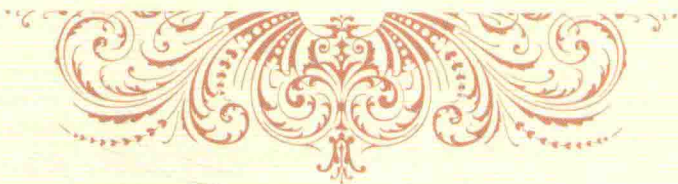


美 国 人 文 系 列



# 美国经典外交 文献选读



王 波 / 主编

SELECTED READINGS OF  
AMERICAN CLASSIC  
DIPLOMATIC DOCUMENTS



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# 前 言

《美国经典外交文献选读》既是一部英文教材，也是一部关于美国外交思想史的文献汇编。它以不同历史时期美国主流外交思想为主线，精选了从美国建国到第二次世界大战时期具有代表性的美国外交文献作为研读文本。希望通过阅读这些原汁原味的英文外交文献，读者能够了解和熟悉美国外交思想的历史发展和演变过程，深刻领悟美国历史上重要外交思想的内涵、意义及相关背景，并对美国外交思想和对外政策的历史根源有比较深入的研究。

这部教材包括导言在内共7章。导言是对美国不同历史时期外交思想的一个综述，旨在让读者对美国外交思想的全貌有一个比较清晰的了解和认识。其余6章以不同历史时期美国外交思想为线索进行编写。每章根据不同历史时期美国外交思想的主题酌情选编了数篇英文外交文献，包括以下内容：阅读思考（Pre-reading questions）、作者简介（About the author）、文本（Text）、词汇表（Vocabulary）、讨论题（Questions for discussion）、背景材料（Background）、扩展阅读（Further reading）等。

背景材料旨在助力读者阅读，让读者在特定的历史文化语境中深刻理解文献内涵，同时熟悉相关的中英文表达。扩展阅读可以帮助读者扩充相应的背景知识，帮助读者深入研究相关文献和相应的外交思想主题。教材对文献中一些重点及难点句子、词组或知识点作了一些注释或翻译，以方便读者使用。早期的英文文献存在少量语法或语言错误，为保持文献原貌，教材未作修改，特此说明。

这部教材可供英语专业、国际关系专业、外交专业和世界史专业（尤其是美国史方向）本科高年级学生以及其他相关专业研究生作为专业课教材使用，或供希望通过研读原汁原味美国外交文献来提高英语技能、了解美国外交历史演变脉络、洞察美国外交思想深刻内涵的读者使用。在教学过程中，使用者可根据需要酌情采用精读和泛读相结合的方法阅读文本，课前阅读尤为重要，这是课堂讨论的前提和基础。要以了解文献的相关历史文化背景知识作为学习的重点，以准确理解文献的主要内容，包括文献重要历史意义作为学习的目标。每篇文献要放置在文献所处特定时代大背景下去深刻剖析、解读、思考、讨论，避免以偏概全或孤立地理解单个文本，同时，要注意写作者的政治立场。

准确地说，这部教材只是提供了一个视角，一个方向，一点参考，为使用者系

统、全面研读美国外交思想、探究美国历史发展推开了一扇窗，打开了一扇门。

教材主编王波教授长期从事美国研究的教学和科研，曾在北京大学出版社出版美国人文系列，包括：《美国重要历史文献导读：从殖民时期到十九世纪》（2002）、《美国重要历史文献导读：二十世纪》（2001）、《美国历史与文化选读》（2004）。本教材由王波教授设计体例，撰写导言，编写部分章节，对书稿进行修改、润色，并已多次在硕士和博士研究生中使用教材的自编讲义开设“美国外交思想”的专业方向选修课程。

教材编写过程中，叶建军、武媛媛、尚洁、杨超、花爱萍、魏丽、袁飞等老师帮助编写了部分章节，在此表示深深的谢意。虽然贡献有大小，但是每个人的作用都是不可或缺的。

此外，教材中的英文背景材料和中文背景材料，部分选编自一些中外文学术期刊、著作或网站，考虑到作为教材使用，没有一一加以注释，在此对这些相关成果的研究者和编译者表示诚挚的感谢！

教材中肯定存在不妥之处，请教材使用者批评指正。

主编

2018年6月于南京

## 导言 如何解读美国外交

美国两百多年的发展历程见证了那个超级大国从无到有、从小到大、由弱到强、由强到霸的成长过程。它的外交主旋律呈现出一个弱小的共和国到全球帝国的扩张过程。从18世纪末北美13个殖民地到建国之初的13个州，从南北战争之前北方资本主义和南方种植园农奴制两种经济体制并存的分裂国家到19世纪末的一个地区资本主义强国，从20世纪两次世界大战的参与者、战胜国到美苏冷战时代的霸权主义国家以及苏联解体后的唯一超级大国，美国快速地成长壮大。作为局外人，我们必须以一种客观的眼光去审视、解读美国的成长历程和发展模式，从而更深刻地认识这个国家。

美国在短短两百多年的时间，能一跃成为世界上最具影响力的国家之一，原因无疑是多方面的。但是，我们尤其要关注的是，它的外交政策是“产生这种影响的最直接和极为重要的形式”<sup>①</sup>。因此，研究美国外交史意义重大。

如何解读美国外交史？美国的学者们莫衷一是。传统美国外交史学主要有三大学派。第一个学派被称为传统学派，也就是国家主义学派。这一学派的学者都是理想主义者，他们认为外交史曾经是美国史学很小的一部分，到了20世纪30年代美国才真正产生了外交史。换言之，弱国无外交是颠扑不破的真理。随着美国国际地位发生重大变化，美国必须有自己独特的外交史，向海外倡导美国式的民主制度、思想和价值观。国家主义者往往对美国的外交充满了自豪。

第二个学派被称为现实主义学派。这一学派的学者基本都是第一次世界大战之后一群对美国理想破灭的人。他们目睹了20世纪30年代的法西斯主义，目睹了第二次世界大战中集体安全体系的破灭，第二次世界大战后又出现美苏争霸世界的局面。于是，他们中的一些人开始重新检讨美国的外交政策，发现美国的外交政策理想主义色彩太浓，道德感太重。于是，他们强调外交的现实性，强调外交要面对现实，主张强权政治，觉得美国对世界干预得太多，认为美国的利益主要是在欧洲，主张美国要集中精力关注欧洲的问题。

第三个学派是新左派。他们对美国政府的政策持批评的态度，认为美国外交基本上是失败的，他们中有的学者对美国外交做了经济解释，思想上接受了马克思主义的

<sup>①</sup> 贾庆国：《美国外交思想与实践》，袁明主编：《美国文化与社会十五讲》，北京：北京大学出版社，2003年，第237页。

成分，认为美国追求的是经济利益、商业扩张，实际上这是一场大悲剧。这一派学者的思想来源是20世纪初的进步主义思想，认为美国试图用经济手段来解决美国国内问题，否认外交决策过程中的舆论影响力，认为一小批政治精英控制了舆论，表面上是为了追求美国的利益，实则损害了美国的国家利益。

20世纪70年代以来，美国的外交史学发生了一些变化，以前一般不提及外部事物的反应，70年代开始重视外部事物的反应。美国大学的“美国外交”课程更名为“美国国际关系史”，破除外交单向发生的关系，寻找外交的国际根源。随着经济全球化不断深入，外交不仅被看作是政府之间的事情，也认为有其他各种因素对美国外交政策发挥了作用：移民、传教士、农场主、跨国公司等。美国外交史学研究开始和其他学科结合并产生各种联系，外交史学研究领域得到了较大的拓展。

中国学者应该如何去认识和解读美国外交？仁者见仁，智者见智，这里不一一去回顾了。本书认为，无论用什么学派去阐释美国的外交历程，都必须重视不同历史时期美国独特的外交思想和传统。它们的连续性、稳定性以及随着时代变迁发生的变化奠定了不同历史时期美国外交政策的主旋律。这些外交思想为美国建国后的迅速崛起奠定了和平发展的环境，让这个北美小国得以在一个相对和平的环境中迅速发展壮大，成为地跨两洋的超级大国。

美国有哪些外交思想？它们如何发挥作用？美国外交思想就是“美国的历史、文化以及它和外部的世界关系相互作用的结果”<sup>①</sup>。因此，美国外交思想是一个动态的、变化的概念。但是总的来说，理想主义和现实主义的互动是美国外交思想演变的基本主线。理想主义和现实主义外交思想体现在不同时期一个个具体的外交实践和主流思想中。无论从什么视角去解读美国外交史，只要抓住这些主流外交思想的演变，就抓住了美国外交史发展演变的主线，就可以清晰地看出美国外交历程中理想主义和现实主义的深层互动，以及它的本质。

孤立主义是美国现实主义和理想主义互动的最初形式和结果。“美国是在反对英国殖民统治斗争中诞生的国家，具有反殖民主义与孤立主义传统。”<sup>②</sup>无论是1776年宣布独立后，还是从1789年正式建立联邦制开始，美国这个地区小国在建国初期，国内不稳定，周边不安全，英、法、西、俄等欧洲殖民主义国家对这个未完全开发的美洲大陆虎视眈眈。联邦政府第一任总统乔治·华盛顿韬光养晦，高瞻远瞩，在其第二任的告别演说中提出了以中立政策为核心的孤立主义思想作为美国外交政策的基础和核心，为建国初期美国的繁荣与稳定奠定了政治和外交基础。孤立主义思想成为美国

① 贾庆国：《美国外交思想与实践》，袁明主编：《美国文化与社会十五讲》，北京：北京大学出版社，2003年，第239页。

② 李庆余：《美国外交史——从独立战争至2004年》，济南：山东画报出版社，2008年，第1页。

从建国开始一直到第二次世界大战坚持了一个半世纪的外交主原则。

随着美国国力逐步增强，清教徒理想让美国人的扩张主义思想初显端倪。美国人试图扩充自己的领土，扩大自己的影响力，但那个时候美国还没有实力去干涉美洲以外的事务，门罗主义成为最佳选择。表面上门罗主义是美国人主动关切美洲人民的独立和尊严，维护美洲人民的利益与安全，事实上是美国不希望欧洲列强干涉美洲大陆，于是美洲冠冕堂皇成了美国人的美洲。

门罗主义的本质是把孤立主义思想扩展为美洲孤立的思想，是美国反殖民主义传统的延续。它是理想主义和现实主义结合的又一结果。门罗主义为美国的国家发展创造了一个相对安全的周边环境。同时，门罗主义也为美国未来在美洲甚至全球实行单边主义扩张政策提供了一定的依据和借口，创造了一个有利于美国和平发展的地区安全环境。

19世纪的美国经历了西进运动、南北战争、工业化、城市化等一系列声势浩大的历史事件。从清教徒的使命意识延伸而来的天定命运思想驱使美国人不断向西开拓，向西移民，通过收购领土、对外战争，最终完成了北美大陆扩张，在19世纪末初步完成了工业化和城市化，成为当时世界的主要经济大国之一。这种天定命运的思想是不安分的，它驱使美国人开始向海外扩张，逐渐走向帝国主义道路。

崛起的美国开始放眼世界，试图确立自己在世界政治舞台上的身份，但这个时候的世界已被欧洲列强瓜分殆尽。1898年美西战争的爆发给了美国海外扩张的正当理由和天赐良机。即便美国依然有反殖民主义的倾向，它还是在战后第一次拥有了自己的海外殖民地。

“美西战争标志着美国进入世界大国行列，也标志着美国从孤立主义开始向国际主义转变。”<sup>①</sup>从此，美国走上了帝国主义道路。虽然孤立主义和门罗主义依然是影响美国外交政策决策的主要依据，但是国际主义者越来越有影响力。美国外交中的现实主义成分越来越浓厚。

门户开放是美国帝国主义政策的一个初步表现。20世纪初，亚洲已被欧洲列强瓜分殆尽，成为它们的势力范围。于是，门户开放成为美国最明智的选择。美国打着门户开放、利益均沾的幌子，把触角伸到亚洲，开始关注美洲以外的事务。美国政府向列强的两次门户开放照会，形成了美国对华政策的雏形，成为美国对华政策的指导性原则。

由于帝国主义列强之间的深刻矛盾无法解决，一场世界大战难以避免。美国最终也未能幸免，于1917年宣布作为同盟国加入第一次世界大战。“历史进展到第一次世

<sup>①</sup> 李庆余：《美国外交史——从独立战争至2004年》，济南：山东画报出版社，2008年，第1页。

界大战时，美国已大体完成了从美国到美洲、从美洲到亚洲的跳跃，终于从大国体系的边缘艰难地挤进国际政治舞台，进入争霸世界的行列。在新的历史条件下，美国再次扩大了门罗主义的范围。”<sup>①</sup> 战争为美国扩大在世界的影响力提供了机会。美国不满足于成为战争的一个简单赢家，试图通过战后重建在世界发挥更大的影响力，威尔逊总统提出用十四点计划来重建欧洲和世界，彻底向世人表明了美国试图主导世界的野心。

事实上，威尔逊倡导的以正义原则为基础的道义外交思想（即威尔逊主义）是19世纪末20世纪初美国进步主义思想在外交领域的具体表现。

以中产阶级为主导的进步主义运动虽然在美国国内是一场轰轰烈烈的社会改良运动，但在外交领域的运用并不成功。孤立主义依旧是美国国内一股强劲的传统思想，左右着外交决策。威尔逊总统未能得到国会的大力支持，最终国会没有批准美国加入国际联盟（简称“国联”）。没有美国加入的国联成了一个无力维护世界和平的虚弱的国际组织，集体安全体系无法建立。威尔逊的道义外交彻底失败了。欧洲的问题依然没有得到彻底解决，于是第二次世界大战顺理成章地成为第一次世界大战的延续，它的爆发是早晚的事情。这表明，虽然美国的扩张主义和国际思想越来越强烈，但孤立主义思想依旧是美国国内占据主导地位的思想，它决定了当时的美国外交政策。不过，值得关注的是，威尔逊主义，特别是他的“十四点计划”，“并不是对具体安排的设想，而是美国着眼于世界全局，由美国牵头、与欧洲列强共同维持世界秩序的一个总框架”，它的重要性不在于当时是否有效，而在于它“先于现实提出了美国外交的走向”。<sup>②</sup>

第一次世界大战结束后，美国人再次把注意力转移到国内。孤立主义再次成为美国外交的主旋律。但是，孤立只是暂时的。20世纪20年代末突如其来的一场席卷整个资本主义世界的经济危机打破了美国人的平静生活。经济危机的爆发和大萧条的出现让提出全球主义的政治家和决策者无力关心美洲以外的事务，不得不先处理国内事务。

第二次世界大战爆发前，“主张参与乃至干涉国际事务的声音曾一次次被孤立主义的主旋律淹没”<sup>③</sup>。第二次世界大战爆发后，情况发生了重大变化。美国的中立地位受到挑战，它的国家利益特别是商业利益受到战争影响。美国政府如果不采取强有力的措施，就无法保护它的全球商业利益。罗斯福总统意识到，美国参战是迟早的事

① 陈乐民主编：《西方外交思想史》，北京：中国社会科学出版社，1995年，第189页。

② 同上书，第188页。

③ 贾庆国：《美国外交思想与实践》，袁明主编：《美国文化与社会十五讲》，北京：北京大学出版社，2003年，第242页。

情，但是美国的国防动员和战争准备还远远不够，不足以打赢这场战争。于是，罗斯福在其国情咨文中呼吁国会授权和拨款，呼吁全民动员，通过《租借法案》这一创举，让美国成为西方民主国家的兵工厂。因此，美国虽还未宣战，却已用实际行动表明了自己的立场。罗斯福总统野心勃勃地勾画着世界的未来。

罗斯福总统的四大自由演说勾画出美国主导的战后世界蓝图。它虽是一篇国情咨文，但却阐明了美国的立场，阐明了罗斯福总统的外交思想，它既是现实主义的，也是美国式的理想主义的。最终，珍珠港事件的爆发让美国迅速参战。第二次世界大战彻底改变了美国的历史，也部分改变了世界历史。第二次世界大战“彻底打破了孤立主义对美国外交的影响，为美国政府全面参与国际事务铺平了道路”<sup>①</sup>。

第二次世界大战结束后，美苏爆发冷战。美国把触角伸向世界上每一个角落，试图建立美国主导的国际体系，遏制成为冷战时代美国外交思想的主旋律。1991年苏联解体，美国步入了后冷战外交时代。“后冷战外交是在全球化、多极化与美国成为独一无二的超级大国这一时代语境下展开的。”<sup>②</sup>

美国经历了近一个世纪的国际参与和竞争后，继续奉行全球主义，妄图独霸世界。但是，美国的决策者发现，冷战后的世界战略格局发生了巨大变化，以中国为首的第三世界已经崛起，它们奉行独立自主的外交政策。美国的传统盟友日本、欧洲等国在政治上日趋独立，世界多极化趋势不可抵挡，美国虽是唯一的超级大国，但它试图一统天下的野心再也无法实现了。

从务实的孤立主义思想到初显端倪暴露扩张野心的门罗主义政策，从打着天赋使命旗帜的地区扩张主义到以门户开放为借口的全球主义，随着国力的增强，美国从建国开始一直到20世纪初基本上都奉行的孤立传统被逐渐放弃，美国开始进行海外扩张，卷入欧洲的事务，开始寻求世界大国地位的确立。无论是威尔逊倡导的道义外交，还是罗斯福提出以四大自由构建世界秩序，都表明美国人在不断寻求在世界上发挥主导作用和领导地位，试图把美国式的理想主义和现实世界相结合。第二次世界大战结束后，美国彻底摆脱了孤立主义外交传统，全方位卷入世界事务，试图在各个领域发挥主导作用，建立美国主导的霸权世界，但是始终未能如愿。

抓住不同时期美国外交思想的主旋律，可以深刻认识美国外交的历史演变过程，从而对美国外交史有一个全面系统的把握和深刻的认识。鉴于此，本书各章围绕美国从建国到第二次世界大战时期外交思想的主旋律，选编了一些重要的外交文献或体现外交主旋律的文章，通过研读，读者可对当时代的美国外交思想有深刻的认识和把

① 贾庆国：《美国外交思想与实践》，袁明主编：《美国文化与社会十五讲》，北京：北京大学出版社，2003年，第245页。

② 李庆余：《美国外交史——从独立战争至2004年》，济南：山东画报出版社，2008年，第341页。

握。希望对美国外交感兴趣的读者通过阅读这些经典文献，深入认识相关政策的时代背景，深刻解读美国的外交历程，客观把握美国外交政策的演变脉络，特别是美国外交政策的本质。

“大国或强国的外交有两重任务：一是尽量保护自己的利益；二是尽可能地扩大自己的影响。”<sup>①</sup> 长期以来，美国对外政策尤其是其对华政策对中国的国家安全和经济社会发展影响巨大。中国政府一贯奉行独立自主的和平外交政策。改革开放以来，随着中国国力的进一步提升，对外关系的日益扩大，美国外交政策对中国的影响“有增无减”，因此，深入了解和全面认识美国外交政策的历史，对于中国政府制定符合中国利益的对外政策具有“十分重要的理论和现实意义”<sup>②</sup>。鉴于此，我们必须认真研读不同历史时期的美国外交思想，做到知己知彼，合作共赢。

① 陈乐民主编：《西方外交思想史》，北京：中国社会科学出版社，1995年，第6页。

② 贾庆国：《美国外交思想与实践》，袁明主编：《美国文化与社会十五讲》，北京：北京大学出版社，2003年，第237页。

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# Chapter 1

## Isolationism

### ( 孤立主义 )

#### Pre-reading questions

1. What is the policy of isolationism? Did George Washington mention the word *isolationism* in his Farewell Address?
2. Do you think the isolationist policy was the best choice for the United States in Washington's time? Why?

#### About the author

George Washington was the first President of the United States (1789—1797) and one of the founding fathers. He served as Commander in Chief of the Continental Army during the American Revolution. Born in 1732 into a Virginia planter family, he learned the morals, manners, and body of knowledge requisite for an 18th century Virginia gentleman. He had two intertwined interests: military arts and western expansion. Commissioned a lieutenant colonel in 1754, he fought the first skirmishes of what grew into the French and Indian War. The next year, he escaped injury although four bullets ripped his coat and two horses were shot from under him.



From 1759 to the outbreak of the American Revolution, Washington managed his lands around Mount Vernon and served in the Virginia House of Burgesses. Married to a widow, Martha Dandridge Custis, he had a busy and happy life. But like his fellow planters, Washington felt himself exploited by British merchants and hampered by British regulations. As the quarrel with the mother country grew acute, he moderately but firmly voiced his resistance to the restrictions.

Washington, as a Virginia delegate, was elected Commander in Chief of the Continental Army, when the Second Continental Congress assembled in Philadelphia in May 1775. On July 3, 1775, at Cambridge, Massachusetts, he took command of his ill-trained troops and embarked upon a war that was to last six grueling years. Finally, in 1781 with the aid of French allies — Washington forced the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown.

Washington had long expected to retire. But he realized that the nation under its Articles

of Confederation did not function well, so he became a prime mover in the steps leading to the Constitutional Convention at Philadelphia in 1787. When the new Constitution was ratified, the Electoral College unanimously elected him President.

When in office, foreign policy became preponderantly a big concern. When the French Revolution led to a major war between France and England, Washington refused to accept entirely the recommendations of either his Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson, who was pro-French, or his Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton, who was pro-British. Instead, he insisted upon a neutral course until the United States could grow stronger.

Washington did not like party politics. However, to his great disappointment, two parties were developing by the end of his first term. Wearing of politics, feeling old, he retired at the end of his second term. In his Farewell Address, he urged his countrymen to forswear excessive party spirit and geographical distinctions. In foreign affairs, he warned against long-term alliances. This has been known as the beginning of American isolationist tradition of foreign policy.

After less than three years of retirement at Mount Vernon, Washington died of a throat infection on December 14, 1799.



## Text 1

### Farewell Address

*George Washington, September 19, 1796*

Friends and Fellow-Citizens:

1 The period for a new election of a citizen, to administer the executive government of the United States, being not far distant, and the time actually arrived, when your thoughts must be employed in designating the person, who is to be clothed with that important trust, it appears to me proper, especially as it may conduce to a more distinct expression of the public voice, that I should now apprise you of the resolution I have formed, to decline being considered among the number of those, out of whom a choice is to be made.<sup>①</sup>

2 I beg you, at the same time, to do me the justice to be assured, that this resolution has not been taken, without a strict regard to all the considerations appertaining to the relation, which binds a dutiful citizen to his country — and that, in withdrawing the tender of service which silence in my situation might imply, I am influenced by no diminution of zeal for your future interest, no deficiency of grateful respect for your past kindness; but am supported by a full conviction that the step is compatible with both.

3 The acceptance of, and continuance hitherto in, the office to which your suffrages have

① 建国初期，美国宪法对总统任期没有具体限制。华盛顿总统已连任两届，决定退休，不再连任。

twice called me, have been a uniform sacrifice of inclination to the opinion of duty, and to a deference for what appeared to be your desire. I constantly hoped that it would have been much earlier in my power, consistently with motives, which I was not at liberty to disregard, to return to that retirement, from which I had been reluctantly drawn. The strength of my inclination to do this, previous to the last election, had even led to the preparation of an address to declare it to you;<sup>①</sup> but mature reflection on the then perplexed and critical posture of our affairs with foreign nations, and the unanimous advice of persons entitled to my confidence, impelled me to abandon the idea.<sup>②</sup>

4 I rejoice, that the state of your concerns, external as well as internal, no longer renders the pursuit of inclination incompatible with the sentiment of duty, or propriety; and am persuaded whatever partiality may be retained for my services, that in the present circumstances of our country, you will not disapprove my determination to retire.

5 The impressions, with which, I first undertook the arduous trust, were explained on the proper occasion. In the discharge of this trust, I will only say, that I have, with good intentions, contributed towards the organization and administration of the government, the best exertions of which a very fallible judgment was capable. Not unconscious, in the outset, of the inferiority of my qualifications, experience in my own eyes, perhaps still more in the eyes of others, has strengthened the motives to diffidence of myself; and every day the increasing weight of years admonishes me more and more, that the shade of retirement is as necessary to me as it will be welcome. Satisfied that if any circumstances have given peculiar value to my services, they were temporary, I have the consolation to believe, that while choice and prudence invite me to quit the political scene, patriotism does not forbid it.

6 In looking forward to the moment, which is intended to terminate the career of my public life, my feelings do not permit me to suspend the deep acknowledgment of that debt of gratitude which I owe to my beloved country, for the many honors it has conferred upon me; still more for the steadfast confidence with which it has supported me; and for the opportunities I have thence enjoyed of manifesting my inviolable attachment, by services faithful and persevering, though in usefulness unequal to my zeal. If benefits have resulted to our country from these services, let it always be remembered to your praise, and as an instructive example in our annals, that, under circumstances in which the passions agitated in every direction were liable to mislead, amidst appearances sometimes dubious, vicissitudes of fortune<sup>③</sup> often discouraging, in situations in which not infrequently want of success has countenanced the spirit of criticism, the constancy of your support was the essential prop of the efforts, and a guarantee of the plans by which they were effected. Profoundly penetrated with this idea, I shall carry it with me to my grave, as a strong incitement to unceasing vows that Heaven may continue to you the choicest tokens of its beneficence — that your Union

① 华盛顿总统在第一个任期结束时曾起草过一份告别演说，由于连任，那份告别演说就搁置不用了。

② 这充分说明，华盛顿第一个任期结束时，美国面临着对外关系的严峻考验，只有他才是最合适领导美国的人选。

③ vicissitudes of fortune: 命运的变迁。

and brotherly affection may be perpetual — that the free constitution, which is the work of your hands, may be sacredly maintained — that its administration in every department may be stamped with wisdom and virtue — that, in fine, the happiness of the people of these states, under the auspices of liberty, may be made complete, by so careful a preservation and so prudent a use of this blessing as will acquire to them the glory of recommending it to the applause, the affection — and adoption of every nation which is yet a stranger to it.

7 Here; perhaps, I ought to stop. But a solicitude for your welfare, which cannot end but with my life, and the apprehension of danger, natural to that solicitude, urge me on an occasion like the present, to offer to your solemn contemplation, and to recommend to your frequent review, some sentiments; which are the result of much reflection, of no inconsiderable observation, and which appear to me all important to the permanency of your felicity as a people.<sup>①</sup> These will be offered to you with the more freedom as you can only see in them the disinterested warnings of a parting friend, who can possibly have no personal motive to bias his counsel. Nor can I forget, as an encouragement to it, your indulgent reception of my sentiments on a former and not dissimilar occasion.

8 Interwoven as is the love of liberty with every ligament of your hearts, no recommendation of mine is necessary to fortify or confirm the attachment.

9 The unity of government which constitutes you one people is also now dear to you. It is justly so; for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence, the support of your tranquility at home; your peace abroad; of your safety; of your prosperity; of that very liberty which you so highly prize.<sup>②</sup> But as it is easy to foresee, that from different causes and from different quarters, much pains will be taken, many artifices employed, to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth; as this is the point in your political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively (though often covertly and insidiously) directed, it is of infinite moment, that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national union to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual and immovable attachment to it; accustoming yourselves<sup>③</sup> to think and speak of it as of the Palladium<sup>③</sup> of your political safety and prosperity; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can in any event be abandoned, and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts.

10 For this you have every inducement of sympathy and interest. Citizens by birth or choice, of a common country, that country have a right to concentrate your affections. The name of American, which belongs to you, in your national capacity, must always exalt the just

① 华盛顿总统希望在退休之际分享个人对国家治理的思考，因为这事关“美利坚民族的福祉的永恒”。

② “政府的统一使你们结合成一个民族，现在也被你们所珍视。这是理所当然的，因为它是支撑你们真正独立的主要支柱，也是保证你们国内安定、国外和平、安全、繁荣以及你们所珍惜的自由的基石。”

③ Palladium: (希腊神话中的智慧女神)雅典娜的神像。

pride of Patriotism, more than any appellation derived from local discriminations. With slight shades of difference, you have the same religion, manners, habits and political principles. You have in a common cause fought and triumphed together — The independence and liberty you possess are the work of joint councils, and joint efforts — of common dangers, sufferings and successes.

**11** But these considerations, however powerfully they address themselves to your sensibility are greatly outweighed by those who apply more immediately to your interest. Here every portion of our country finds the most commanding motives for carefully guarding and preserving the Union of the whole.

**12** The North, in an unrestrained intercourse with the South, protected by the equal laws of a common government, finds in the productions of the latter, great additional resources of maritime and commercial enterprise and — precious materials of manufacturing industry. The South in the same intercourse, benefiting by the agency of the North, sees its agriculture grow and its commerce expand. Turning partly into its own channels the seamen of the North, it finds its particular navigation invigorated; and while it contributes, in different ways, to nourish and increase the general mass of the national navigation, it looks forward to the protection of a maritime strength, to which itself is unequally adapted. The East, in a like intercourse with the West, already finds, and in the progressive improvement of interior communications, by land and water, will more and more find a valuable vent for the commodities which it brings from abroad, or manufactures at home. The West derives from the East supplies requisite to its growth and comfort — and what is perhaps of still greater consequence, it must of necessity owe the secure enjoyment of indispensable outlets for its own productions to the weight, influence, and the future maritime strength of the Atlantic side of the Union, directed by an indissoluble community of Interest as one nation. Any other tenure by which the West can hold this essential advantage, whether derived from its own separate strength, or from an apostate and unnatural connection with any foreign power, must be intrinsically precarious.

**13** While then every part of our country thus feels an immediate and particular interest in Union, all the parts combined cannot fail to find in the united mass of means and efforts greater strength, greater resource, proportionably greater security from external danger, a less frequent interruption of their peace by foreign nations; and, what is of inestimable value!<sup>①</sup> They must derive from Union an exemption from those broils and wars between themselves, which so frequently afflict neighboring countries, not tied together by the same government; which their own rivalships alone would be sufficient to produce, but which opposite foreign alliances, attachments and intrigues would stimulate and embitter. Hence likewise they will avoid the necessity of those overgrown military establishments, which under any form of government are inauspicious to liberty, and which are to be regarded as particularly hostile to Republican liberty: In this sense it is, that your union ought to be considered as a main prop of

① 华盛顿总统强调联合起来力量更大，只有联合起来，才能确保美国的长治久安和国家发展。