

**A Guide to American
Historical Documents in the 20th Century**

20 世纪美国重要历史文献导读

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前 言

世界不是大国的，但没有大国的世界决不精彩。回顾 20 世纪，无论是在政治、经济、军事、文化、社会等各个领域，美国都在全球发挥了极其重要的作用，它的影响无所不在，以至于有些美国人过于自信地称 20 世纪是美国的世纪。

20 世纪是否是美国的世纪暂且不去争论，但无疑，美国在 20 世纪成了一个世界超级大国。编写《20 世纪美国重要历史文献导读》，就是希望能够用独特的视角和方法来解读这个超级大国。它精选了 20 世纪美国不同时期有代表性和针对性的历史文献共 30 篇，内容涉及到政治、经济、军事、外交、社会、文化、文学等各个领域，它们或是总统的就职演说和告别演说，或是政治家深谋远虑的外交言语，或是社会活动家的慷慨激昂之辞，或是最高法院至高无上的判决，或是颇有影响的著作节选，或是经典文学作品的选读，也有极个别记者用朴实的语言为我们呈现的一个真实美国。总之，这部书稿希望用美国人自己的语言来讲述、串连 20 世纪的美国历史，它是一部原汁原味的美国文献史（documentary history）。在查阅大量相关史料的基础上，笔者用相当多的笔墨对文献作者和背景作了详细介绍，其中夹杂了对文献的剖析。文献中的语言难点也加了注释，旨在帮助阅读。每篇文献之后的讨论题则把思考的空间留给读者，让读者自己去对 20 世纪的美国历史品头论足，加深对文献的理解。不仅如此，笔者还对不同历史时期的文献进行了综合性的导读，希望能进一步帮助读者去解读这个超级大国的成长历程。

这部书稿最初是我给英语专业美国社会文化方向的硕士研究生开设的一门选修课。通过让学生研读原汁原味的美国历史文献，让学生熟悉美国历史，了解不同时期的社会思想，把握美国历史发展的脉搏。在给学生授课过程中，我突破了和学生阅读史料的简单过程，与学生一起讨论文献的历史背景、影响和意义。最终我和部分

学生一起把这些课堂讨论汇编成稿，希望让更多的人分享。这部书稿可以作为英语专业研究生和其他国际问题研究专业学生的专业课教材和课外读物。此外，它也可以作为一本非常实用和有益的资料手册，让那些对美国问题饶有兴趣的学界同仁在研读和欣赏美国历史文献时使用。

本书整体框架由我单独设计，收集和确定史料工作也由我一个人完成。各篇文献的背景和导读部分具体分工如下：王波（4、9、10、11、12、15、16、17、19、21、22、25、26、27、29），吕瑞（1、2、3、5、6、7），向建华（8、13、14），刘民（18、20、23），钟海岩（24、28、30）。最后，我本人对全部书稿进行了统一修改，编写了每一章前的综合导读，并编写了参考书目。

书稿的顺利完成当然首先要感谢吕瑞、向建华、刘民和钟海岩这些如今已毕业的硕士研究生。虽然他们初涉学术，但能够严格要求，认真阅读史料，编撰文稿。其次要感谢各级领导和同仁对我的关心和支持，并要感谢这些年来一直指导和关心过我的老师们，特别是陆树明教授、李庆余教授和任东来教授。最后，书稿的完成要感谢妻儿的支持，尤其是我那两岁不到的儿子阳阳，每当我修改文稿时，尽管他试图敲开我的房门，但最终都恋恋不舍地自觉放弃了，而每当我感到劳累时，他那奶声奶气的一声“Daddy”又让我充满了力量。

谨以此书献给过去、现在和将来所有关心我的人！

王 波

2001 年 6 月于南京

第一章 美利坚帝国的崛起

19 世纪末，美国基本上已经完成工业化和城市化，整个国家一片欣欣向荣。但此时的美国出于对国际事务传统的戒心和疑虑，充其量还只是一个地区性大国。1898 年的美西战争成为美国对外政策的重大转折点，美国从一个地区性大国一跃成为全球性大国之一，在国际舞台上崭露头角。这使得美国完全以崛起的新兴强国的姿态迈入了 20 世纪，为这个“美国世纪”的到来作好了准备。

美利坚帝国的崛起，固然是美国的政治、军事和经济实力增长的必然结果，同时也深刻地反映出它在思想文化上的一种扩张需求。全球主义思想的萌芽代表了 19 世纪末 20 世纪初美国国内一部分扩张主义者所倡导的思想，也反映出美国人使命感的对外延伸。这种在殖民时期就已初显端倪、并在西部开拓过程中变得根深蒂固的使命感让部分美国人开始关注美洲大陆以外的事务。扩张主义者、参议员艾伯特·贝弗里奇的《美国的命运》（文献 1）就是这一思想的集中体现。“我们不会放弃在东方的机会。我们不会放弃在上帝指引下，我们种族、托管人在世界文明进程的使命中所发挥的作用。”它非常深刻地揭示出这样一种情形，那就是任何时期美国国内都存在着两种思想的激烈斗争，地区主义和全球主义，扩张主义和孤立主义。正是这两种思想的存在，使美国的对外政策呈曲线型发展。

崛起的美国，国内充满了各种矛盾和问题。工业化和城市化虽然为美国人带来了前所未有的工业社会的种种便利和财富，同时也带来了失业、萧条、贫穷、有组织的犯罪等一系列工业社会特有的弊病。为之彷徨、疑惑的社会改革家们积极倡导改良。这场称之为进步主义的运动就是一场试图改革各种社会制度、使之适应工业社会发展需要的种种尝试。进步主义运动的倡导者之一——西奥多·罗斯福在《新国家主义》（文献 2）这篇改革檄文中，呼吁联邦政府

要承担更多的责任和义务，维护社会公正。

20 世纪初的世界不是太平盛世，欧洲列强对非洲、亚洲的弱小国家虎视眈眈，在全世界范围内争夺殖民地，战争乌云密布。人类历史上最血腥、最现代、规模最宏大的第一次世界大战终于在 1914 年爆发。战争也威胁到美国的国家安全和经济利益。一直以中立国面目出现的美国最后不得不在 1917 年宣布加入协约国。《向国会演讲》（文献 3）就是威尔逊总统恳请国会宣战并赋予他各项战争权力的一篇重要历史文献。

一战结束后，美国本可以藉此机会在国际舞台上进一步发挥举足轻重的作用，但已跻身世界强国之列的美国并不热衷于世界事务，相反注意力又转回了国内，这说明传统孤立主义思想依然是美国国内非常强大的社会思潮。它让热衷于国际事务的威尔逊总统大失所望，也让他倡导的国际联盟失去了意义。威尔逊的这一失败表明，进步主义势头已开始衰弱。当美国人暂时解决了工业化城市化时代的危机、缓和社会矛盾后，他们又开始留恋自由放任传统。传统的自由放任的思想重新受到重视，并对美国的社会经济事务发挥着作用。人们普遍关心的是财富的积累和生活的改善。于是，美国借一战胜利带来的契机进一步飞速发展，社会空前繁荣。20 年代因此被称为镀金时代。《粗鲁而朴实的个人主义》（文献 5）正是这一时期的代言人胡佛总统所信奉的美国精神，在这一精神支持下的美国体制呼吁减少政府对经济生活的干预，同时联邦政府又要在经济和社会事务中发挥仲裁者的作用，干预不公正现象。

在这个喧嚣、繁荣的时代，有相当一群知识分子思想和时代潮流相逆，他们循世避实，脑子里仍驱赶不了一战的阴影，他们的文学作品充满了对美国理想的破灭。海明威的《在我们的时代》（文献 4）就是这样的作品。这些情况表明，崛起的美利坚帝国仍然受到各种因素的制约，艾伯特·贝弗里奇倡导的“美国命运”暂时还不能为所有人接受，超级大国的时代仍未到来。

1. America s Destiny (Albert Beveridge, 1900)

《美国的命运》(艾伯特·贝弗里奇)

【作者简介】

艾伯特·贝弗里奇 (1862—1927)，政界领袖，历史学家。1899—1911 年间任美国国会参议员，是西奥多·罗斯福总统的重要支持者。贝弗里奇因为反对 1909 年的《佩恩 - 奥尔德里奇关税法》以及其他共和党政策，未能重新当选参议员。贝弗里奇后来成为美国进步党的创建者之一。1912 年竞选印第安纳州州长败北。著有《约翰·马歇尔传》、《林肯传》。1919 年，他的《约翰·马歇尔传》荣获普利策奖。

【背景介绍】

19 世纪末美国经济的发展，既给美国扩张主义在国际竞争中树立了信心，又使对外扩张成为一种需要。随着经济发展，美国越来越需要国外市场。1893 年一场遍及欧美的经济危机加剧了争夺国际市场的竞争。美国的主要出口地区欧洲正在抵制美国农产品与制造品的输入。面对国内经济与社会的不稳定以及前所未有的国际竞争，美国政府与企业界一致认为，扩大出口是保持国内繁荣与稳定必不可少的手段，是美国外交政策的基本目标。因而，对不发达国家输出商品与资本、加紧领土扩张与商业扩张被提到外交日程上来。艾伯特·贝弗里奇曾说过：“领土扩张本身并不值得，它也只是商业扩张中的一段插曲，而商业扩张是美国人民巨大的生产能力与生产量全然不可避免的结果。”这就是美国霸权主义兴起的深刻经济根源。

通过 1898 年的美西战争，美国从西班牙手中夺取了古巴、菲律宾群岛、波多黎各、西印度群岛以及马利亚纳群岛中的关岛。贝弗里奇的这篇文章从美国在亚洲和中国的利益出发，打着履行“上帝所赋使命”的旗号，着重指出了菲律宾群岛对美国在太平洋地区

利益的重要性及将其变成稳固的美国殖民地的重要意义。言语间充斥了盎格鲁 - 萨克逊种族的优越感和对东方民族的歧视。

Mr President, the times call for candor . The Philippines are ours forever, " territory belonging to the United States, " as the Constitution calls them . And just beyond the Philippines are China s illimitable markets . We will not retreat from either . We will not repudiate our duty in the archipelago . We will not abandon our opportunity in the Orient . We will not renounce our part in the mission of our race, trustee, under God, of the civilization of the world . And we will move forward to our work, not howling out regrets like slaves whipped to their burdens, but with gratitude for a task worthy of our strength, and thanksgiving to Almighty God that He has marked us as His chosen people, henceforth to lead in the regeneration of the world .

This island empire is the last land left in all the oceans . If it should prove a mistake to abandon it, the blunder once made would be irretrievable . If it proves a mistake to hold it, the error can be corrected when we will . Every other progressive nation stands ready to relieve us .

But to hold it will be no mistake . Our largest trade henceforth must be with Asia . The Pacific is our ocean . More and more Europe will manufacture the most it needs, secure from its colonies the most it consumes . Where shall we turn for consumers of our surplus? Geography answers the question . China is our natural customer . She is nearer to us than to England, Germany, or Russia, the commercial powers of the present and the future . They have moved nearer to China by securing permanent bases on her borders . The Philippines give us a base at the door of all the East .

Lines of navigation from our ports to the Orient and Australia; from the Isthmian Canal to Asia; from all Oriental ports to Australia, converge at and separate from the Philippines. They are a self supporting, dividend-paying fleet, permanently anchored at a spot selected by the strategy of Providence, commanding the Pacific. And the Pacific is the ocean of the commerce of the future. Most future wars will be conflicts for commerce. The power that rules the Pacific, therefore, is the power that rules the world. And, with the Philippines, that power is and will forever be the American Republic...

Nothing is so natural as trade with one's neighbors. The Philippines make us the nearest neighbors of all the East. Nothing is more natural than to trade with those you know. This is the philosophy of all advertising. The Philippines bring us permanently face to face with the most sought-for customers of the world. National prestige, national propinquity, these and commercial activity are the elements of commercial success. The Philippines give the first; the character of the American people supply the last. It is a providential conjunction of all the elements of trade, of duty, and of power. If we are willing to go to war rather than let England have a few feet of frozen Alaska, which affords no market and commands none, what should we not do rather than let England, Germany, Russia, or Japan have all the Philippines? And no man on the spot can fail to see that this would be their fate if we retired...

Here, then, Senators, is the situation. Two years ago there was no land in all the world which we could occupy for any purpose. Our commerce was daily turning toward the Orient, and ge-

the Isthmian Canal: 即巴拿马运河。

two years ago: 指 1898 年, 这一年爆发了美西战争。

ography and trade developments made necessary our commercial empire over the Pacific . And in that ocean we had no commercial, naval, or military base . Today we have one of the three great ocean possessions of the globe, located at the most commanding commercial, naval, and military points in the eastern seas, within hail of India, shoulder to shoulder with China, richer in its own resources than any equal body of land on the entire globe, and peopled by a race which civilization demands shall be improved . Shall we abandon it ? That man little knows the common people of the Republic, little understands the instincts of our race, who thinks we will not hold it fast and hold it forever, administering just government by simplest methods . We may trick up devices to shift our burden and lessen our opportunity; they will avail us nothing but delay . We may tangle conditions by applying academic arrangements of self-government to a crude situation; their failure will drive us to our duty in the end . . .

But, Senators, it would be better to abandon this combined garden and Gibraltar of the Pacific, and count our blood and treasure already spent a profitable loss, than to apply any academic arrangement of self-government to these children . They are not capable of self-government . How could they be ? They are not of a self-governing race . They are Orientals, Malays , instructed by Spaniards in the latter s worst estate .

They know nothing of practical government except as they have witnessed the weak, corrupt, cruel, and capricious rule of Spain . What magic will anyone employ to dissolve in their minds and characters those impressions of governors and governed which three centuries of misrule have

possessions: 属地, 领地。

Gibraltar: 直布罗陀。

Malays: 马来人 (主要居住在马来半岛及马来群岛一带)。

created? What alchemy will change the oriental quality of their blood and set the self-governing currents of the American pouring through their Malay veins? How shall they, in the twinkling of an eye, be exalted to the heights of self-governing peoples which required a thousand years for us to reach, Anglo-Saxon though we are ...?

The Declaration of Independence does not forbid us to do our part in the regeneration of the world. If it did, the Declaration would be wrong, just as the Articles of Confederation, drafted by the very same men who signed the Declaration, was found to be wrong. The Declaration has no application to the present situation. It was written by self-governing men for self-governing men ...

Senators in opposition are stopped from denying our constitutional power to govern the Philippines as circumstances may demand, for such power is admitted in the case of Florida, Louisiana, Alaska. How, then, is it denied in the Philippines? Is there a geographical interpretation to the Constitution? Do degrees of longitude fix constitutional limitations? Does a thousand miles of ocean diminish constitutional power more than a thousand miles of land ...?

No; the oceans are not limitations of the power which the Constitution expressly gives Congress to govern all territory the nation may acquire. The Constitution declares that "Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory belonging to the United States."

Mr President, this question is deeper than any question of party politics; deeper than any question of the isolated policy of our country even; deeper even than any question of constitutional power. It is elemental. It is racial. God has not been preparing the English-speaking and Teutonic peoples for a thousand years for nothing but vain and idle self-contemplation and self-admira-

tion . No ! He has made us the master organizers of the world to establish system where chaos reigns . He has given us the spirit of progress to overwhelm the forces of reaction throughout the earth . He has made us adepts in government that we may administer government among savage and senile peoples . Were it not for such a force as this the world would relapse into barbarism and night . And of all our race He has marked the American people as His chosen nation to finally lead in the regeneration of the world . This is the divine mission of America, and it holds for us all the profit, all the glory, all the happiness possible to man . We are trustees of the world s progress, guardians of its righteous peace . The judgment of the Master is upon us: “ Ye have been faithful over a few things; I will make you ruler over many things .”

What shall history say of us ? Shall it say that we renounced that holy trust, left the savage to his base condition, the wilderness to the reign of waste, deserted duty, abandoned glory, forgot our sordid profit even, because we feared our strength and read the charter of our powers with the doubter s eye and the quibbler s mind ? Shall it say that, called by events to captain and command the proudest, ablest, purest race of history in history s noblest work, we declined that great commission ? Our fathers would not have had it so . No ! They founded no paralytic government, incapable of the simplest acts of administration . They planted no slug-gard people, passive while the world s work calls them . They established no reactionary nation . They unfurled no retreating flag . . .

Mr President and Senators, adopt the resolution offered, that peace may quickly come and that we may begin our saving, regen-

此为 19 世纪三四十年代 “天定命运论” (Manifest Destiny) 的新发展。

Ye: (古英语) 你, 你们。

erating, and uplifting work . . . Reject it, and the world, history, and the American people will know where to forever fix the awful responsibility for the consequences that will surely follow such failure to do our manifest duty . . .

【讨论题】

- 1 . On what grounds did Beveridge make enormous claims for the strategic importance of the Philippines ?
- 2 . How did he view the Declaration of Independence and the American Constitution ?
- 3 . In this document Beveridge mentioned God for many times . What did he want to imply ?

2 . The New Nationalism (Theodore Roosevelt, 1910) 《新国家主义》(西奥多·罗斯福)

【作者简介】

西奥多·罗斯福 (1858—1919) 生于纽约市，毕业于哈佛大学。1901 年 9 月，共和党麦金利总统被暗杀，副总统西奥多·罗斯福继任总统。罗斯福是一位资深政治家，曾担任过州议员、警察局长、海军部次长、纽约州州长等职。他精力过人，勇于进取，锐意革新，出任总统后，他的改革思想很快成为各种政策。美国人对罗斯福评价很高。在人们心目中，他既是警察、西部牛仔、战斗英雄，又是为永恒正义而奋斗的战士。罗斯福本人不仅博学多才，而且网罗了大批专家学者到政府任职，为其出谋划策。1904 年他再次当选为总统。在第二个任期内，他积极倡导进步主义政策，提出公平施政，试图约束大企业，控制托拉斯，并为实现自然资源保护目标不懈努力。离任前罗斯福提名塔夫脱竞选总统。1909—1910 年罗斯福在非洲狩猎。回国后发现他的政治继承人塔夫脱政治上保守、谨慎，反对一切走向社会主义和过分限制个人行动的趋势，不赞成当时盛行的时代精神，在其任职期间，共和党遭到了无可挽回的分裂。罗斯福认为塔夫脱扭曲了他提倡和奉行的政策，决心重返政坛。

1910 年 9 月 1 日，罗斯福在堪萨斯州发表《新国家主义》演说，标志着他重新积极领导进步主义运动。新国家主义成为罗斯福的新政治纲领。在 1912 年总统大选中，罗斯福另立山头，成立了进步党，大力倡导新国家主义改革纲领，他本人被推选为进步党总统候选人。在大选中进步党的票数超过了共和党，共和党因为内部四分五裂导致民主党总统候选人威尔逊坐享渔翁之利，击败了罗斯福。

【背景介绍】

在 1912 年的总统大选中，罗斯福大肆宣传他在 1910 年就已提出的新国家主义纲领。《新国家主义》是 1910 年罗斯福发表的一篇演说。他在演说中提出只有通过强有力的联邦政府，让行政部门成为“公共福利管家”，才能实现社会正义。那些首先想到财产权和个人利益的人“现在应该给人类福利的拥护者让路”。这些主张本身足以让共和党内当权的保守派感到胆战心惊。此外，他还提出累进所得税、遗产继承税、工人工伤赔偿、规范女工和童工劳动、严格规范企业行为等一系列在当时看来非常激进的社会改良方案。

罗斯福的新国家主义纲领和威尔逊提出的新自由主义纲领有相同之处。就本质而言，两人同属改革派，都主张国家干预，建立社会正义，使资本主义更人道。但罗斯福更主张把社会的整体利益放在第一位，强调社会各阶级要服从这一整体利益，因此他的进步主义观点带有爱国主义色彩。罗斯福还承认垄断企业的现状，认为政府所要做的是规范和管理这些垄断行为。威尔逊则不同，他认为垄断企业已经控制了美国的经济和政治，只有摧毁垄断，才能回到自由企业时代，才能让大小企业公平竞争。双方的分歧集中在管理垄断还是管理竞争。威尔逊入主白宫标志着进步运动推向了新高潮。无论是罗斯福的新国家主义还是威尔逊的新自由，管理垄断与管理竞争实际上都成为国家干预经济活动的两个方面，国家往往根据经济的具体形势来调整重点，或同时干预这两个方面。这一切在小罗斯福新政时都得到了证实。

We come here today to commemorate one of the epoch-making events of the long struggle for the rights of man, the long struggle for the uplift of humanity . Our country—this great republic—means nothing unless it means the triumph of a real democracy, the triumph of popular government, and, in the long run, of an economic system under which each man shall be guaranteed the opportunity to show the best that there is in him . That is why the history of America is now the central feature of the his-

tory of the world; for the world has set its face hopefully toward our democracy; and, O my fellow citizens, each one of you carries on your shoulders not only the burden of doing well for the sake of your own country, but the burden of doing well and seeing that this nation does well for the sake of mankind . . .

At many stages in the advance of humanity, conflict between the men who possess more than they have earned and the men who have earned more than they possess is the control condition of progress . In our day it appears as the struggle of free men to gain and hold; the right of self-government as against the special interests, who twist the methods of free government into machinery for defeating the popular will . At every stage, and under all circumstances, the essence of the struggle is to equalize opportunity, destroy privilege, and give to the life and citizenship of every individual the highest possible value both to himself and to the commonwealth . . .

Practical equality of opportunity for all citizens, when we achieve it, will have two great results . First, every man will have a fair chance to make of himself all that in him lies; to reach the highest point to which his capacities, unassisted by special privilege of his own and unhampered by the special privilege of others, can carry him, and to get for himself and his family substantially what he has earned . Second, equality of opportunity means that the commonwealth will get from every citizen the highest service of which he is capable . No man who carries the burden of the special privileges of another can give to the commonwealth that service to which it is fairly entitled .

I stand for the square deal . But when I say that I am for the square deal, I mean not merely that I stand for fair play under the present rules of the game, but that I stand for having those rules changed so as to work for a more substantial equality of opportu-

nity and of reward for equally good service . . .

When I say I want a square deal for the poor man, I do not mean that I want a square deal for the man who remains poor because he has not got the energy to work for himself . If a man who has had a chance will not make good, then he has got to quit . . .

Now, this means that our government, national and State, must be freed from the sinister influence or control of special interests . Exactly as the special interests of cotton and slavery threatened our political integrity before the Civil War, so now the great special business interests too often control and corrupt the men and methods of government for their own profit . We must drive the special interests out of politics . . .

The true friend of property, the true conservative, is he who insists that property shall be the servant and not the master of the commonwealth; who insists that the creature of man's making shall be the servant and not the master of the man who made it . The citizens of the United States must effectively control the mighty commercial forces which they have themselves called into being .

There can be no effective control of corporations while their political activity remains . To put an end to it will be neither a short nor an easy task, but it can be done .

We must have complete and effective publicity of corporate affairs, so that the people may know beyond peradventure whether the corporations obey the law and whether their management entitles them to the confidence of the public . It is necessary that laws should be passed to prohibit the use of corporate funds directly or indirectly for political purposes; it is still more neces-

square deal: 公平交易, 此为1904年竞选活动中, 罗斯福提出的一个进步主义口号。