social values of materialism and conformity, and to revitalize democracy to achieve a higher standard of social justice. Lyndon Johnson's Great Society (1965) sought a similar end, but its high ambition fell short because of a decade of deep and violent conflict over the nation's waging of war in Vietnam. That war, a product of Cold War thinking, and "Watergate" the resignation of President Nixon—produced what historians call the "Vietnam Syndrome," a period of American doubt and uncertainty about the future direction of their society. Beginning with Ronald Reagan's presidency America began to regain its vision based on old certitudes as when President Reagan referred to the nation being "A City Upon A Hill,"—an example to the world—and a youthful nation continuing its experiment in liberty and democracy, or "Morning in America" in Reagan's words.

The last several documents in this Reader underscore the continuing development of American society and culture. The end of the Cold War in 1991, the demographic changes in American society due to new immigration from Latin America and Asia, the expansion of wealth, and the shocking events of 9/11 point to the "Challenges of the New Century." Will America and the world be threatened by a new "clash of cultures"

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as Samuel Huntington believed? Will Americans have to redefine themselves in an increasing global economy and multi-polar world where America's leadership and influence will naturally diminish as other countries rise in wealth and power? Will American culture and society experience a fundamental shift in its political structure, or a "new politics," as the election of Barack Obama appears to represent and as President Obama envisioned in his Inaugural Address? These questions remain to be answered by present and future generations of Americans and, ironically, by actions of other peoples of the world. This volume of readings on American culture and society will help its readers not only to understand America's past but also how it might chart its future.

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何谓美国,美国何为?

——读懂美国的途径

美国是世界上的头号强国。美国占据世界第一已经有很长时间了。1941年2月17日美国《生活》杂志发表了《时代周刊》创始人(也是《生活》和《福布斯》的创刊人)亨利·卢斯的社论文章,题目为"美国的世纪"。卢斯宣称二十世纪是美国的世纪。卢斯是一个爱国者,也是一个国际主义者。当时,二战烽火燃遍欧洲,卢斯呼吁美国能加入二战,拯救世界于危难之中。"美国的世纪",既是一种口号,也一种宣传。也许在冥冥之中有一种神奇的力量在关注卢斯的愿望,在这一年的最后的一个月发生了珍珠港事件,在世界大战之外徘徊了一阵的美国终于下定决心参战,给反法西斯战争的最后胜利增加了一个至关重要的砝码。

卢斯提出二十世纪是美国的世纪,也是基于一种对于自己国家的自信。到1940年代中期,美国的工业产值占世界的一半,人均收入是其他最富有国家如加拿大、英国、新西兰、瑞士和瑞典的两倍(Paul Levine, The American Moment: America Since 1945, Palgrave, 2005, p.76)。1941年离美国独立之时只相距165年,离第一批移民到达弗吉尼亚詹姆斯敦也只有334年,几百年,在世界历史中只是沧海一粟。但是在这短短几百年间,一个强盛的民族出现在北美广袤大地上,这不能不说是世界历史中的奇迹。

让我们简单回顾一下美利坚民族的发展历程——主要是从一些经济数据的角度,也许可以看出奇迹背后的一线轨迹。

1607年,伦敦弗吉尼亚公司组织移民到达现在的弗吉尼亚詹姆斯河畔,建立了 英国在北美的第一个殖民地,詹姆斯敦。这是英国在北美大规模移民的开端。移 民总人数是105人,9个月后,经历了严酷天气、恶劣条件的考验之后,只剩下了38 人。1620年,"五月花"号船载着一部分清教徒和其他一些移民到达现在的马萨诸 塞州,建立普利茅斯殖民地。104个移民到第二年只有50人存活。北美殖民地历史 就在这样的艰苦条件下开始了,从现在看来颇有点悲壮。160多年后,1773年间,当 北美大陆的独立意识逐渐萌生之时,13个殖民地的人口已达到220万之多,成为英 属美洲殖民地(含英属加拿大和西印度群岛各殖民地)中,人口最多的地方,以那时 的生活水平衡量殖民地芸芸大众的生活,也已颇具"小康"水平,还有人把"希望之 乡"和"牛奶与蜂蜜之乡"这样的美妙语词来形容那块地方(见李剑鸣著《美国通史》 第一卷,人民出版社,2008,第519页)。十九世纪二三十年代美国进入工业革命时 期,此后很快成为名列前茅的工业强国。1820年工业总产值占世界的6%,到内战 前的1860年就已经上升到15%,进入世界前四名,仅在英、法、德后面(见张友伦主 编《美国通史》第二卷,人民出版社,2008,第211页)。而仅过了三十年后,到1890 年美国的工业产值就跃居世界首位,占世界工业总产值的1/3.煤产量在1860年尚 只有1800万吨,到1899年就已达2.3亿吨,占世界总产量的1/3,成为世界第一;此 外,铁路总里程从1870年的5.3万英里提高到1900年的20万英里,超过欧洲铁路总 里程的总和,占世界的1/3(见丁则民主编《美国通史》第三卷,人民出版社,第84, 86,87页)。从1776年建国到二十世纪初,120几年的进程,美国成为了世界强国。

进入二十世纪后的美国在很多方面亦引领世界的潮流,二十年代见证了消费时代的到来,到1929年平均每5个人就有一辆车,大大超过英国的每43人一辆、意大利的每325人一辆和俄罗斯的每7000人一辆;在同一年,每三户家庭即拥有一台收音机,每周看电影的观众达9500万人次(而当时美国的总人口大约在1.2亿左右)(见余志森主编《美国通史》第四卷,人民出版社,第461,466页)。二战后,正如卢斯所言,美国迎来了属于自己的世纪。在50年代至60年代的10年间,美国的房屋购置者增加900万,达到3300万,汽车的拥有量增加了2100万;1946年只有7000台电视机在使用,到1960年电视机使用数超过5000万台。到二十一世纪的今天,2009年美国的GDP是14万亿美元,超过排名第二的日本和排名第三的中国近三倍。美国的综合力量排列世界第一的位置仍然牢固。

以上列出的一些数据能够给我们一些直观的印象,说明作为世界强国的美国 的实力所在。但是仅靠数字的堆积和递增并不能告诉我们这个国家是如何发展起 来的,尤其是强盛背后的政治、文化和社会因素并不能从这些简单的数字中体现出 来。这就需要我们去读历史,从历史中发掘出一个大国的兴起与强盛的种种原 因。历史的读法可以有很多,一般人会找历史书或历史教科书等。但是历史书并 不等于历史,毕竟历史书是写书的人对历史的总结,所以可以说不同的人可以写出 不同的历史。从这个方面来说,如果能够沿着历史的脉络,在翻检历史书的同时, 披阅一些对历史的形成和走向有过重要影响的文献和文本,那么必定会对历史有 更切身的体会,因为在一定意义上,这种读历史的方法也是参与了历史总结的过 程。《美国读本:读懂美国的文本》的编撰宗旨正在于此。收集在这个《读本》里的文 本涵盖美国社会的各个方面,包括政治、文化、宗教、哲学、经济、文学、社会等,基本 按照时间顺序排列,以期提供一个历史的发展框架。大多数文章都是历史上的重 要文献,是了解美国历史和社会的必读作品,用美国著名历史学家丹尼尔·布尔斯 廷的话说,这些篇章不仅仅是"历史文献,而且也是活的历史文献。"(Daniel Boorstin, ed., "Introduction" in An American Primer, New York: A Meridian Book, 1995, p.xv)。"历史文献"是针对历史学家而言,"活的文献"则是面向普通读者提出, 因为正是通过这些历史上的文献,历史可以更加活生生地呈现在普通大众面前。

一个《读本》碰到最大问题是如何选择材料,尽管已经考虑到了多角度地采撷,要做到面面俱到则近乎不可能。换句话说,在选择篇章时是否需要有一个主题,或者是几个主题,这些个主题又如何能够折射出美国的发展,或由此可察见美国这个巨三百年来一路走过留下的足迹?要回答这个问题,同样,我们可以回到1941年卢斯"美国世纪"一文中,并以此作为借鉴。卢斯在文章中其实并没有提到美国的四级点看多大,到底在何种程度上可以把二十世纪算作是美国的世纪,尽管他提到了乐、好莱坞电影、美国的工业产品等等在世界发生的影响。但是更重要的是,他以宣称二十世纪是美国的世纪,是因为他找到了一个前提条件,即能够与专制主义,所最能代表这种民主理想主义的则当仁不有、衡的是建立在民主之上的理想主义,而最能代表这种民主理想主义的则当仁不有、民美国的民主制度和民主传统,是美国的"权利法案"、"独立宣言"和"宪法","民后、民享"在美国可以实行,也可以输出到世界去,同他人分享(见本书卢斯"美国的纪"选篇)。而二战的开端则提供了这样一种输出美国式民主和革命的机遇。正是基于这种对美国式的民主的自信和自恋使得卢斯可以挺起胸膛高言二十世纪是美国的世纪。可以这么说,相比于美国的工业、技术、好莱坞电影和爵士乐,卢斯认为美国革命建立的民主传统才是让二十世纪成为美国的世纪的真正原因。

这种求索现象背后的本质的方法也是我们编撰本书的一个基本思路。自由、平等、民主是美国建国的政治思想基础。杰斐逊在《独立宣言》中所说的造物主赋

予的不可分割的权利:生命、自由和对幸福的追求,即是对于这种政治思想的通俗 阐释。这种源自新教(在很多程度上也是清教徒)之独立精神、十七世纪洛克的自 然法和天赋人权理论以及十八世纪启蒙主义的思想,在一开始就已深深地植根于 很多北美人的头脑之中,以致追求自由的精神几近狂热。英国哲学家埃德蒙·伯克 评论说,"在美利坚人的这种性格中,热爱自由乃是一个突出的特征,它是他们全体 的标志,使他们卓尔不群……这种狂热的自由精神,在英属殖民地居民中最为强 烈,地球上其他任何民族均难出其右……"(引自李剑鸣著《美国通史》第一卷,518 页)除杰弗逊以外,其他一些政治人物如塞缪尔·亚当斯,帕特里克·亨利,托马斯· 潘恩等无不视自由为不言自明的自然权利,所谓"不自由,毋宁死"。这些人物都深 谙启蒙思想的精髓,人的觉醒与理性的确立反映在政治诉求和国家意识方面便是 对于自由的不可遏止的渴望和无限追求,他们对于自由的阐释不仅表现在行动上, 同样重要的是,为其行为赋予了合法性,一种符合人性自然要求的合情、合理、合法 的诉求;由此,对于自由的追求便成为了国家建立的基石,同时也成为了统一各殖 民地思想和言语的有力武器。这或许可以看做是美国文化中的一个重要现象,后 人称之为"舆论一致(consensus)"的滥觞。谈论自由是历届美国总统和各个时期的 重要政治人物不能不说的话题,从共和国初期华盛顿表示"对(美利坚共和国的)自 由人权利的尊重"到独立战争期间林肯断言国家将见证"自由的新生",从二十世纪 初威尔逊以保障人民之自由的名义,提出"新自由"思想以对抗垄断资本,到八十年 代后期面对苏联的衰落里根自豪地宣称"美国代表自由",再到新世纪针对恐怖主 义者的袭击小布什强调反恐是"为自由而战"。自由是思想武器,是行动指南,自由 也是一个修辞语词,一个抽象的、也是具体的美丽语词;说它抽象,是因为它可以指 普世主义意义上的乌托邦想象,也即代表全人类的理想,当然,因为出自美国,从逻 辑上讲,便是美国代表自由;说它具体,乃是因为可以时时用它来捍卫美国的利益, 为美国的行为提供合法的依据,就像在《独立宣言》中杰斐逊花了大部分篇幅阐明 殖民地争取自由的合法理由。抽象与具体的结合在一定意义上也恰好说明了人们 常说的"美国例外论"。1630年温斯罗普在千人清教徒移民即将到达新大陆时,提 出建立"山巅之城" (City on the Hill),目的之一是为世界树立一个理想的楷模,358 年后里根在八年总统任期结束的告别辞中重拾这个旨在指明美国之独特性的鲜明 意象,只是在语词上做了稍稍改动,改成"闪光之城"(Shining City),意在说明美国之独特 性依然存在,且依然照亮世界。

如果说以上只是在国家层面上对自由之于美国的重要性做了一点梳理,那么需要说明的是,自由这种政治意识对于美国人而言绝不限于国家层面或国家意识,确切的说,与个人更是休戚相关,更应是一种个人意识。而就个人而言,自由基于平等,指向民主。平等的概念来自宗教争执。亨廷顿所说的那些持不同政见的新教人士(主要是来自英国的清教徒)开创了个人要求信仰平等的先例,尽管在对后来的美和国产生巨大影响的新英格兰政教统一的殖民地社会中并没有多少平等可言。也是针对清教统治的压抑,罗杰·威廉姆斯提出了信仰自由和在神面前没有贵贱之人,使对了一种广泛的国民意识和个人意识。十九世纪前半叶梭罗为了反对非正义的好完坚牢。在梭罗看来,个人即使是少数,但只要正义在个人一边,也要和非正义的多数社会和以多数的名义行使统治的政府抗衡,而具备完整个人意识的人人。"如后杰斐逊和亚当斯一样,显然梭罗也从洛克和卢梭等启蒙主义者那儿汲取了个人自然权利的思想,另一个思想渊源则是罗杰·威廉姆斯的基于信仰自由和个体平等的

自由主义思想。爱默生号召美国在文化上独立于欧洲,真正能够支撑起独立局面的则是那些用自己头脑思考的"美国学者"。可以说,托克维尔从社会研究的角度解释了平等在美国社会的普遍存在,在很大程度上,这与美国社会没有欧洲社会中普遍存在的阶级差别有关。早期从英国过来的大多是中产阶级,美国人对平等的执着迷恋或许与此相关。这也可算作"美国例外论"中的一例。上世纪五十年代哈佛大学教授路易斯·哈慈提出美国自由主义传统的存在原因是美国没有经历过封建社会,这个提法与托克维尔的发现有异曲同工之处(见Louis Hartz, The Liberal Tradition in America, New York: A Harvest Book, 1955)。

但是,这只是问题的一面。由个体平等而要求政体民主,这一方面存在于个人 意识中,另一方面也只是一种理想,如梭罗要求的完全尊重个人权利的民主,在实 际社会中并不如此。《独立宣言》中的"人生而平等"的"人"并不包括女人、黑人、印 第安人以及没有财产的人。但是,平等的思想毕竟还是有用的,因为这些被压迫者 和被压抑者的声音正是通过诉诸于平等、民主、自由这个思想源泉才一方面获得了 反抗的力量,另一方面也取得了合法性,因为这是美国的声音,美国的要求,美国的 使命。1848年《塞尼卡福尔斯情感宣言与决议》虽不无权宜之计之嫌,但着实触到 了问题的要害。女权主义者们从一开始就把与男性平等的要求提高到了"天赋人 权"的高度,虽然直到72年后才在法律上获得了独立——女性选举权——的确立。 而在115年后第二波女权主义领导者贝蒂·费里丹仍在呼吁女性的全面解放。这种 在争取平等的道路上的坎坷历程同样也反映在黑人的斗争经历中。同样也在1848 年,曾经的黑奴、后来的自由人道格拉斯向白人社会发出了要求平等的声音,黑人 与白人一样拥有在这块土地上的生存权。同样也是在115年后,黑人民权运动领袖 马丁·路德·金向白人社会的法律发起了挑战:"唯有提升人性的法律才是正义的法 律,而使人性堕落的法律则是非正义的法律。"面对非正义的法律,唯有采取抵抗行 动,别无他法。梭罗的个人抵抗策略在马丁,路德,金身上发扬光大。平等、自由、 民主正在从抽象的概念变成具体的普适于不同种族、不同性别、不同阶层的社会实 践。1905年《世界产业工人联合会宣言》,1962学生争取民主社会同盟的"休伦港宣 言",这些代表另一些人,即工人和学生,发出的声音,尽管只存在于历史的某个时 段,而且似乎与美国的主流声音不相协调,但是其实质仍然是对平等和民主的追 求,少了他们平等的内涵就缺少了一部分内容。

说到美国,离不开言说美国梦。美国梦则正是在平等、自由、民主的氛围内逐渐自发酝酿而最终变成一种典型的美国价值观。1614年,史密斯在新英格兰看到的不同于英国的自由自在生活景象或许有不少夸张的成分在内(也许有为了吸更多的人移民的目的),但到了克雷夫科尔1782年从一个生活在美国的农夫的角度描述美国人的新生活方式和美国人这个"新人"的形成之时,我们看到美国大人为自己工作的社会,在克雷夫科尔看来,是出界上"最完美的社会":劳动的成果与勤勉同步,付出的努力总有回报。在这个人是一个生活方式。这个人人为自己工作的社会,在克雷夫科尔看来,简思出来,简明进程理中其实早已经蕴含了美国梦的真谛。最早把美国梦灌输给大众的属当的实用准则让美国梦多了几分实现的可能,同时他也让美国梦成为了一个神话的现实版确实存在,如林肯和奥巴马,他们让美国本身变成了神话。不知是,这种话的现实版确实存在,如林肯和奥巴马,他们让美国本身变成了神话。不知,以大众接受的角度来说,十九世纪后半叶通俗小说家赫拉修·阿尔杰百多部少到的大众接受的角度来说,十九世纪后半叶通俗小说家赫拉修·阿尔杰百多部少到高裕大众接受的角度来说,十九世纪后半叶通俗小说家赫拉修·阿尔杰百多部少到的大众接受的角度来说,十九世纪后半叶通俗人间,让更多的人从近距离感受到了从赤贫到富裕(from rags to riches)(这里的富裕其实就是进入中产阶级阶层)的可

能。或许是他写得太多,又或许是他对美国梦相信得过于真诚,以致他笔下的人物(如少年迪克)成为了同时代的马克·吐温以及稍后的德莱塞和二十世纪二十年代的菲兹杰拉德讽刺的对象。德莱塞的《嘉莉妹妹》,费兹杰拉德的《了不起的盖茨比》写的同样也是美国梦,但那是美国梦带来的痛楚,是其破灭之后留下的迷茫,这是美国梦的另一面,限于篇幅,不能放进这个《读本》之中。

美国之所以成为美国,除了上面提到的与自由、平等、民主相关的政治理念,个人意识和生活方式三个方面以外,在从殖民地建立以来的四百年和从建国以来的二百多年的历史进程中,美利坚民族无论在哲学思想、文学艺术还是科学技术、经济发展等方面也都人才辈出、成就杰出,成为美国发展和进步的推进器。

相比欧洲,美国虽没有贡献出康德、休姆、卢梭这样哲学史上举足轻重的大家,但就以美国本身而言,土生土长的实用主义实乃是最适合美国也最能说明美国特性的哲学。詹姆斯提倡的从个人经验的角度测定真理的实在的方法,虽然有过于功利主义之虞,但却颇能印证美国人性格中原有的重视实践和方法的可行性这种品性。其实,早在詹姆斯·麦迪逊从支持联邦的角度讨论政府存在的必要时,他那种在不同利益之间求得平衡、在公共利益和个人权利之间寻找互利的实用政治倾向,本身就是对实用主义的一种阐释。这里有必要指出,尽管自由主义自始至终贯穿于美国的政治乃至社会生活之中,但是另一方面,美国式的自由主义实际上是渐进的、保守的,而非激进的(见王辑思:《美国政治思想经典选读》"导言",北京大学出版社,2004年,第1页)。同样,杜威在《我的教育信条》中提出教育就是生活,是社会生活的一部分,其背后的哲学思想也是源自实用主义,将教育的功能与社会改造的工作结合起来,使得教育具备了实际的使用价值。

1896年,37岁的芝加哥大学心理学学者杜威收到一家教育学刊物的邀请稿,撰写一份关于教育应遵守的原则的文章。其时,有些从事教育的人发现,美国很多教师缺乏明确的教育目的和教育思想。第二年杜威发表了《我的教育信条》这份有着鲜明美国特色的教育宣言。杜威并非纸上谈兵,而是身体力行,在他创办的实验学校里推行他的教育观念。而更重要的是,作为一个公共知识分子,他的思想在二十世纪上半叶的美国影响甚大。

与杜威一样,有相当一批从书斋里出来的美国学者和知识分子,他们的思想, 他们的研究,他们的批判精神,在不同的历史阶段影响了整个美国社会。1893年, 历史学家、威斯康星大学教授弗雷德里克·J·特纳在芝加哥美国历史学会会议上宣 读论文《边疆在美国历史上的重要性》,该文后来在美国历史学界产生重大影响,为 美国人从美国本土寻找美国历史发生的根源(如西部边疆与民主的产生)提供了先 例。1899年,芝加哥大学教授索尔斯坦·维布伦发表《有闲阶级论》,对一些资产阶 级新贵为了身份和地位的"炫耀性消费"和浪费提出了尖锐的批判,他对于消费文 化兴起的分析至今仍被学界广泛采用。1950年,社会学家大卫·里斯曼出版《孤独 的人群:变化中的美国人性格研究》,1951年,里斯曼的朋友、社会学家、哥伦比亚大 学教授C·W·米尔斯发表《白领:美国中产阶级》,这两本书被誉为分析战后美国社 会和美国人性格变化的杰作。前者提出战后美国人的性格从传统导向 (tradition-directed)和内向导向(inner-directed)转向他者导向(other-directed),后者 指出由于财产拥有者身份的消失,新兴的中产阶级已不能主宰自己,他们实际上只 是依附在一系列"组织"如政府、企业、军队等身上的寄生者,成为了"小人"。两位 社会学家都对五十年代美国社会的异化现象做了深刻的揭示,他们的分析对理解 现代社会的转型有着重要的意义。

德国社会学家马克思·韦伯从富兰克林勤勉、自律、勤俭这种含有强烈禁欲主

义的生活态度上看到了资本主义萌生的动力(见马克思·韦伯:《新教伦理与资本主 义精神》,黄晓京,彭强译,四川人民出版社,1986,107页)。不过,从美国资本主义 发展史看,社会经济发展突飞猛进的时期最先出现在十九世纪美国内战后到二十 世纪初的几十年间,而经济的发展则离不开由科学技术的发展,工商业模式的改 变、管理水平的提高带来社会创造力的大幅提升。《读本》选录了这些方面一些代表 人物的文章,通过他们的"自白"可以看到创造、革新对美国社会产生的巨大推动 力。1879年10月21日,爱迪生研制成了世界上第一只电灯泡。此前他于1876年建 造了一所"发明工厂"。他在1887年给同事的信函中说他的雄心是建立一个"大工 厂",专门从事发明创造。这个工厂每年运作近40个项目,获专利400个,这当然与 爱迪生巨大的创造热情分不开。另一个同样具有创新意义的例子是早期百货公司 创始人和推广人约翰·沃纳梅克,他从1876年费城世博会得到灵感,极力推动零售 业革新,跳过中间商的层层盘剥,开办百货公司。十九世纪末和二十世纪初百货公 司在欧洲和美国的兴起对大规模消费社会的形成是不可估量的(出版于1900年的 德莱塞的小说《嘉莉妹妹》对百货商店有很详尽的描述)。值得一提的是,沃纳梅克 提出的"对公众的服务是零售企业增长的唯一条件,以最低的价格提供商品应是零 售商的抱负"的口号本身已成为现代商业的法宝。有意思的是,22年以后美国汽车 业巨子亨利·福特在他的自传《我的生活和工作》中也表明类似的经营思想:一味追 逐钱不是企业应该做的,生产商依赖的是对人的服务,产品质量好了,钱自然也跟 着过来。1893年福特制造出时速为25英里的汽车,1908年生产出第一辆T型汽车, 1913年建立第一条生产流水线,到1927年生产出了1500万辆T型车,汽车价格则 从1908年时的950美元降低到1929年的290美元。福特汽车帝国的形成在很多程 度上应归功于汽车生产流水线的应用,这个大规模提高效率的思想则是来自泰 勒。以"泰勒制"闻名的 F.W.泰勒以近乎虔诚的理性精神谋求企业工作效益的最大 值,他的贡献并不在于节省了时间和增加了单位时间内产品的数量,而是思维的革 命和观念的革新。"泰罗制"引起很大争议,因为有把人变成机器之嫌,但是另一方 面赢得很多赞赏,包括列宁。

本读本还选录了两篇诺贝尔文学奖致辞。两位世界级的文学大师代表了文学创作历史不长但成就斐然的美国文学的精粹——迄今已有十位美国作家获得诺贝尔文学奖。两位作家——福克纳和莫里森,各自代表了美国文学的鲜明特色——南方文学和黑人文学,两个人的演讲词也风格迥异,但都表达了深切的人性关怀,其深邃的思想、隽永的语言以及旗帜鲜明的正义感直指文学的永恒。

另有三篇现在看来很有点异类但在当时却是"政治正确"的文章也选录在本《读本》之内。它们是:乔治·菲茨休的"全是食人者!或者没有主人的奴隶",亨利·菲查尔德的"大熔炉之谬误"和约瑟夫·麦卡锡的"在西弗吉尼亚州惠林市的演讲"。这些"不同"的声音让我们看到了历史的更多方面。

在《读本》当代美国部分,选录了两篇极有启发意义的文章。一篇是迈克尔·沃尔泽的"'美国人'意味着什么?"另一篇是塞缪尔·亨廷顿的"盎格鲁—新教文化"。这两位都是当下美国著名政治学学者。前者讨论了一个热门话题:美国人的民族特性,或者是文化和政治特性,而这个话题则是在文化和种族多元性在当代美国的"愈演愈烈"的背景下展开的,在这种情况下,寻求美利坚民族的特性这原本不是问题的问题现在又摆上了议事日程。沃尔泽教授提出了一个既能适应当下多元性的局面又能突出美国人的自我身份的见解,即文化上的多元(manyness)和政治上的一元(oneness),用政治制度来保障文化的多样性以体现移民国家的特性,同时又坚持统一的政治制度(所谓民主国家)以保证国民性的一致,这可以说是一举两得的

好办法。不过,实际情况是否就如沃尔泽期望的那样?少数民族发出的声音越来越强,关于语言(如西班牙语和英语的双语教学是否会反过来影响英语的地位)等关系国民性的重要问题上的分歧是否也会延伸到政治方面的问题在哈佛大学教授亨廷顿2003年出版的《我们是谁?》一书里成为了专门的讨论对象,亨廷顿关切的是美国是否还会是他心目中的那个盎格鲁—新教国家?在该书"盎格鲁—新教文化"一章中,亨廷顿重新检索了源自盎格鲁—新教文化的"美国信条"——平等、自由、个人权利等,目的当然还是要说明美国人的政治和文化身份。

似乎是印证了上述两位学者的关切,2008年美国历史上第一位黑人(确切地说混血儿)总统诞生了。不过,值得注意的是,奥巴马总统并没有打种族牌,在强调自己平民出生的背景的同时——当然是表明又一个美国梦的实现,他依赖的仍然是亨廷顿所勾勒的"美国信条",只是在百年未遇的金融危机情形之下,从里根以来的也是源自杰弗逊的"政府是个问题"的信念得到了校正,不是大政府还是小政府的问题,而是政府应该做什么的问题,而这也正是美国式的实用政治应有的特征。在2009年就职演说中,奥巴马向美国以及全世界传递了克服危机的信心,他的信心来自美国的传统。在演说结尾处,我们听到了232年前托马斯·潘恩在美国革命遭遇危机的时刻为鼓舞美国人民而发出的坚定的呼声:"我们要让未来知道,在这个隆冬时期,在唯有勇气和品德才能帮助生存之时,面临着共同的危险,这个城市,这个国家走到一起肩并肩共抗危机。"这个穿越了时空的声音把美国的过去、现在与未来联系到一起,也能为诠释何谓美国、美国何为这个问题提供依一个依据。

《读本》有些文章单独成篇,另有一些则是节选。每篇文章前面有作者简介,后面有文本导读。导读主要介绍选文背景、主旨、影响和意义,对理解原文提供帮助。文中一些专有名词和难句都附有注释。所选文章大多用极好的英文写成,完全可以作为学习英语的典范。《读本》的使用对象是英语专业或相关专业本科高年级或研究生学生,以及对美国研究感兴趣的读者。作为北京大学出版社《21世纪英语专业系列教材》之一,本书亦可作为选修课教材之用。

这是一个集体项目,参加编撰人员来自北京大学、华东师范大学、厦门大学、首都师范大学、北京联合大学、河北师范大学等。具体分工如下:张世耘:五月花公约,托马斯·杰弗逊(独立宣言),克雷夫科尔(何谓美国人),詹姆斯·麦迪逊(《联邦主义者文集》第十篇);林斌:A·德·托克维尔(英裔美国人的社会情况),伊丽莎白·卡迪·斯坦顿(塞尼卡福尔斯情感宣言与决议),贝蒂·弗里丹(我们独一无二的革命),托尼·莫里森(诺贝尔演讲词);廖炜春:亚伯拉罕·林肯(解放奴隶宣言,葛底斯堡演讲),李晋:爱默生(论美国学者),梭罗(论公民的不服从),索尔斯坦·维布伦(炫耀性消费),大卫·理斯曼(《孤独的人群:变化中的美国人性格研究》序言);崔鲜泉:约翰·沃纳梅克(论百货商店),弗雷德里克·W·泰勒(论科学管理),亨利·福特(《我的生活和工作》前言),乔治·W·布什(关于反恐战争的国会演讲),比尔·克林顿(在国会联席会议上的演讲);刘荣强:塞缪尔·亚当斯(殖民地人民的权利),帕特里克·亨利(不自由,勿宁死),托马斯·潘恩(美国危机(I)),乔治·华盛顿(第一次就职演说),金衡山:约翰·史密斯(新英格兰概述),约翰·温斯罗普(一次小演讲),罗杰·威廉姆斯(边害之血腥信条,为信仰而辩),赫拉修·阿尔杰(穷小子迪克),塞缪尔·P.亨廷顿(盎格鲁—新教文化)。

华东师范大学外语学院美国研究项目的研究生也承担了部分工作。分工如下: 陆泉枝, 金兰春: 安德鲁·杰克逊(统治权在于大众), 赫伯特·胡佛(美国个人主义), 亨利·菲查尔德(大熔炉之谬误), 陈小花, 陈澄: 乔治·菲茨休(全是食人者! 或者没有主人的奴隶), 弗雷德里克·特纳(边疆在美国历史上的重要性), 林登·B·约