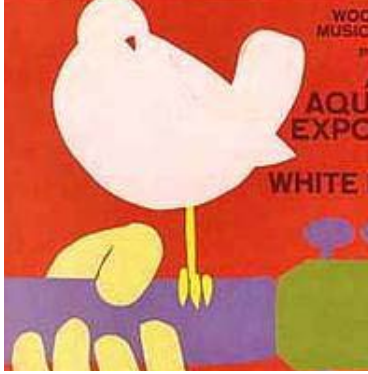


WAS THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION



ACTUALLY? REVOLUTIONARY?

EXPLORING AMERICA'S HISTORY THROUGH COMPELLING QUESTIONS



www.inquiryhistory.com

QUESTION SEVENTEEN

WAS THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION

ACTUALLY REVOLUTIONARY?

EXPLORING AMERICA'S HISTORY THROUGH COMPELLING QUESTIONS

SUPPORTING QUESTIONS

- 1 CAN WE BE HAPPY IF WE'RE ALL THE SAME?
- 2 WAS THE COUNTERCULTURE UN-AMERICAN?
- 3 CAN WE END POVERTY?
- 4 CAN WE SAVE THE EARTH?
- 5 CAN MEN AND WOMEN BE EQUAL?
- 6 WHY DID AMERICANS TURN AWAY FROM LIBERALISM?

DEVELOPED AND COMPILED BY
JONATHAN LOOMIS

SOURCES FOR ORIGINAL TEXT INCLUDE
[courses.lumenlearning.com](https://courses.lumenlearning.com/us-history.org)
us-history.org
sageamericanhistory.net
learnnc.org
wikipeedia.org



CREATIVE COMMONS ATTRIBUTION
4.0 INTERNATIONAL LICENSE

QUESTION SEVENTEEN

WAS THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION ACTUALLY REVOLUTIONARY?

Throughout the nation's history, Americans have seen their nation swing from excitement about change to an embrace of traditional ways of life. In the late 1800s, muckrakers, progressives and waves of new immigrants brought about major changes. Then in the 1920s, people reacted with laws restricting immigration, promoting traditional Christian ideas, and banning social evils like alcohol.

After World War II, the nation experienced a swing away from this conservatism toward what could be its most liberal time ever. This Social Revolution coincided with changes in divorce law, the legalization of abortion, the expansion of government, new experimentation with drugs, abandonment of sexual rules, the advent of rock and roll, and the entire Civil Rights Movement. It was an exciting time to live.

All this change was unsettling for some Americans. They responded in the 1970s and 1980s by pulling the nation back from its liberal binge and promoting a more conservative mindset once again. Christian leaders got involved in politics and promoted candidates that put the brakes on the rush of change. In 1980, Americans elected Ronald Reagan, a champion of conservatism.

By definition, a revolution is a change that cannot be undone, and it could be argued that the Social Revolution was not revolutionary at all. After all, it was followed by the Conservative Revolution. However, many of the new ideas ushered in during the 1960s have endured. Government programs to provide healthcare to the elderly and poor, to pay for the arts, and to protect the environment remain. Social norms about sex, marriage and divorce did not go back to the way they were before.

This leads us to the question to consider as we study this time in America's story. Was the Social Revolution actually revolutionary?

在整个国家的历史中，美国人已经看到他们的国家从对变化的兴奋转变为对传统生活方式的拥抱。在 19 世纪后期，诽谤者，进步人士和新移民浪潮带来了重大变化。然后在 20 世纪 20 年代，人们反对限制移民的法律，促进传统的基督教思想，并禁止像酒精这样的社会邪恶。

第二次世界大战结束后，这个国家经历了从这种保守主义走向可能是最自由的时代。这场社会革命恰逢离婚法的变化，堕胎的合法化，政府的扩张，毒品的新实验，放弃性规则，摇滚乐的到来以及整个民权运动。这是一个激动人心的时刻。

所有这些变化让一些美国人感到不安。他们在 20 世纪 70 年代和 80 年代通过将国家从自由狂欢中拉回来并再次提倡更保守的心态来应对。基督教领袖参与政治活动，并推动候选人遏制变革。1980 年，美国人当选罗纳德里根，他是保守主义的捍卫者。

根据定义，革命是一种无法撤消的变革，可以说社会革命根本不是革命性的。毕竟，随后是保守党革命。然而，在 20 世纪 60 年代引入的许多新想法已经存在。政府为老年人和穷人提供医疗保健，支付艺术费用和保护环境的计划仍然存在。关于性，婚姻和离婚的社会规范并没有像以前那样回归。

当我们在美国的故事中研究这个时，这引出了我们要考虑的问题。社会革命真的是革命性的吗？

1 F I R S T Q U E S T I O N WAS THE SOCIAL CAN WE BE HAPPY REVOLUTION IF WE'RE ALL THE SAME? ACTUALLY? REVOLUTIONARY?

INTRODUCTION

The 1950s is a decade remembered nostalgically by most of the Americans old enough to have lived through it. The economy was roaring. Conveniences that had been toys for the upper classes such as fancy refrigerators, range-top ovens, dishwashers, and convertible automobiles became middle-class staples.

Homes became affordable to many apartment dwellers for the first time and thousands of young families moved into newly build suburbs with backyard barbeques, lawns, community swimming pools and new shopping malls. The huge youth market had a music all its own called rock and roll, complete with parent-detested icons such as Elvis Presley. Disneyland, the happiest place on Earth, opened in 1955.

The pressures of the Cold War were papered over with rosy images of bliss on newly purchased television sets. Happy housewives and successful businessmen fathers tended to their dutiful children in saccharine sitcoms while cowboys in white slew cowboys in black in the pursuit of simplified justice.

Of course, not everything was as rosy as it seems at first glance. Beneath the pristine exterior, a small group of critics and nonconformists pointed out the flaws in a suburbia they believed had no soul, a government they believed was growing dangerously powerful, a lifestyle they believed was fundamentally repressed, and a society that continued to be racially segregated.

Nevertheless, the memory of the 1950s as happy days persists. Perhaps when measured against the Great Depression of the 1930s, and the Second World War of the 1940s, the 1950s were indeed a wonderful time.

It was a time when Americans loved sameness. Instilled with the fear of communism, they sought to fit in rather than stand out. America could keep them safe if they simply enjoyed its bounty. In their effort to find material comfort, to live the life they saw on television, to work and play just like their neighbors, Americans sacrificed individuality for conformity.

What do you think? Can we be happy if we're all the same?

介绍

20 世纪 50 年代是大多数年龄足以让他们度过难关的美国人怀念的十年。经济咆哮。作为高档玩具的便利设施，如高档冰箱，炉灶烤箱，洗碗机和敞篷汽车，成为中产阶级的主要产品。

许多公寓居民首次购买房屋，成千上万的年轻家庭搬进新建的郊区，有后院烧烤，草坪，社区游泳池和新购物中心。巨大的青年市场拥有一种独立的音乐，称为摇滚乐，还有像 Elvis Presley 这样的父母讨厌的偶像。迪斯尼乐园是地球上最幸福的地方，于 1955 年开业。

冷战的压力在新购买的电视机上充满了幸福的光彩照片。快乐的家庭主妇和成功的商人父亲倾向于他们在糖精情景喜剧中的孝顺孩子，而牛仔则穿着黑色的牛仔裤追求简化的正义。

当然，并不是一切都像乍一看似的那样美好。在原始的外表下，一小群评论家和不符合规范的人指出了他们认为没有灵魂的郊区的缺陷，他们认为危险强大的政府，他们认为从根本上受到压制的生活方式，以及一个继续存在种族歧视的社会隔离。

尽管如此，20 世纪 50 年代作为幸福日子的记忆仍然存在。也许在对抗 20 世纪 30 年代的大萧条和 20 世纪 40 年代的第二次世界大战时，20 世纪 50 年代确实是一个美好的时刻。

这是美国人喜欢同一性的时候。他们害怕共产主义，他们试图融入而不是脱颖而出。如果他们只是享受它的恩惠，美国可以保证他们的安全。他们努力寻找物质上的舒适，过上他们在电视上看到的生活，像他们的邻居一样工作和娱乐，美国人牺牲了个性以求顺从。

你怎么看？如果我们都一样，我们能幸福吗？

A BOOMING ECONOMY

The years immediately following World War II witnessed stability and prosperity for many Americans. Increasing numbers of workers enjoyed high wages, larger houses, better schools, more automobiles, and home comforts like vacuum cleaners and washing machines, which made housework easier. Many inventions familiar today made their first appearance during the 1950s.

Driven by a combination of factors, the economy grew dramatically in the years after World War II, expanding at a rate of 3.5% per year between 1945 and 1970. This dramatic growth was fueled in part by massive government spending on Cold War defense industries, but was also a result of increased consumer spending and homebuilding. During this period, many incomes doubled in a generation; a phenomenon that economist Frank Levy described as “upward mobility on a rocket ship.” The substantial increase in average family income within a generation resulted in millions of office and factory workers being lifted into a growing **middle class**, enabling them to sustain a standard of living once considered reserved for the wealthy.

As noted by economist Deone Zell, assembly line work paid well, while unionized factory jobs served as “stepping-stones to the middle class.” By the end of the 1950s, 87% of all American families owned at least one television, 75% owned automobiles, and 60% owned homes. By then, **blue-collar workers** had become the most prolific buyers of many luxury goods and services. The economy of the 1950s was dramatically different from the economy of the 1930s and early 1940s. Children who saw their parents struggling through the Great Depression and had sacrificed during World War II, found themselves surrounded by modern appliances and living in new homes. Their generation and their parents’ generation could not have lived more different lives.

The booming economy and technological changes brought a growing **corporatization** of the United States and the decline of smaller businesses, which were not as insulated from economic swings as larger corporations that had the resources to endure hard times. Newspapers declined in numbers and consolidated. The railroad industry, once one of the cornerstones of the economy and an immense and often scorned influence on national politics, also suffered from explosive automobile sales and the construction of the **interstate highway system**. By the end of the 1950s, it was well into decline and by the 1970s became bankrupt, necessitating a federal government takeover. Smaller automobile manufacturers such as Nash, Studebaker, and Packard were unable to

一个崛起的经济

紧接着第二次世界大战后的几年见证了许多美国人的稳定和繁荣。越来越多的工人享受高工资，更大的房子，更好的学校，更多的汽车，以及家庭舒适，如吸尘器和洗衣机，这使家务劳动更容易。今天熟悉的许多发明在 20 世纪 50 年代首次出现。

在多种因素的共同作用下，经济在第二次世界大战后的几年中急剧增长，在 1945 年至 1970 年间以每年 3.5% 的速度增长。这种急剧增长的部分原因是政府在冷战时期国防部门的大量支出，但也是消费者支出和住房建设增加的结果。在此期间，许多人的收入在一代人中翻了一番，经济学家弗兰克·利维（Frank Levy）称之为“火箭飞船向上移动”的现象。一代人平均家庭收入的大幅增加导致数百万办公室和工厂工人被提升为一个不断壮大的中产阶级，使他们能够维持一个标准的曾经被认为是为富人保留的生活。

正如经济学家 Deone Zell 所指出的那样，装配线工作得到了很好的支持，而工会工厂的工作则成为“中产阶级的垫脚石”。到 20 世纪 50 年代末，87% 的美国家庭拥有至少一台电视，75% 拥有汽车，60% 拥有房屋。到那时，蓝领工人已经成为许多奢侈品和服务中最多产的买家。20 世纪 50 年代的经济与 20 世纪 30 年代和 40 年代初的经济大不相同。看到父母在大萧条中挣扎并在第二次世界大战期间牺牲的孩子们发现自己被现代家电包围着，住在新家里。他们这一代人和他们的父母一代不可能过着不同的生活。

蓬勃发展的经济和技术变革带来了美国日益增长的公司化和小企业的衰落，这些企业并没有像经济困难时期那样有资源经受困难的大公司。报纸数量下降并得到巩固。铁路行业曾经是经济的基石之一，并且对国家政治产生了巨大而且经常被蔑视的影响，也遭受了爆炸性的汽车销售和州际公路系统的建设。到 20 世纪 50 年代末，它已经逐渐衰落，到了 20 世纪 70 年代破产，迫使联邦政府接管。较小的汽车制造商，如纳什，史蒂倍克和帕卡德，在新的战后

1 CAN WE BE HAPPY IF WE'RE ALL THE SAME?

compete with the Big Three – General Motors, Ford, and Chrysler – in the new post-war world and gradually declined into oblivion.

Technological developments greatly influenced the agricultural sector as well. Ammonia from plants built during World War II to make explosives became available for making fertilizers, leading to a permanent decline in fertilizer prices. The early 1950s was the peak period for tractor sales in the United States, as the few remaining horses and mules were phased out. The horsepower of farm machinery greatly increased. An effective cotton-picking machine was introduced in 1949. Research on plant breeding produced varieties of grain crops that could produce high yields with heavy fertilizer input. These advancements resulted in the **Green Revolution** that began in the 1940s.

In general, farming followed the way of corporations as the industry became more concentrated and less varied. As productivity increased, so did **consolidation**. Small farms sold out to larger ones, leading to a reduction in the overall number of farms. Some of these former farm owners moved to towns or went to work for other farmers.



世界中无法与三巨头 - 通用汽车, 福特和克莱斯勒竞争 - 并逐渐被遗忘。

技术发展也对农业部门产生了很大影响。第二次世界大战期间建造的用于制造炸药的植物的氨可用于制造肥料, 导致化肥价格永久下降。20 世纪 50 年代初是美国拖拉机销售的高峰期, 因为剩下的少数马和骡子被逐步淘汰。农机的马力大大增加。1949 年引进了一种有效的采棉机。对植物育种的研究产生了谷物作物品种, 可以通过重肥输入产生高产量。这些进步导致了 20 世纪 40 年代开始的绿色革命。

总的来说, 随着行业变得更加集中, 变化程度越来越低, 农业也采用了公司的方式。随着生产力的提高, 整合也在增加。小农场销售给较大的农场, 导致农场总数减少。这些前农场主中的一些人搬到城镇或去其他农民工作。

Primary Source: Photograph

The interchange of I-15 and US 20 Idaho Falls, Idaho before completion in 1964. The interstate highway system in the United States is named after Dwight Eisenhower, who is often credited with implementing this major infrastructure project.

主要来源：照片

爱荷华州 I-15 和美国 20 爱达荷州的交汇处于 1964 年建成之前。美国的州际公路系统以德怀特艾森豪威尔命名, 后者经常被认为是实施这一重大基础设施项目。

MEDICAL ADVANCES

Whereas the late 1800s had seen great works focused on collective health such as the construction of sewer systems, the 1950s was a time when medical advances focused on individual health. For example, penicillin had been used during World War II for the first time on a wide scale, saving thousands of lives from infection.

In 1948, **Dr. Jonas Salk** undertook a project funded by the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis to address one of the most tragic diseases present in America at the time. **Polio** is a debilitating disease

医学进展

虽然 19 世纪后期已经看到以集体健康为重点的伟大工程, 如下水道系统的建设, 但 20 世纪 50 年代是医学进步关注个人健康的时期。例如, 青霉素在第二次世界大战期间首次大规模使用, 挽救了数千人的感染生命。

1948 年, Jonas Salk 博士开展了一项由国家婴儿瘫痪基金会资助的项目, 以解决当时美国最悲惨的疾病之一。脊髓灰质炎是一种使人衰弱的

1 CAN WE BE HAPPY IF WE'RE ALL THE SAME?



that induces paralysis, usually in the legs. It can be fatal, and those that do recover often suffer significant loss of mobility. President Franklin D. Roosevelt contracted polio when he was 39 and used a wheelchair for the rest of his life. Tragically, polio usually struck Americans as children or teenagers, just as they were their strongest.

Salk saw an opportunity to extend his research project toward developing a polio vaccine and, together with the skilled research team he assembled, devoted himself to this work for the next seven years. Over 1.8 million schoolchildren took part in the trial. When news of the vaccine's success was made public on April 12, 1955, Salk was hailed as a miracle worker and the day nearly became a national holiday. Around the world, an immediate rush to vaccinate began.

New technologies also revolutionized surgical procedures. The first open heart operation was performed on May 6, 1953, at Thomas Jefferson University Hospital in Philadelphia. The use of immunosuppressant drugs for the first time in the 1950s made organ transplants a viable option for the first time.

Biotechnology also underwent rapid development. The antibiotic **penicillin** had been discovered in England in 1939 and had saved countless lives during World War II. The production of penicillin on a massive scale in the United States transformed the pharmaceutical industry. Instead of many local druggists providing medicines to customers they knew personally, medications were manufactured on a grand scale and then shipped across the country. Another advancement was the development of a simplified and less costly process for synthesizing cortisol, a key ingredient in many medications.

Another important change that developed in the post-war decades was a shift in the way Americans paid for their healthcare. During World War II, the government set restrictions on wages. In order to attract workers, companies started offering incentives such as health insurance, and since that time, most Americans not receive their healthcare coverage from their employers.

POLITICAL STABILITY

The president during most of the 1950s was war hero **Dwight Eisenhower**. Ike, as he was nicknamed, walked a middle road between the two major parties. Unlike the democrats before him, Eisenhower did not want to increase federal spending by creating more programs. Neither did he want to cut programs that his democratic predecessors had enacted. This strategy, called **Modern Republicanism**,

疾病，通常在腿部引起瘫痪。它可能是致命的，那些确实恢复的人往往会遭受严重的流动性损失。富兰克林·罗斯福总统在 39 岁时接受脊髓灰质炎治疗，并在余生中使用轮椅。可悲的是，脊髓灰质炎通常会像美国儿童或青少年一样袭击美国人，就像他们最强壮一样。

Salk 看到了将研究项目扩展到开发脊髓灰质炎疫苗的机会，并与他组建的熟练研究团队一起，在接下来的七年中致力于这项工作。超过 180 万学龄儿童参加了这项试验。当疫苗成功的消息于 1955 年 4 月 12 日公布时，Salk 被誉为奇迹工作者，这一天几乎成了国定假日。在世界各地，立即急于接种疫苗。

新技术也彻底改变了外科手术程序。第一次心脏直视手术于 1953 年 5 月 6 日在费城的托马斯·杰斐逊大学医院进行。20 世纪 50 年代首次使用免疫抑制药物使器官移植成为首次可行的选择。

生物技术也经历了快速发展。抗生素青霉素于 1939 年在英国被发现，并在第二次世界大战期间挽救了无数生命。在美国大规模生产青霉素改变了制药业。而不是许多当地药剂师向他们熟悉的客户提供药品，而是大规模生产药物，然后运往全国各地。另一项进步是开发了一种简化且成本较低的合成皮质醇的方法，皮质醇是许多药物中的关键成分。

战后几十年发生的另一个重要变化是美国人为医疗保健付出的代价。在第二次世界大战期间，政府对工资设定了限制。为了吸引工人，公司开始提供健康保险等激励措施，从那时起，大多数美国人都没有从雇主那里获得医疗保险。

政治稳定

在 20 世纪 50 年代的大部分时间里，总统都是战争英雄德怀特·艾森豪威尔。艾克，因为他的绰号，走在两个主要政党之间的中间道路。与他之前的民主人士不同，艾森豪威尔不想通过制定更多计划来增加联邦支出。他也不想削减他的民主前辈所制定的计划。这一被称为现代

1 CAN WE BE HAPPY IF WE'RE ALL THE SAME?

WAS THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION ACTUALLY REVOLUTIONARY?

simultaneously restrained Democrats from expanding the New Deal while stopping conservative Republicans from reversing popular programs such as Social Security. As a result, no major reform initiatives emerged from a decade many would describe as politically dead. Perhaps freedom from controversy was the prize most American voters were seeking after World War II and the Korean War.

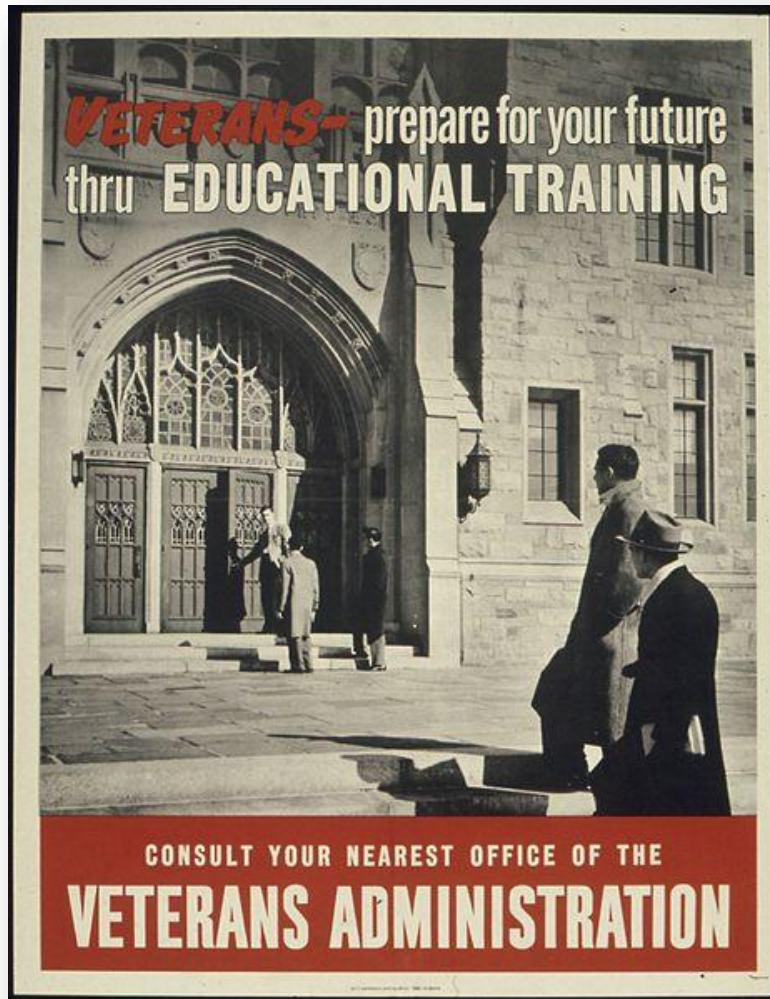
共和主义的战略同时限制民主党扩大新政，同时阻止保守的共和党人扭转社会保障等热门计划。因此，十年间没有出现重大的改革举措，许多人认为政治上已经死亡。也许摆脱争议的自由是大多数美国选民在第二次世界大战和朝鲜战争后所寻求的奖励。

Primary Source: Poster

A government propaganda poster encouraged World War II veterans to take advantage of the G.I. Bill's tuition benefits.

主要来源：海报

政府宣传海报鼓励二战老兵利用 G.I. 比尔的学费好处。



THE G.I. BILL

The Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944, known informally as the **G.I. Bill**, was a law that provided a range of benefits for returning World War II veterans. Benefits included low-cost **mortgages**, low-interest loans to start a business, cash payments of **tuition** and living expenses to attend university, high school, or vocational education, and one year

G.I.法案

1944 年军人的重新调整法，非正式地称为 G.I. 比尔是一部法律，为返回的第二次世界大战退伍军人提供了一系列的好处。福利包括低成本抵押贷款，创办企业的低息贷款，上学，高中或职业教育的学费和生活费的现金支付，以及一

1 CAN WE BE HAPPY IF WE'RE ALL THE SAME?



of unemployment compensation. It was available to every veteran who had been on active duty during the war years for at least 90 days and had not been dishonorably discharged.

The G.I. Bill had a tremendous impact on America. Over half of the World War II veterans benefited from educational benefits of the law, and by 1947, nearly half of college enrollments were veterans. All told, 2.2 million veterans had used the G.I. Bill education benefits to enroll in colleges or universities, and an additional 5.6 million used the benefits for vocational training programs.

Nearly a third of all veterans accessed low-interest loans. With the post-war economic boom and very low unemployment rates, relatively few depended on unemployment benefits. These opportunities allowed many veterans to transition into the middle class and secure economic prosperity.

Veterans also fought for higher education programs more focused on practical needs, which led to increased valuing of more pragmatic programs such as engineering. A college education, and the resultant higher salary, was no longer limited to the wealthy. As more Americans earned more, they also paid more income taxes and all levels of government had more money to spend. Colleges also benefited from the influx of veterans. Increased enrollments meant more money for institutions to operate.

The G.I. Bill, as good as it was for so many people, was not designed to benefit everyone equally. Although the law itself did not specifically prohibit African Americans and other minorities from receiving loans or tuition payments, the law was written so that local governments would implement it. This meant that in the South especially, African Americans were often denied mortgage loans. Traditionally black colleges could not support the massive demands of the thousands of African American veterans and these soldiers-turned-students were rejected from most other universities. The overall effect was that the G.I. Bill helped lift many White Americans into the middle class, but left most African Americans behind.

THE BABY BOOM

In 1946, live births in the United States surged from 222,721 in January to 339,499 in October. By the end of the 1940s, about 32 million babies had been born, compared with 24 million in the 1930s. In May 1951, Sylvia Porter, a New York Post columnist, first used the term “boom” to refer to the phenomenon of increased births in the post-war United States. Annual births first topped four million in 1954, and did not drop below that figure until 1965, by which time four in 10 Americans were

年的失业补偿。每个在战争期间一直在现役至少 90 天的退伍军人人都可以使用它，并且没有被无耻地解雇。

G.I.比尔对美国产生了巨大影响。超过一半的第二次世界大战退伍军人受益于法律的教育福利，到 1947 年，近一半的大学入学人员是退伍军人。总而言之，有 220 万退伍军人使用了 G.I. 比尔教育有利于入读大学或学院，另有 560 万人将这些福利用于职业培训计划。

近三分之一的退伍军人获得了低息贷款。随着战后经济繁荣和非常低的失业率，相对较少的人依赖失业救济金。这些机会使许多退伍军人过渡到中产阶级并确保经济繁荣。

退伍军人还为更加注重实际需求的高等教育课程而奋斗，这使得对工程更实用的课程的重视程度提高。大学教育以及由此带来的更高薪水不再局限于富人。随着越来越多的美国人获得更多收入，他们还缴纳了更多的所得税，各级政府都有更多的钱可以花钱。大学也受益于退伍军人的涌入。增加入学意味着机构运营的资金更多。

G.I.比尔和许多人一样好，并不是为了让每个人受益。虽然法律本身没有明确禁止非洲裔美国和其他少数民族接受贷款或学费支付，但法律的编写是为了让地方政府实施。这意味着在南方尤其是非洲裔美国人经常被剥夺抵押贷款。传统上，黑人学院无法支持成千上万的非洲裔美国退伍军人的大规模需求，这些学生被拒绝了大多数其他大学。整体效果是 G.I.比尔帮助许多美国白人进入中产阶级，但让大多数非洲裔美国人落后。

婴儿潮

1946 年，美国的活产婴儿从 1 月份的 222,721 人增加到 10 月份的 339,499 人。到 20 世纪 40 年代末，大约有 3200 万婴儿出生，而 20 世纪 30 年代则为 2400 万。1951 年 5 月，纽约邮报专栏作家西尔维亚·波特（Sylvia Porter）首次使用“繁荣”一词来指代战后美国出生率增加的现象。1954 年，每年的出生率首次超过 400 万，并且

1 CAN WE BE HAPPY IF WE'RE ALL THE SAME?



under age 20. The children born during this time are the generation we now call the **Boomers**.

Many factors contributed to the baby boom. Couples who could not afford to raise a family during the Great Depression made up for lost time. Returning veterans married, started families, pursued higher education, and bought their first homes. Marriage rates rose sharply in the 1940s and reached all-time highs for the country. Americans also began to marry at a younger age. The average age at first marriage dropped to 22.5 years for males and 20.1 for females, down from 24.3 for males and 21.5 for females in 1940. Getting married immediately after high school became commonplace and women were increasingly under tremendous pressure to marry by the age of 20. The stereotype developed that women were who went to college were not going to get an education, but instead to find husbands and earn a M.R.S. (missus) degree.

THE GROWTH OF THE SUBURBS

For many generations and many decades, the **American Dream** had promised a life in which hard work would be rewarded with material prosperity. For many, however, the notion of prosperity remained just a dream, especially during the hard times of the Great Depression and the sacrifices of the war years. However, for millions of Americans in the 1950s, the American Dream became a reality. Within their reach was the chance to have a house on their own land, a car, a dog, a white picket, and 2.3 children.

A large demand for housing followed from the G.I. Bill's mortgage subsidies, and led to the expansion of **suburbs**. Racial fears and the desire to leave decaying cities were also factors that prompted some White Americans to flee to suburbia, and no individual promoted suburban growth more than **William Levitt**.

Contracted by the federal government during the war to quickly build housing for military personnel, Levitt applied the techniques of mass production to construction of new homes. In 1947, he set out to erect the largest planned-living community in the United States on farmland he purchased on Long Island, New York.

Levitt identified 27 different steps to build a house. Therefore, 27 different teams of builders were hired to construct the homes. Each house had two bedrooms, one bathroom, and no basement. The kitchen was situated near the back of the house so mothers could keep an eye on their children in the backyard. Within one year, Levitt was building

直到 1965 年才下降到这个数字以下，此时有十分之四的美国人未满 20 岁。在此期间出生的孩子是我们现在称为婴儿潮一代的一代。

许多因素促成了婴儿潮。在大萧条时期无力养家的夫妇弥补了失去的时间。退伍老兵结婚，开始家庭，接受高等教育，并购买了他们的第一套房子。20 世纪 40 年代，婚姻率急剧上升，达到了该国的历史最高水平。美国人也开始在较年轻的时候结婚。1940 年，初婚的平均年龄下降至男性 22.5 岁，女性 20.1 岁，男性为 24.3 岁，女性为 21.5 岁。高中后立即结婚变得司空见惯，女性在年龄结束时面临巨大的结婚压力。20. 刻板印象认为，上大学的女性不会接受教育，而是寻找丈夫并获得 MRS. (missus) 学位。

郊区的成长

在许多世代和几十年中，美国梦已经承诺过一种生活，在这种生活中，艰苦的工作将得到物质繁荣的回报。然而，对于许多人来说，繁荣的概念仍然只是一个梦想，特别是在大萧条的艰难时期和战争年代的牺牲期间。然而，对于 20 世纪 50 年代的数百万美国人来说，美国梦已成为现实。在他们的范围内有机会在自己的土地上拥有一所房子，一辆汽车，一只狗，一个白色的纠察队和 2.3 个孩子。

G.I.对住房的需求很大。比尔的抵押贷款补贴，并导致郊区的扩张。种族恐惧和离开腐朽城市的愿望也是促使一些美国白人逃往郊区的因素，没有一个人比威廉莱维特更能促进郊区的增长。

在战争期间由联邦政府签约以迅速为军人建造住房，莱维特将大规模生产技术应用用于建造新房屋。1947 年，他开始在纽约长岛购买的农田上建立美国最大的计划生活社区。

莱维特确定了建造房屋的 27 个不同步骤。因此，雇用了 27 个不同的建筑师团队来建造房屋。每个房子有两间卧室，一间浴室，没有地下室。厨房位于房子后面附近，所以妈妈们可以留意后院的孩子们。在一年内，莱维特每天

1 CAN WE BE HAPPY IF WE'RE ALL THE SAME?

36 houses per day. His assembly-line approach made the houses affordable. At first, the homes were available only to veterans. Eventually, though, **Levittown** was open to others as well. Levitt replicated his original success and there are seven Levittowns in America. Three still bear that name.



建造 36 所房屋。他的装配线方法使房屋价格适中。起初，这些房屋只适用于退伍军人。不过，最终，Levittown 也向其他人开放。莱维特复制了他最初的成功，在美国有七个莱维特。三个人还有这个名字。

Primary Source: Photograph

Levittown, Pennsylvania exemplified the suburbs of the 1950s.

主要来源：照片

宾夕法尼亚州的 Levittown 以 20 世纪 50 年代的郊区为例。

Others took Levitt's ideas and copied them. No where was this more pronounced than in California. During the war, tens of thousands of G.I.s had passed through the state on their way to battlefields in the Pacific. They loved the beauty and the weather and moved their young families there. To greet them were opportunistic developers who were blessed with plenty of room. Suburbs exploded around cities such as San Francisco and especially Los Angeles, the American city most famous for its **urban sprawl**.

In one California suburb, Lakewood, developers had perfected Levitt's methods so well that they were building 60 houses per day on average, and topped out at 110 houses completed on a single day. For old residents, bean fields were replaced by subdivisions seemingly overnight. Named for the wild spaces they replaced, these suburbs gave Americans the chance to own land, enjoy the grass of a backyard, and recapture a little slice of Thomas Jefferson's agrarian dream.

With the ability to own a detached home, thousands of Americans soon surpassed the standard of living enjoyed by their parents. Soon, the first

其他人采纳了莱维特的想法并复制了它们。没有比加利福尼亚更明显的地方。在战争期间，成千上万的 G.I.s 在前往太平洋战场途中经过该州。他们喜欢美丽和天气，并将他们的年轻家庭搬到那里。迎接他们的是机会主义的开发者，他们有充足的空间。郊区在旧金山等城市爆发，特别是洛杉矶，这座城市以其城市扩张而闻名。

在加利福尼亚州的一个郊区，莱克伍德，开发商已经很好地完善了莱维特的方法，平均每天建造 60 栋房屋，并且在一天内完成了 110 栋房屋。对于老居民来说，豆田似乎在一夜之间被细分所取代。这些郊区以他们所取代的野生空间命名，让美国人有机会拥有土地，享受后院的草地，并重新获得托马斯杰斐逊的一小部分土地梦想。

由于拥有独立住宅的能力，成千上万的美国人很快就超过了父母所享有的生活水平。很快，

1 CAN WE BE HAPPY IF WE'RE ALL THE SAME?

WAS THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION ACTUALLY REVOLUTIONARY?

shopping centers and **fast food restaurants** added to the convenience of suburban life. America and the American Dream would never be the same.



第一家购物中心和快餐店增添了郊区生活的便利。美国和美国梦永远不会是一样的。

Primary Source: Photograph

An early MacDonald's in Arizona, one of the fast food pioneers that exemplified the suburban, automobile-centered life of the 1950s.

主要来源：照片

亚利桑那州早期的麦当劳，是 20 世纪 50 年代以郊区，以汽车为中心的生活的快餐先驱之一。

AN INCREASE IN RELIGIOUS LIFE

As the birth rate soared, families grew, and more people moved to the suburbs, the United States witnessed a boom in affiliation with organized religion, especially involving various Protestant churches. Between 1950 and 1960, church membership among Americans increased from 49% to 69%. Religious messages began to infiltrate popular culture as religious leaders became famous and numerous religious organizations were formed.

In the southern United States, evangelicals experienced a notable surge. Leaders such as **Billy Graham** displacing the caricature of the pulpitting country preachers of fundamentalism as stereotypes gradually shifted. Graham began the trend of national celebrity ministers who broadcast to megachurches via radio and television. He is also notable for having been a spiritual adviser to several presidents.

Institutionalized religion became such a critical aspect of life that it came to shape major political decisions. In 1954, partly in response to the Cold War idea that communism was a threat to religion, Congress added the words "under God" to the Pledge of Allegiance. Despite being a deeply religious man, President Eisenhower, had never been an active member of any particular church. Sensing the mood of the country, though, he

增加宗教生活

随着出生率的飙升，家庭越来越多，越来越多的人迁移到郊区，美国目睹了与有组织的宗教有关的繁荣，特别是涉及各种新教教会。从 1950 年到 1960 年，美国教会成员从 49% 增加到 69%。随着宗教领袖的成名和宗教组织的形成，宗教信息开始渗透到流行文化中。

在美国南部，福音派人士经历了显著的激增。比利·格雷厄姆（Billy Graham）等领导人取代了讲台上的原教旨主义传教士的讽刺作品，这种刻板印象逐渐转变。格雷厄姆开始了通过广播和电视向大型教堂播放的全国名人部长的潮流。他也是多位总统的精神顾问而闻名。

制度化的宗教成为生活中的一个重要方面，它决定了重大的政治决策。1954 年，部分是为了回应冷战时期共产主义对宗教构成威胁的观点，国会在“忠诚誓言”中加入了“在上帝之下”的字样。艾森豪威尔总统虽然是一个非常虔诚的人，但从未成为任何特定教会的积极成员。然

decided to be baptized in the Presbyterian Church to demonstrate his religious credentials. Since the 1950s, the religious beliefs and practices of any candidate for president have been matters of intense public interest and scrutiny in the media.

Although religion may have been an increasingly important factor in political matters, the Supreme Court acted as an important check on excess during the 1950s. A number of landmark Supreme Court cases addressed the issue of separation of church and state during the decade. The First Amendment to the Constitution states that “Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion.” In their **Everson v. Board of Education** decision the court decided that a New Jersey law allowing government funds to be used to pay for busses carrying students to private religious schools was unconstitutional because taxpayer money should not be used to support religious institutions. Citing Thomas Jefferson, the court concluded that, “The First Amendment has erected a wall between church and state. That wall must be kept high and impregnable. We could not approve the slightest breach.”

In 1962, the Supreme Court addressed the issue of officially sponsored prayer in public schools. In **Engel v. Vitale**, the Court deemed it unconstitutional for state officials to compose an official school prayer and require its use in public schools, even when the prayer was non-denominational and students could excuse themselves from participation.

TELEVISION

Perhaps no phenomenon shaped American life in the 1950s more than television. At the end of World War II, the television was a toy for only a few thousand wealthy Americans. Just 10 years later, nearly two-thirds of American households had a television and the biggest-selling periodical of the decade was TV Guide.

Network television programming blurred political, social and regional distinctions and helped forge a national popular culture, and that culture was White, Christian, righteous and centered on a family.

Television’s idea of a **perfect family** was a briefcase-toting professional father who left daily for work, and a pearls-wearing, nurturing housewife who raised their mischievous boys and obedient girls. Through shows such as *Leave It to Beaver* and *Father Knows Best*, television created an idyllic view of what the perfect family should look like, though few actual families ever lived up to the ideal.

而，感觉到这个国家的情绪，他决定在长老会教堂受洗，以证明他的宗教信仰。自 20 世纪 50 年代以来，任何总统候选人的宗教信仰和做法都引起了公众的强烈关注和媒体的审查。

尽管宗教在政治问题上可能是一个越来越重要的因素，但最高法院在 20 世纪 50 年代充当了对过剩的重要检查。一些具有里程碑意义的最高法院案件涉及十年间教会与国家分离的问题。宪法第一修正案指出，“国会不应制定任何法律来尊重宗教信仰。”在他们的 *Everson* 诉教育委员会决定中，法院决定新泽西州法律允许政府资金用于支付学生的公共汽车费用。私人宗教学校是违宪的，因为纳税人的钱不应该被用来支持宗教机构。法院援引托马斯·杰斐逊的话说，“第一修正案已经在教会和国家之间竖立了一堵墙。那堵墙必须保持高度坚固。我们无法批准最轻微的违规行为。”

1962 年，最高法院在公立学校解决了官方赞助的祈祷问题。在恩格尔诉维塔勒案中，法院认为，对于州官员来说，构成官方学校祷告并要求在公立学校使用它是违宪的，即使祷告是非教派的，学生也可以原谅自己参与。

电视

也许在 20 世纪 50 年代没有任何现象影响美国人的生活，而不是电在第二次世界大战结束时，电视只是几千名富有的美国人的玩具。仅仅 10 年之后，近三分之二的美国家庭拥有电视，十年来最畅销的期刊是电视指南。

网络电视节目模糊了政治，社会和地区的差异，并有助于形成一种民族流行文化，这种文化是白人，基督徒，正义的，以家庭为中心。

电视对一个完美家庭的想法是一个带着公文包的专业父亲，他每天都离开工作，还有一个戴着珍珠，养育家庭主妇，养育了他们顽皮的男孩和听话的女孩。通过诸如留给海狸和父亲知道最好的节目，电视创造了一个田园诗般的观点，看看完美的家庭应该是什么样子，尽管很少有真正的家庭能够达到理想状态。

1 CAN WE BE HAPPY IF WE'RE ALL THE SAME?

WAS THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION ACTUALLY REVOLUTIONARY?

Americans loved situation comedies — sitcoms. In the 1950s, **I Love Lucy** topped the ratings charts. The show broke new ground by including a Cuban American character, Ricky Ricardo, played by bandleader Desi Arnaz, and dealing with Lucille Ball's pregnancy, though Lucy was never filmed from the waist down while she was pregnant.

美国人喜欢情景喜剧 - 情景喜剧。在 20 世纪 50 年代, I Love Lucy 在收视率排行榜上名列前茅。这个节目开辟了新天地, 包括一个古巴美国角色 Ricky Ricardo, 由乐队领队 Desi Arnaz 饰演, 并处理露西尔·鲍尔的怀孕, 尽管露西从未在怀孕期间从腰部拍摄过。

Primary Source: Photograph

A typical 1950s family enjoys television while relaxing with a soda in their suburban home. This idealized image even includes a painting of a church hanging on the wall.

主要来源：照片

一个典型的 20 世纪 50 年代家庭享受电视, 同时在郊区的家中放松一下苏打水。这个理想化的图像甚至包括挂在墙上的教堂的绘画。



America's fascination with the West was nothing new, but television brought **Western heroes** into American homes and turned that fascination into a love affair. Cowboys and lawmen such as Hopalong Cassidy, Wyatt Earp and the Cisco Kid galloped across televisions every night.

美国对西方的迷恋并不是什么新鲜事, 但电视将西方英雄带入了美国家园, 并将这种迷恋变成了一种爱情。Hopalong Cassidy, Wyatt Earp 和 Cisco Kid 等牛仔和律师每晚都在电视机上奔跑。

The Roy Rodgers Show and Rin Tin Tin brought the West to children on Saturday mornings, and Davy Crockett coonskin caps became popular fashion items. Long running westerns, such as Bonanza and Rawhide, attracted viewers week after week.

周六早上, Roy Rodgers Show 和 Rin Tin Tin 将西方带到了孩子们身边, Davy Crockett coonskin 帽子成为流行的时尚单品。漫长的西部片, 如 Bonanza 和 Rawhide, 一周又一周吸引了观众。

One Western, **Gunsmoke**, ran for 20 years, longer than any other prime-time drama in television history. (If the Simpsons continues to be aired, it will break the record in 2019.) At the decade's close, 30 westerns aired

一个西方人, Gunsmoke, 跑了 20 年, 比电视史上任何其他黄金时段的戏剧都要长。(如果辛普森一家继续播出, 它将在 2019 年打破纪

1 CAN WE BE HAPPY IF WE'RE ALL THE SAME?

**WAS THE SOCIAL
REVOLUTION
ACTUALLY
REVOLUTIONARY?**

on prime time each week, and westerns occupied seven spots in the Nielsen Top-10 television ratings.



录。)在十年结束时,每周黄金时间播出 30 个西部片,西部片在尼尔森十大电视收视率中占据七个位置。

Primary Source: Photograph

James Arness starred on *Gunsmoke*, which ran for 20 years.

主要来源: 照片

詹姆斯·阿内斯盯着 *Gunsmoke*, 已经跑了 20 年。

Westerns reinforced the notion that everything was OK in America. Like *The Lone Ranger* or *Zorro*, most programs of the early 1950s drew a clear line between good guys and bad guys. There was very little danger of injury or death, and good always triumphed in the end. It was a comforting genre for the early years of the Cold War.

Absent from television in the 1950s was any hint of controversy. With rare exceptions such as Desi Arnaz of *I Love Lucy*, minorities rarely appeared on television in the 1950s.

西方人强调了美国一切都好的观念。像 *The Lone Ranger* 或 *Zorro* 一样, 20 世纪 50 年代早期的大多数节目都在好人和坏人之间划清界线。受伤或死亡的危险很小, 最终总是取得胜利。这是冷战初期的一种令人欣慰的类型。

在 20 世纪 50 年代缺席电视是任何争议的迹象。除了极少数例外, 例如 *I Love Lucy* 的 Desi Arnaz, 20 世纪 50 年代少数民族很少出现在电视上。

1 CAN WE BE HAPPY IF WE'RE ALL THE SAME?



In addition to establishing and reinforcing social norms and creating a national popular culture, television forever changed politics. The first president to be televised was Harry Truman. When Estes Kefauver prosecuted mob boss Frank Costello on television, the Tennessee senator became a national hero and a vice presidential candidate. It did not take long for political advertisers to understand the power of the new medium. Dwight Eisenhower's campaign staff generated sound bites — short, powerful statements from a candidate — rather than air an entire speech. Television has remained an important force in American political debate. In 2016, Donald Trump, a real estate broker and reality television star won the presidency, in part, because of his masterful use of television.

ROCK AND ROLL

The roots of rock and roll lay in African American blues and gospel that had developed over centuries and became popular in the 1920s. As the Great Migration brought African Americans to the cities of the North, the sounds of **rhythm and blues (R&B)** attracted White suburban teens. Due to segregation and racist attitudes, however, none of the greatest artists of the genre, who were all African American, could get much airplay on the radio.

Disc jockey Alan Freed began a rhythm and blues show on a Cleveland radio station and as his audience grew, he coined the term **rock and roll**. Early attempts by white artists to cover R&B songs resulted in weaker renditions that bled the heart and soul out of the originals. However, record producers saw the market potential and began to search for a white artist who could capture the African American sound.

Sam Phillips, a record producer from Memphis, Tennessee, found the answer in **Elvis Presley**. With a deep Southern sound, pouty lips, and gyrating hips, Elvis took an old style and made it his own. From Memphis, the sound spread to other cities, and demand for Elvis records skyrocketed. Within two years, Elvis was the most popular name in the entertainment business and had earned the nickname the King of Rock and Roll.

After the door to rock and roll acceptance was opened, African American performers such as Chuck Berry, Fats Domino and Little Richard began to enjoy broad success, as well. White performers such as Buddy Holly and Jerry Lee Lewis found artistic freedom and commercial success.

电视除了建立和加强社会规范和创造民族流行文化外，还永远改变了政治。电视转播的第一任总统是哈里杜鲁门。当 Estes Kefauver 在电视上起诉暴徒老板 Frank Costello 时，田纳西州参议员成为民族英雄和副总统候选人。政治广告商不久就能理解新媒体的力量。德怀特艾森豪威尔的竞选工作人员产生了一些声音 - 来自候选人的简短而有力的陈述 - 而不是整个演讲。电视一直是美国政治辩论的重要力量。2016 年，房地产经纪人兼真人电视明星唐纳德特朗普获得了总统职位，部分原因在于他熟练使用电视。

摇滚乐

摇滚乐的根源在于非洲裔美国人的蓝调和福音，它们已经发展了几个世纪，并在 20 世纪 20 年代开始流行。随着大移民将非洲裔美国人带到北方城市，节奏和布鲁斯（R & B）的声音吸引了白人郊区的青少年。然而，由于种族隔离和种族主义态度，这一类型中最伟大的艺术家都不是非洲裔美国人，他们可以通过广播获得更多的播放。

唱片骑师 Alan Freed 在克利夫兰广播电台开始了节奏和蓝调表演，随着观众的成长，他创造了摇滚乐这个词。白人艺术家早期尝试报道 R & B 歌曲导致了较弱的演绎，使得心灵和灵魂脱离了原作。然而，唱片制作人看到了市场潜力，并开始寻找能够捕捉非裔美国人声音的白人艺术家。

来自田纳西州孟菲斯的唱片制作人 Sam Phillips 在埃尔维斯普雷斯利找到答案。凭借深沉的南方声音，噘嘴和翘臀，Elvis 采用了旧式风格，并将其制作成自己的风格。从孟菲斯，声音传播到其他城市，对猫王记录的需求飙升。在两年内，猫王是娱乐界最受欢迎的名字，并获得了摇滚之王的绰号。

在获得摇滚乐接受之门后，Chuck Berry, Fats Domino 和 Little Richard 等非洲裔美国演员也开始取得广泛的成功。Buddy Holly 和 Jerry Lee Lewis 等白人表演者发现了艺术自由和商业成功。

1 CAN WE BE HAPPY IF WE'RE ALL THE SAME?

WAS THE SOCIAL
REVOLUTION
ACTUALLY
REVOLUTIONARY?



Primary Source: Photograph

Chuck Berry was one of the pioneers of rock and roll. After Elvis Presley introduced the new form of music to White audiences, musicians like Berry and Fats Domino who had done so much to invent the genera, also found widespread success.

主要来源：照片

Chuck Berry 是摇滚乐的先驱之一。在埃尔维斯普雷斯利向白人观众介绍新形式的音乐之后，像 Berry 和 Fats Domino 这样的音乐家为发明这一类而做了大量工作，也取得了广泛的成功。

Rock and roll sent shockwaves across America. A generation of young teenagers collectively rebelled against the big band music their parents loved. In general, the older generation loathed rock and roll.

Teenagers found the syncopated backbeat rhythm especially suited to dance, which frightened their parents even more than the sounds emanating from their children's radios and record players. Dance parties became the rage and American teens tuned into **Dick Clark's American Bandstand** to keep up on the latest dance and fashion styles. Appalled by the new dances the movement evoked, churches proclaimed it Satan's music.

Frank Sinatra, a great American singer who had risen to fame during the big band era of the 1940s said that rock and roll was "the most brutal, ugly, degenerate, vicious form of expression — lewd, sly, in plain fact,

摇滚乐在整个美国发出冲击波。一代年轻的青少年集体反抗他们父母喜爱的大乐队音乐。一般来说，老一辈厌恶摇滚乐。

青少年发现切分的回跳节奏特别适合跳舞，这比他们孩子的收音机和唱片播放器发出的声音更让父母感到恐惧。舞蹈派对风靡一时，美国青少年调到 Dick Clark 的美国演奏台，以跟上最新的舞蹈和时尚风格。受到运动引发的新舞蹈的震惊，教堂宣称撒旦的音乐。

弗兰克·辛纳屈是一位伟大的美国歌手，在 20 世纪 40 年代的大乐队时代声名鹊起，他说摇滚乐是“最残酷，最丑陋，最堕落，最恶毒的表现形

1 CAN WE BE HAPPY IF WE'RE ALL THE SAME?



dirty — a rancid-smelling aphrodisiac and the martial music of every side-burned delinquent on the face of the earth.”

Because rock and roll had grown out of African American musical styles, many middle-class Whites thought it was tasteless. Rock and roll records were banned from radio stations and hundreds of schools. But the masses spoke louder than the morality police. When Elvis appeared on television on **The Ed Sullivan Show**, the show's ratings soared. America's Baby Boomers loved rock and roll, embraced it as the soundtrack of their generation, and this uniquely American musical creation went on to conquer the world.

THE EXCLUDED

The new prosperity that was the hallmark of the 1950s did not extend to everyone. Many Americans continued to live in poverty throughout the decade, especially older people and African Americans, the latter of whom continued to earn far less on average than their White counterparts in the two decades after World War II.

Between one-fifth and one-fourth of the overall population could not survive on the income they earned. The older generation of Americans did not benefit as much from the post-war economic boom, especially as many had never recovered financially from the loss of their savings during the Great Depression and were too old to go back to work. Many blue-collar workers continued to live in poverty, with 30% of those employed in industry. Racial differences were staggering. In 1947, 60% of African American families lived below the poverty level, compared with 23% of White families. In 1968, 23% of African American families lived below the poverty level, compared with 9% of White families.

Immediately after the war, 12 million returning veterans were in need of work and many could not find it. In addition, labor strikes rocked the nation; in some cases exacerbated by racial tensions due to African-Americans having taken jobs during the war and now being faced with irate returning veterans who demanded that they step aside. The huge number of women employed in the workforce in the war were also rapidly cleared out to make room for men.

In 1952, **Ralph Ellison** penned **Invisible Man**, which pinpointed American indifference to the plight of African Americans. “I am an invisible man,” he wrote. “I am invisible, understand, simply because people refuse to see me...” Ellison earned the National Book Award for his work and *Invisible Man* continues to be ranked among the greatest novels in American literature.

式 - 猥亵, 狡猾, 事实上, 肮脏 - 一股腐臭的催情药, 以及每一方都在地球上烧毁的武侠音乐。”

由于摇滚乐源于非裔美国人的音乐风格, 许多中产阶级白人认为它是无味的。无线电台和数百所学校禁止摇滚唱片。但群众的声音比道德警察更响亮。当埃尔维斯在 *The Ed Sullivan Show* 上出现在电视上时, 该节目的收视率飙升。美国的婴儿潮一代喜欢摇滚乐, 将其视为他们这一代人的配乐, 这种独特的美国音乐创作继续征服世界。

排除在外

作为 20 世纪 50 年代标志的新繁荣并没有扩展到每个人。在整个十年中, 许多美国人继续生活在贫困中, 尤其是老年人和非洲裔美国人, 后者在第二次世界大战后的二十年中的平均收入远低于白人。

总人口的五分之一到四分之一不能靠他们赚取的收入生存。老一辈的美国人并没有从战后的经济繁荣中获益, 特别是因为许多人从大萧条时期的储蓄损失中恢复过来, 而且年龄太大而无法恢复工作。许多蓝领工人继续生活在贫困中, 其中 30% 的人从事工业。种族差异令人震惊。1947 年, 60% 的非裔美国人家生活在贫困线以下, 而白人家庭的这一比例为 23%。1968 年, 23% 的非裔美国人家生活在贫困线以下, 而白人家庭的这一比例为 9%。

战争结束后, 立即有 1200 万退伍军人需要工作, 许多人无法找到工作。此外, 劳工罢工震撼全国; 在某些情况下, 由于非洲裔美国人在战争期间从事工作而面临种族紧张局势而加剧, 现在面临愤怒的退伍军人, 他们要求他们退位。在战争中劳动力中雇佣的女性人数也很快被清除, 以便为男性腾出空间。

1952 年, 拉尔夫·埃里森 (Ralph Ellison) 写下了“隐形人” (*Invisible Man*), 指出了美国人对非洲裔美国人的困境漠不关心。“我是一个看不见的人,” 他写道。“我是隐形的, 明白, 只是因为人们拒绝看我……” 埃里森因其作品获得了国家

African Americans were not the only minorities to suffer hardship in the 1950s. Hispanic Americans languished in urban American barrios, and the Eisenhower Administration responded with a program, derisively named **Operation Wetback**, designed to deport millions of Mexican Americans.

Poverty on Native American reservations increased with an Eisenhower policy designed to end federal support for tribes. Incentives such as relocation assistance and job placement were offered to Native Americans who were willing to venture off the reservations and into the cities. Unfortunately, the government excelled at relocation but struggled with job placement, leading to the creation of Native American ghettos in many western cities.

Other minorities such as Jews, Italians, and Asians also struggled to find their place in the American quilt.

THE CRITICS

As television and social pressure created an ideal American lifestyle based on White, Christian, suburban families, a vocal minority of social critics registered their dissenting voices in literature, art and action.

Most famous of the dissenters were the **Beatniks**. The Beat Generation developed simultaneously in the East Village in New York City and in North Beach in San Francisco. The Beatniks rejected the idealized image of America presented on television. They eschewed the suits and ties, the happy housewives, rock and roll, and phony purity of suburban life. Instead, they wore black turtleneck sweaters, jeans, sandals or Converse shoes. They wore berets and dark glasses. They frequented coffee houses. They were cool.

图书奖，而隐形人继续被评为美国文学史上最伟大的小说。

非洲裔美国人不是 20 世纪 50 年代唯一遭受苦难的少数民族。西班牙裔美国人在美国城市的城市中萎靡不振，艾森豪威尔政府回应了一项计划，名为 Operation Wetback，旨在驱逐数百万墨西哥裔美国人。

随着艾森豪威尔政策旨在终止联邦政府对部落的支持，对美洲原住民保留的贫困程度有所提高。向美国原住民提供了诸如搬迁援助和就业安置等激励措施，他们愿意冒险进入保留区并进入城市。不幸的是，政府在搬迁方面表现出色，但在就业安置方面却很挣扎，导致在许多西方城市创建了美洲原住民聚居区。

其他少数民族，如犹太人，意大利人和亚洲人也在努力寻找他们在美国被子中的位置。

批评

由于电视和社会压力创造了一种基于白人，基督教，郊区家庭的理想美国生活方式，一些声音少数社会批评者在文学，艺术和行动中表达了他们的不同声音。

最著名的持不同政见者是 Beatniks。垮掉的一代同时在纽约东村和旧金山的北滩开发。Beatniks 拒绝了电视上呈现的美国理想化形象。他们避开西装和领带，快乐的家庭主妇，摇滚乐和郊区生活的虚假纯洁。相反，他们穿着黑色高领毛衣，牛仔裤，凉鞋或匡威鞋。他们戴着贝雷帽和墨镜。他们经常光顾咖啡馆。他们很酷。

1 CAN WE BE HAPPY IF WE'RE ALL THE SAME?

WAS THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION ACTUALLY REVOLUTIONARY?



Primary Source: Photograph

One of the pioneers of bebop, a new take on jazz that emerged in the 1950s, Thelonious Monk at the piano.

主要来源：照片

作为 bebop 的先驱之一，这是 20 世纪 50 年代出现的爵士乐的新成员，钢琴中的 Thelonious Monk。

While mainstream America seemed to ignore African American culture, the beats celebrated it by frequenting jazz clubs and romanticizing their poverty. In an effort to find a new way of living, they used alcohol and drugs, and experimented with new sexual lifestyles, foreshadowed the counterculture of the following decade.

The Beatniks didn't like rock and roll, but rejected also the big band swing of their parents, which they thought had become too mainstream and too commercialized. They helped popularize bebop jazz, a new art form that was intimate, based on small quartets and quintets. **Bebop** emphasized improvisation and talented soloists such as saxophonists **John Coltrane** and **Charlie Parker**, trumpeter **Dizzy Gillespie**, and pianists **Thelonious Monk** and **Dave Brubeck**.

The Beatniks were not reformers. They believed that mainstream American culture was so corrupt that fixing it would be a lost cause. Like the Transcendentalists of the 1820s and 1830s, they believed that only by separating completely could they find true meaning in life. Beatnik communities thrived in New York and San Francisco, but also sprung up in Venice in Los Angeles and the French Quarter in New Orleans.

虽然主流美国似乎忽略了非洲裔美国人的文化，但节拍通过经常光顾爵士乐俱乐部和浪漫化他们的贫困来庆祝它。为了寻找新的生活方式，他们使用酒精和毒品，并尝试新的性生活方式，预示了接下来十年的反文化。

Beatniks 不喜欢摇滚乐，但也拒绝了他们父母的大乐队演奏，他们认为这已经成为主流和太商业化。他们帮助推广了 bebop 爵士乐，这是一种基于小四重奏和五重奏的亲密的新艺术形式。波普强调即兴才华的独奏家，如萨克斯约翰柯川和查理帕克，小号手吉莱斯皮和钢琴家勒尼斯·蒙克和戴夫布鲁贝克。

Beatniks 不是改革者。他们认为美国主流文化是如此腐败，以至于修复它将是一个失败的原因。像 19 世纪 20 年代和 1830 年代的超验主义者一样，他们相信只有完全分离才能在生活中找到真正的意义。Beatnik 社区在纽约和旧金山蓬勃发展，但在洛杉矶的威尼斯和新奥尔良的法国区也如雨后春笋般涌现。

1 CAN WE BE HAPPY IF WE'RE ALL THE SAME?



The driving force behind the Beat Generation were its writers, and the writer who first defined what it meant to be beat was **Allen Ginsberg**. His poem **Howl**, published in 1956, railed against the conformity of mainstream culture and celebrated the life of the Beatniks who sought to live life as they pleased. Most shockingly, it described drug use and both heterosexual and homosexual sex at a time when homosexual sex was illegal in almost every state.

As a result, the poem became the subject of an important court case. Copies of the poem were seized by authorities and the owner of the bookstore that first sold them was arrested. The **American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU)** and numerous critics spoke in defense of the poem's literary value and the judge hearing the case ruled that it had "redeeming social importance," setting a precedent for freedom of speech.

Another of the Beat Generation's defining authors was Ginsberg's friend **Jack Kerouac**. His novel **On the Road**, published in 1957, retells the wanderings of a young Beatnik in search of what Kerouac described as IT, the essential meaning of life, stripped of social rules and obligations. The protagonist's journey echoes that of Huckleberry Finn in Mark Twain's classic. Like Twain, and especially like Henry David Thoreau a century before, Kerouac believed that only by cutting oneself off completely from the surrounding mainstream culture could a person truly live a meaningful life.

Other writers of the Beat Generation critiqued specific aspects of mainstream culture. The notion of the white-collar, executive-track, male employee was condemned in fiction in Sloan Wilson's *The Man in the Gray Flannel Suit* and in commentary in William Whyte's *The Organization Man*.

Economist John Kenneth Galbraith criticized old values in his book *In The Affluent Society*. Galbraith argued that happiness and education were more important measures of success than the output of goods and services.

In his book *The City in History*, Lewis Mumford described the ideal urban setting in which growth and planning were in harmony with the environment. His critique of the new suburbs and their artificial nature was harsh. He wrote that "the suburb served as an asylum for the preservation of illusion. Here domesticity could prosper, oblivious of the pervasive regimentation beyond. This was not merely a child-centered environment; it was based on a childish view of the world, in which reality was sacrificed to the pleasure principle."

垮掉一代背后的驱动力是它的作家，而第一个定义其意味着被击败的作家是艾伦金斯伯格。他的诗“哈尔”于 1956 年出版，抨击主流文化的整合，并庆祝那些寻求生活的 Beatniks 的生活。最令人震惊的是，在几乎每个州的同性性行为都是非法的时候，它描述了吸毒以及异性恋和同性恋的性行为。

结果，这首诗成为一个重要的法庭案件的主题。当局查获了这首诗的副本，并且首先出售这些诗的书店的所有者被捕。美国公民自由联盟 (ACLU) 和众多评论家在诗的文学价值的防御和法官审理此案裁定，它有谈到“救赎社会的重要性”，“设置言论自由的先河。

Beat Generation 的另一个定义作者是 Ginsberg 的朋友 Jack Kerouac。1957 年出版的他的小说“在路上”重新讲述了一个年轻的 Beatnik 漫游，寻找凯鲁亚克所描述的 IT，生命的本质意义，剥夺了社会规则和义务。主角的旅程与马克吐温经典中的 Huckleberry Finn 相呼应。像吐温一样，特别是像亨利大卫梭罗一个世纪前一样，凯鲁亚克认为，只有彻底摆脱周围的主流文化，一个人才能真正过上有意义的生活。

垮掉一代的其他作家批评了主流文化的特定方面。在斯隆威尔逊的“灰色法兰绒套装中的男人”和威廉·怀特的“组织人”的评论中，白领，高管，男性员工的概念受到了谴责。

经济学家约翰肯尼斯加尔布雷思在他的“富裕社会”一书中批评了旧的价值观念。加尔布雷思认为，幸福和教育是比商品和服务产出更重要的成功衡量标准。

在他的“历史之城”一书中，刘易斯·芒福德描述了理想的城市环境，其中增长和规划与环境相协调。他对新郊区及其人工天性的批评是严厉的。他写道：“郊区是保护幻觉的避难所。在这里，家庭生活可以繁荣昌盛，忘记了普遍存在的规则。这不仅仅是以儿童为中心的环境，它基于对世界的幼稚观点，其中现实被牺牲为快乐原则。”

1 CAN WE BE HAPPY IF WE'RE ALL THE SAME?

WAS THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION ACTUALLY REVOLUTIONARY?

Even singers tore into the sameness of the suburbs. In her song *Little Boxes*, Malvina Reynolds mocked suburban tract housing as little boxes of different colors “all made out of ticky-tacky,” which all looked “just the same.”

The booming postwar defense industry came under fire in C. Wright Mills’ *The Power Elite*. Mills feared that an alliance between military leaders and munitions manufacturers held an unhealthy proportion of power that could ultimately endanger American democracy, a sentiment echoed by President Eisenhower in his Farewell Address.

Even the life of teenagers growing up in the false happiness of suburbia was skewered in literature by J.D. Salinger in his novel *The Catcher in the Rye*.

American painters also took shots at conformity. **Edward Hopper**, who had made a name for himself in earlier decades, combated the blissful images of television by showing an America full of loneliness and alienation.



In New York City, painters broke with the conventions of Western art to create abstract expressionism, widely regarded as the most significant artistic movement ever to come out of America. **Abstract expressionists**, such as **Willem de Kooning**, **Hans Hoffman**, **Mark Rothko**, and **Jackson Pollock**, sought to express their subconscious and their dissatisfaction with postwar life through unique and innovative paintings. For them, the physical act of painting was almost as important as the work itself. Jackson Pollock gained fame through action painting,

即使是歌手也会破坏郊区的同一性。在她的歌的小盒子，马尔维娜雷诺嘲笑郊区住房作为不同颜色的小方块“所有做出来 ticky 粘性的”，这看起来都“一样。”

蓬勃发展的战后国防工业在 C. Wright Mills 的 *The Power Elite* 中遭到抨击。米尔斯坦心，军事领导人和军火制造商之间的联盟拥有一种不健康的权力，最终可能危及美国的民主，这一点在艾森豪威尔总统的告别演说中得到了回应。

甚至在郊区的虚假幸福中长大的青少年的生活也被 J.D.塞林格在他的小说“麦田里的守望者”中的文学中所串起。

美国画家也采取了一致的态度。爱德华·霍珀 (Edward Hopper) 在前几十年为自己取名，通过展示一个充满孤独和异化的美国来打击电视的幸福形象。

Primary Source: Painting

“Convergence” by Jackson Pollock, exemplifies the abstract expressionism that swept the American art world after World War II.

主要来源：绘画

杰克逊波洛克的“融合”，体现了第二次世界大战后席卷美国艺术世界的抽象表现主义。

在纽约市，画家打破了西方艺术的惯例，创造了抽象表现主义，被广泛认为是有史以来最重要的艺术运动。抽象的表现主义者，如 Willem de Kooning, Hans Hoffman, Mark Rothko 和 Jackson Pollock, 试图通过独特和创新的绘画表达他们的潜意识和对战后生活的不满。对他们来说，绘画的物理行为几乎与作品本身一样重要。杰克逊波洛克通过动作绘画获得了名气，

1 CAN WE BE HAPPY IF WE'RE ALL THE SAME?

WAS THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION ACTUALLY REVOLUTIONARY?

the act pouring, dripping, and spattering the paint onto the canvas. Rothko covered his canvas with large rectangles, which he said conveyed “basic human emotions.”

While the 1950s cinemas were mostly home to the typical Hollywood fare of Westerns and romances, a handful of films shocked audiences by uncovering the dark side of America’s youth. **Marlon Brando** played the leather-clad leader of a motorcycle gang that ransacked a small town in *The Wild One*. The film terrified adults but fascinated kids, who emulated Brando’s style. 1955 saw the release of *Blackboard Jungle*, a film about juvenile delinquency in an urban high school. It was the first major release to use a rock and roll soundtrack and was banned in many areas both for its violent portrayal of high school life and its use of a multiracial cast of lead actors.



Perhaps the most controversial and influential of these films is 1955’s *Rebel Without a Cause*. Another film about teenage delinquency, *Rebel* was not set amid urban decay, but rather in an affluent suburb. Ironically, the film made it clear that the failure of those very families was to blame for the main characters’ troubles. Once again, parents were outraged, but the message could no longer be ignored. Juvenile delinquency was no longer a problem for the lower classes. It was lurking in the supposedly perfect suburbs. The film earned three Academy Award nominations and propelled **James Dean** to posthumous but eternal stardom.

这种行为倾注，滴落，并将油漆溅到画布上。罗斯科用大长方形盖住了他的画布，他说这些画布传达了“基本的人类情感”。

虽然 20 世纪 50 年代的电影院主要是典型的好莱坞西部片和浪漫故事，但少数电影通过揭露美国年轻人的黑暗面来震惊观众。马龙·白兰度 (Marlon Brando) 饰演一名摩托车团伙的皮革领袖，该团伙洗劫了 *The Wild One* 的一个小镇。这部电影让成年人感到害怕，但却迷住了孩子们，他们模仿了白兰度的风格。1955 年，一部关于城市高中青少年犯罪的电影 *Blackboard Jungle* 上映。这是第一个使用摇滚乐配乐的主要版本，并且在许多领域被禁止用于暴力描绘高中生活和使用多种族的演员。

Primary Source: Photograph

James Dean symbolized rejection of the 1950s ideal young man. His performance in “*Rebel Without a Cause*” shocked parents, inspired teenagers, and won critical acclaim.

主要来源：照片

詹姆斯·迪恩象征着对 20 世纪 50 年代理想年轻人的拒绝。他在“《没有原因的反叛》”中的表现震惊了父母，激发了青少年的灵感，赢得了一致好评。

这些电影中最具争议性和影响力的可能是 1955 年的无因反叛。另一部关于青少年犯罪的电影，*Rebel* 并未在城市衰退中定居，而是在富裕的郊区。具有讽刺意味的是，这部电影清楚地表明，那些家庭的失败是主要人物的烦恼的罪魁祸首。父母们再一次感到愤怒，但这个信息再也不会被忽视了。青少年犯罪不再是下层阶级的问题。它潜伏在所谓的完美郊区。这部电影获得了三项奥斯卡奖提名，并将詹姆斯·迪恩推向了死后但永恒的明星。

1 CAN WE BE HAPPY IF WE'RE ALL THE SAME?



Perhaps ironically, the majority of the Beatniks and critics of affluence and conformity were the same White middle class Americans who were enjoying the nation's newfound prosperity the most. Lower classes, blue-collar workers, and minorities who had sacrificed during World War II to demonstrate their patriotism and prove that they deserved a place at America's table rejected the growing counterculture. For them, prosperity had finally arrived after generations of waiting and they saw no reason not to embrace it.

Although the Beatniks and social critics of the 1950s would pave the way for a much larger counterculture movement in the next decade, they were a tiny fraction Americans overall. Most of the new, prosperous middle class families were content to live out their days in the sameness of their suburban homes, try to enjoy happy days and live up to the models of perfect families found on television.

CONCLUSION

Despite what the critics may have said, most Americans were quite happy with their lives during the 1950s. New homes in the suburbs and the roaring economy gave them a chance to enjoy a life that had eluded their parents. For the first time in a long time, the basic needs of nearly every American were being met.

The saying "a rising tide lifts all ships" was true in the 1950s. Although the members of the lower class and minorities were often excluded from the very best opportunities, they were not excluded entirely. Many who had previously only expected a future of poverty were able to join the ranks of the middle class.

At last, happiness seemed to have arrived. The only price to pay for contentment was to leave individuality behind. Those who sought prosperity and bliss had to conform, and conform they did. Millions of Americans bought into the idyllic life they saw on television. They bought the products advertisers told them they had to have and wore the cloths the advertisers told them to wear.

But is this really happiness? Or as the Beatniks and their fellow critics proclaimed, is conformity just a way of hiding from hard truths?

What do you think? Can we be happy if we're all the same?

也许具有讽刺意味的是，大多数 Beatniks 和富裕与顺从的批评者都是同样的白人中产阶级美国人，他们享受着这个国家新发现的繁荣。在第二次世界大战期间牺牲的低级阶层，蓝领工人和少数民族为了表现出他们的爱国主义并证明他们应该在美国的餐桌上占有一席之地，他们拒绝了日益增长的反文化。对于他们来说，经过几代人的等待，繁荣终于到来了，他们没有理由不接受它。

尽管 Beatniks 和 20 世纪 50 年代的社会批评者将在未来十年为更大规模的反文化运动铺平道路，但他们在整体上只占很小的一部分。大多数新兴的中产阶级家庭都满足于在郊区住宅的同一天度过他们的日子，尝试享受快乐的日子，并在电视上找到完美家庭的模特。

结论

尽管批评者可能已经说过，但大多数美国人对他们在 20 世纪 50 年代的生活感到非常满意。郊区的新房和咆哮的经济使他们有机会享受父母躲过的生活。很长一段时间以来，第一次满足了几乎每个美国人的基本需求。

20 世纪 50 年代，“涨潮使所有船只升起”的说法是正确的。虽然下层阶级和少数民族成员往往被排除在最佳机会之外，但他们并未被完全排除在外。许多以前只预计未来贫困的人能够加入中产阶级的行列。

最后，幸福似乎已经到来。满足的唯一代价是让个性落后。寻求繁荣和幸福的人必须遵守，并遵守他们的意愿。数百万美国人购买了他们在电视上看到的田园诗般的生活。他们买了广告商告诉他们必须拥有的产品，并穿着广告商告诉他们穿的衣服。

但这真的很幸福吗？或者正如 Beatniks 和他们的批评家们所宣称的那样，整合只是一种躲避硬道理的方式吗？

你怎么看？如果我们都一样，我们能幸福吗？

1 CAN WE BE HAPPY IF WE'RE ALL THE SAME?



SUMMARY

Most Americans have happy memories of the 1950s. During the 1950s, the economy boomed. Middle class and blue-collar workers all did well. For the first time ever, most Americans could afford houses, cars, and new inventions like televisions. The interstate highway system was built, encouraging automobile purchasing, and the use of fertilizers led to abundant harvests. New advances in medicine helped people live longer.

Politically, the 1950s were stable. Eisenhower was president and he kept the government from spending too much, while also not reducing popular programs like Social Security. Although it was the height of the Cold War arms race, Eisenhower ended the Korean War and kept the nation out of any hot conflicts.

The G.I. Bill helped veterans of World War II buy houses and attend college. For the first time, both became common. Those same veterans came home and started families. Their children, the Baby Boomers, are one of the nation's largest generations ever. To house these families, suburbs were built. Cities grew, shopping malls, and fast food restaurants sprung up. It was a time of huge population growth in California.

People in the 1950s became more religious. More Americans went to church. However, the Supreme Court also limited the influence of religion in schools, banning school prayer for example.

In the 1950s, there was tremendous pressure for people to live up to an ideal. Family were supposed to have married parents, with a dad who worked and mom who stayed home to raise polite children. They were supposed to have a house in the suburbs and a car.

Television was new and promoted this idealized version of family. Sitcoms were popular. Westerns were also popular in which good could always triumph over evil.

Rock and roll was new in the 1950s. Although based on African American traditions like rhythm and blues, it was first popularized by Elvis Presley.

Not everyone enjoyed the prosperity of the 1950s. The elderly, women, African Americans and other minorities did not benefit from the G.I. Bill.

The Beatniks rejected the conformity of the 1950s. Centered in San Francisco and New York City, they preferred a new form of jazz called

摘要

大多数美国人对 1950 年代有美好的回忆。在 1950 年代，经济蓬勃发展。中产阶级和蓝领工人都表现良好。大多数美国人有史以来第一次可以负担得起房屋，汽车和电视等新发明。建立了州际公路系统，鼓励了汽车的购买，化肥的使用带来了丰收。医学的新进展帮助人们寿命更长。

在政治上，20 世纪 50 年代是稳定的。艾森豪威尔是总统，他不让政府花太多钱，同时也没有减少像社会保障这样的热门节目。虽然这是冷战军备竞赛的高潮，但艾森豪威尔结束了朝鲜战争并使国家摆脱了任何激烈的冲突。

G.I.比尔帮助二战老兵买房并上大学。第一次，两者都变得普遍。那些老兵回到家并开始了家庭。他们的孩子，婴儿潮一代，是美国有史以来最大的一代。为了安置这些家庭，修建了郊区。城市不断壮大，大型购物中心和快餐店如雨后春笋般涌现。那是加利福尼亚人口激增的时期。

1950 年代的人们变得更加虔诚。更多的美国人去教堂。但是，最高法院还限制了宗教对学校的影响，例如禁止学校祈祷。

在 1950 年代，人们要求实现理想的巨大压力。一家人本该嫁给父母，有一个工作的父亲和一个留在家中养育有礼貌的孩子的妈妈。他们应该在郊区有房子和汽车。

电视是新的，并推广了这个理想化的家庭版本。连续剧很受欢迎。西方人也很受欢迎，善良总能战胜邪恶。

摇滚乐在 20 世纪 50 年代是新的。虽然基于非洲裔美国人的节奏和布鲁斯等传统，但它最初是由埃尔维斯普雷斯利推广的。

不是每个人都享受着 20 世纪 50 年代的繁荣。老年人，妇女，非裔美国人和其他少数民族没有受益于 G.I.法案。

Beatniks 拒绝了 20 世纪 50 年代的一致性。他们以旧金山和纽约市为中心，更喜欢一种名为

1 CAN WE BE HAPPY IF WE'RE ALL THE SAME?

**WAS THE SOCIAL
REVOLUTION
ACTUALLY
REVOLUTIONARY?**

bebop and criticized mainstream culture. The Beat Generation created some of the best literature of the 1950s. Those who did not want to conform also popularized abstract expressionism, a new style in art. Some movies of the 1950s similarly portrayed the darker side of society.

bebop 的新型爵士乐，并批评主流文化。垮掉的一代创造了 20 世纪 50 年代的一些最佳文献。那些不想遵守的人也普及了抽象表现主义，一种新的艺术风格。20 世纪 50 年代的一些电影同样描绘了社会的黑暗面。



KEY IDEAS

Middle Class: The large group of Americans who are not wealth or poor, but are able to live comfortably on the money they earn from their work.

Corporatization: The process by which small businesses close during difficult economic times and larger, more financially resilient companies survive and take their place in the economy.

Green Revolution: A change in agriculture in the 1940s and 1950s in which selective breeding, the use of fertilizer, and other scientific advancements led to a tremendous increase in food production.

Consolidation: The process of combining small businesses or farms into larger ones.

Modern Republicanism: A political philosophy during the second half of the 1900s in which Republican politicians did not increase government spending, but also did not cut popular New Deal programs such as Social Security.

Mortgage: A loan to purchase a house or condominium.

Tuition: The cost of a college education.

American Dream: Persistent myth in America that hard work and ingenuity will result in upward social mobility. In the 1950s, the goal was a house in the suburbs, a family with children, a car and a dog.

Urban Sprawl: The spread of cities, especially suburbs, into rural areas. This process usually involves wasted land in which large parking lots divide buildings or large yards separate homes. It necessitates a car-based culture in order to get around.

1950s Ideal Family: Family structure that includes a father who goes to work, a mother who stays home to care for the house and children, and two or three children. This image was perpetuated in early television in shows such as *Leave It to Beaver* and *Father Knows Best*. It is heavily influenced by the Cult of Domesticity.



LAWS & GOVERNMENT PROGRAMS

G.I. Bill: Nickname for the Servicemen's Readjustment Act. Passed in 1944 it gave money to veterans to attend college or buy houses. It had a tremendous impact on the education levels of adult Americans and also led to a boom in suburban development.

Operation Wetback: Government program during the 1950s to deport millions of Mexican Americans who had come to the United States, mostly as farmworkers.



COURT CASES

Everson v. Board of Education: 1947 Supreme Court case in which the Court concluded that taxpayer dollars cannot be spent to support private schools because it violates the First Amendment separation of church and state. In the particular case, public school busses were transporting students to a religious school.

Engel v. Vitale: 1962 Supreme Court case in which the Court concluded that public schools may not require students to participate in prayers because it violates the First Amendment separation of church and state.



PEOPLE AND GROUPS

Blue-Collar Workers: Workers who earn a living from their labor. They include custodians, construction workers, and factory workers.

Dr. Jonas Salk: Doctor who discovered a vaccine to prevent Polio.

Dwight Eisenhower: Republican president during the 1950s. He championed Modern Republicanism. He did not want to increase federal spending but also did not cut New Deal programs. He oversaw the arms race during the Cold War, but his presidency is remembered as a time of peace and economic growth.

Baby Boomers: The largest generation of Americans. They were born between 1945 and 1965. They were the children of the Greatest Generation and grew up during the 1950s, were teenagers and young adults during the 1960s, fought in Vietnam, and are the parents of Generation X. Most of them are now retiring.

William Levitt: Entrepreneur who developed methods for quickly building suburbs with inexpensive housing.

Billy Graham: Celebrity Christian minister during the post-World War II era. He broadcast his sermons on television and advised multiple presidents.

Elvis Presley: The "King" of Rock and Roll. As a White musician who had access to radio airtime, he popularized the new musical style in the 1950s when African Americans who had developed it had less public exposure.

Ralph Ellison: African American author of *Invisible Man*. He won the National Book Award for his writing about indifference toward African Americans.

Beatniks: A group of social critics during the 1950s, based in New York City and San Francisco, or questioned mainstream culture. They embraced jazz rather than rock and roll, wore dark clothes, drank coffee rather than alcohol, and popularized the idea of "cool."

John Coltrane: Great saxophonist of the bebop jazz era. He often recorded with other great musicians of the era.

Charlie Parker: Great saxophonist of the bebop jazz era. He was nicknamed "Yardbird" or just the "Bird."

Dizzy Gillespie: Great saxophonist of the bebop jazz era.

Thelonious Monk: Great pianist and composer of the bebop jazz era.

Dave Brubeck: Great pianist of the bebop jazz era. His most famous song was *Take Five*.

Allen Ginsberg: Beat generation author of the poem "Howl."

American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU): Organization that provides lawyers to defend people they believe have had their basic rights violated. For example, they defend freedom of speech cases and in the 1920s, helped defend John Scopes.

Jack Kerouac: Beat Generation author of "On the Road"

J.D. Salinger: Author of "The Catcher in the Rye" who wrote about false happiness in the suburbs of the 1950s.

Willem de Kooning: Dutch American artist who helped popularize Abstract Impressionism after World War II.

Hans Hoffman: German American artist who helped launch the Abstract Impressionist era after World War II.

Mark Rothko: American artist of the Abstract Impressionist era who was famous for painting large rectangles he said conveyed "basic human emotions."

Jackson Pollock: Famous artist of the Abstract Impressionist era who is famous for splashing paint wildly over large canvasses. He called it his "drip" technique.

Marlon Brando: Movie star of the 1950s. He played a motorcycle gang leader in *The Wild One*, the first major motion picture to feature rock and roll in its soundtrack.

James Dean: Academy Award winning actor from the 1950s who portrayed a troubled teenager in *Rebel Without a Cause*, a film that stood in contrast to the utopian image many held of suburban life in the 50s.

Edward Hopper: Artist of the 1950s who painted scenes that challenged the ideal images of life in the 1950s. His painting "Nighthawks" is the most famous.



PLACES

Interstate Highway System: A network of limited-access, high-speed roads built to connect major cities beginning in the 1950s.

Suburbs: The neighborhoods that grow up around a large city. They grew rapidly in the 1950s.

Levittown: A suburban city built by William Levitt. The first was in New York. Eventually six more were built.

Shopping Center: Designations in which many stores are concentrated together in one building, usually around a few department stores. These developed in the suburbs in the 1950s.

Fast Food Restaurant: A type of restaurant with a limited, inexpensive menu in which food would always be cooked waiting for customers. They developed during the 1950s as part of the growth of suburbs.



SCIENCE

Polio: Debilitating neurological disease that produces paralysis in the legs. A vaccine was discovered by Dr. Jonas Salk.

Penicillin: Antibiotic that was discovered in 1939 and prevented tremendous numbers of deaths beginning in World War II.



LITERATURE

Invisible Man: Ralph Ellison's award winning novel about the plight of African Americans in the 1950s.

Howl: Allen Ginsberg's famous poem that helped define the Beat Generation. It was the subject of an important freedom of speech court case when authorities tried to confiscate copies from a bookstore due to its homosexual subjects.

On the Road: Book by Jack Kerouac that helped define what it mean to be Beat during the 1950s.

The Catcher in the Rye: Novel by J.D. Salinger exposing the false happiness of life in the suburbs of the 1950s.



ENTERTAINMENT

I Love Lucy: Popular 1950s Sitcom starring Lucille Ball.

Westerns: Category of television show that features heavily stereotypical cowboys, outlaws, Hispanics, Native Americans and other characters from the West.

Gunsmoke: Television western that ran for 20 years.

Rhythm and Blues (R&B): Musical style popularized by African Americans in the cities of the North. It attracted White suburban teenagers and gave rise to rock and roll when White musicians used it as the basis for their own versions.

Rock and Roll: Musical style that developed in the 1950s. It was originally based on R&B.

Dick Clark's American Bandstand: Popular television program in the 1950s that promoted new rock and roll acts and dances.

The Ed Sullivan Show: Popular television show in the 1950s that featured new musicians. The Beatles famously played this show when they first arrived in the United States.

Bebop: Form of jazz that developed in the 1950s. Unlike the big band swing of the 1930s and 1940s, this new style was performed by small quartets and quintets and emphasized improvisation.

Abstract Expressionism: Art style popularized after World War II. Artists in this style expressed their dissatisfaction with postwar life by making the act of painting more important than the work itself. Jackson Pollock's wild splashes of paint on large canvasses are the most famous.

2

SECOND QUESTION WAS THE COUNTERCULTURE ANTI-AMERICAN?

**WAS THE SOCIAL
REVOLUTION
ACTUALLY
REVOLUTIONARY?**

INTRODUCTION

The Greatest Generation had grown up as children and teenagers in the hardscrabble years of the Great Depression. As young adults they had fought and defeated Hitler and Imperial Japan. Then, after returning to normal life from the war, they set out to build a prosperous and stable life for their children.

These children, the Baby Boomers entered their teenage years in the early 1960s, and in sheer numbers they represented a larger force than any prior generation in the history of the country. But to their parents' dismay, they could not have been more different.

Some of these Baby Boomer teenagers led a social rebellion that helped to define the decade. Never more than a small minority, the counterculture proved to be hugely influential as it offered an alternative to the bland homogeneity of American middle-class life, patriarchal family structures, self-discipline, unquestioning patriotism, and the acquisition of property that had characterized their childhood in the 1950s.

These hippies rejected the conventions of traditional society. Men sported beards and grew their hair long. Both men and women wore clothing from non-Western cultures, defied their parents, rejected social etiquettes and manners, and turned to music as an expression of their sense of self. Casual sex between unmarried men and women was acceptable. Drug use, especially of marijuana and psychedelic drugs like LSD and peyote, was common. They protested America's war in Vietnam and preached a doctrine of personal freedom.

For their parents, the generation who had fought and won World War II, the counterculture was terrifying. These teenagers who they had so carefully raised had turned their back on everything they held dear. The counterculture, as many saw it, was anti-American. They didn't want money. They didn't follow the rules. They were throwing away and turning their backs on America itself.

What do you think? Was the counterculture anti-American?

介绍

在大萧条的艰难岁月中，最伟大的一代已经成长为儿童和青少年。作为年轻人，他们曾与希特勒和日本帝国作战并战胜过。然后，在战争恢复正常生活后，他们开始为孩子们建立一个繁荣稳定的生活。

这些孩子，婴儿潮一代在 20 世纪 60 年代初进入了他们的青少年时期，并且在数量上，他们代表了比该国历史上任何一代人更大的力量。但是对于他们父母的沮丧，他们不可能有更大的不同。

这些婴儿潮一代青少年中的一些人领导了社会叛乱，这有助于确定这十年。反文化不仅仅是一小部分，它被证明具有巨大的影响力，因为它为美国中产阶级生活的平淡同质性，父权制家庭结构，自律，毫无疑问的爱国主义以及获得他们所表征的财产提供了另一种选择。20 世纪 50 年代的童年。

这些嬉皮士拒绝传统社会的惯例。男人长胡须，长发。男人和女人都穿着非西方文化的衣服，蔑视他们的父母，拒绝社交礼仪和礼仪，并转向音乐作为他们自我意识的表达。未婚男女之间的随意性行为是可以接受的。药物使用，特别是大麻和迷幻药物如 LSD 和仙人掌，是常见的。他们抗议美国在越南的战争，并宣扬个人自由的教义。

对于他们的父母来说，曾经战斗并赢得第二次世界大战的那一代，反文化是令人恐惧的。他们如此精心养育的这些青少年背弃了他们所珍视的一切。正如许多人所看到的那样，反文化是反美的。他们不想要钱。他们没有遵守规则。他们扔掉了，背对着美国本身。

你怎么看？反文化反美吗？

2 WAS THE COUNTERCULTURE ANTI-AMERICAN?



CONTINUING THE BEATNIK LEGACY

The 1960s counterculture formed both a continuation of earlier alternative movements and was at the same time something new. Like the transcendentalists of the 1840s, they believed that finding truth meant finding new ways of thinking and living. They looked for ideas about truth and pure living outside of the strict Christian teaching they had learned as children in the 1950s and embraced Buddhist and Hindu philosophies. One lasting legacy of their spiritual quests has been the lasting popularity of Eastern traditions like meditation and yoga in America.

Most immediately, the counterculture was an outgrowth of the Beatniks of the 1950s. Like the Beatniks they believed that mainstream society had been corrupted and they sought to separate themselves. Also, like the Beatniks they embraced drugs. The great Beat writer Alan Ginsberg became a mentor to his younger followers. However, in fundamental ways the 1960s were not a pure continuation of the 1950s. The Beat generation was cold, isolated and hard to join. They wore dark clothes and listened to jazz. The **hippies** were easy to copy and welcomed everyone. They embraced rock and roll and bright colors.

Perhaps most importantly, the hippies believed in social change. They joined in a wide variety of social movements including the civil rights movement in the South, the environmental movement, Cesar Chavez's efforts to help Mexican American farm workers, the women's rights movement, and most famously, the anti-war movement.

HAIGHT-ASHBURY AND THE SUMMER OF LOVE

Most movements need a center – a leader or a place around which people and their beliefs can concentrate. For the counterculture, that center was the **Haight-Ashbury** neighborhood of San Francisco, California.

The residents of Haight-Ashbury did not set out to become home to thousands of hippies. Rather, the counterculture found the neighborhood. San Francisco was already the home of the 1950s counterculture and in Haight-Ashbury rents were inexpensive. What made the neighborhood a real magnet for hippies, however, was drugs.

Ron and Jay Thelin's Psychedelic Shop opened on Haight Street in 1966, offering hippies a spot to purchase marijuana and LSD. The Psychedelic Shop quickly became one of the unofficial community centers for the growing numbers of young people migrating to the neighborhood. Other shops opened up nearby openly selling drugs as

继续 BEATNIK 遗产

20 世纪 60 年代的反主流文化形成了早期替代运动的延续，同时也是一种新的东西。像 19 世纪 40 年代的超验主义者一样，他们相信找到真理意味着寻找新的思维和生活方式。他们在 20 世纪 50 年代作为儿童学习的严格的基督教教义之外，寻求关于真理和纯粹生活的观点，并接受佛教和印度教的哲学。他们的精神任务的一个持久遗产是美国东方传统如冥想和瑜伽的持久流行。

最直接的是，反传统文化是 20 世纪 50 年代 Beatniks 的产物。像 Beatniks 一样，他们认为主流社会已经腐败，并且寻求将自己分开。此外，像 Beatniks 一样，他们接受了毒品。伟大的 Beat 作家 Alan Ginsberg 成为了他年轻粉丝的导师。然而，从根本上说，20 世纪 60 年代并不是 20 世纪 50 年代的纯粹延续。垮掉的一代很冷，孤立，很难加入。他们穿着深色衣服，听着爵士乐。嬉皮士很容易复制并欢迎大家。他们拥抱摇滚乐和鲜艳的色彩。

也许最重要的是，嬉皮士相信社会变革。他们加入了各种各样的社会运动，包括南方的民权运动，环境运动，Cesar Chavez 帮助墨西哥裔美国农场工人的努力，妇女权利运动以及最著名的反战运动。

有趣的灰烬和爱的夏天

大多数运动需要一个中心 - 一个领导者或一个人们和他们的信仰可以集中的地方。对于反传统文化，该中心是加利福尼亚州旧金山的 Haight-Ashbury 社区。

海特阿什伯里的居民并不打算成为成千上万嬉皮士的家。相反，反文化发现了邻居。旧金山已经是 20 世纪 50 年代反主流文化的发源地，而 Haight-Ashbury 的租金也很便宜。然而，让邻居成为嬉皮士的真正吸引力的是毒品。

Ron 和 Jay Thelin 的迷幻商店于 1966 年在海特街开业，为嬉皮士提供购买大麻和 LSD 的地方。迷幻商店迅速成为越来越多的年轻人迁移到附近的非官方社区中心之一。在附近开设的其他商店公开销

2 WAS THE COUNTERCULTURE ANTI-AMERICAN?

WAS THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION ACTUALLY REVOLUTIONARY?

well as crystals, tie-died shirts, books and the various other symbols of the counterculture.

Another well-known neighborhood presence was the **Diggers**, a local group known originally for its street theater. The Diggers believed in a free society and the good in human nature. They hated the idea of capitalism and believed money brought out the worst in people. To express their belief, they established a free store, gave out free meals, and built a free medical clinic, which was the first of its kind, all of which relied on volunteers and donations.

The neighborhood's fame reached its peak when it became the haven for a number of the best-known musicians of the time. The members of Jefferson Airplane, the Grateful Dead, and Janis Joplin all lived there. They not only immortalized the hippie scene in song, but also knew many within the community.



Newspapers, television and magazines accelerated the concentration of the counterculture in the neighborhood. Time magazine featured a cover story entitled, "The Hippies: The Philosophy of a Subculture." The article described the guidelines of the hippie code: "Do your own thing, wherever you have to do it and whenever you want. Drop out. Leave society as you have known it. Leave it utterly. Blow the mind of every straight person you can reach. Turn them on, if not to drugs, then to beauty, love, honesty, fun." Coverage of hippie life in the Haight-Ashbury in the national media drew the attention of young people from all over America and in the summer of 1967, the neighborhood was overrun.

售药品以及水晶，领带衬衫，书籍以及其他各种反文化标志。

另一个著名的社区存在是 Diggers，一个最初因其街头剧院而闻名的当地团体。Diggers 相信自由社会和人性之善良。他们讨厌资本主义的观念，并认为金钱带给人们最坏的。为了表达他们的信念，他们建立了一个免费商店，免费提供膳食，并建立了一个免费的医疗诊所，这是同类中的第一个，所有这些都依赖于志愿者和捐赠。

当它成为当时众多知名音乐家的避风港时，这个社区的名气达到了顶峰。Jefferson Airplane，Grateful Dead 和 Janis Joplin 的成员都住在那里。他们不仅使歌曲中的嬉皮场不朽，而且还了解社区内的许多人。

Primary Source: Photograph

The hippies both defined and symbolized the counterculture of the 1960s. Their unique fashion, music, and social outlook left an enduring mark on American culture.

主要来源：照片

嬉皮士们定义并象征着 20 世纪 60 年代的反文化。他们独特的时尚、音乐和社会观念给美国文化留下了持久的印记。

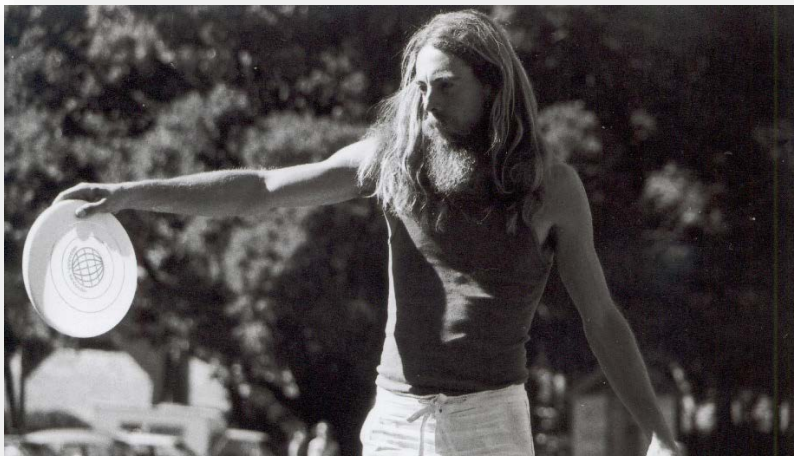
报纸，电视和杂志加速了邻里的反文化集中。“时代”杂志刊登了题为“嬉皮士：亚文化哲学”的封面故事。该文章描述了嬉皮士代码的指导方针：“做你自己的事，无论你在哪里，随时随地都可以。退出。离开社会就像你所知道的那样。完全离开。打击你可以触及的每个直人的心灵。打开它们，如果不是毒品，那就是美丽，爱情，诚实，有趣。”全国媒体报道 Haight-Ashbury 的嬉皮生活吸引了来自美国各地和 1967 年夏天的年轻人的注意，邻居被侵占了。

2 WAS THE COUNTERCULTURE ANTI-AMERICAN?

WAS THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION ACTUALLY REVOLUTIONARY?

Remembered as the **Summer of Love**, 1967 attracted a wide range of people: teenagers and college students drawn by their peers and the allure of joining a cultural utopia, middle-class vacationers, and even partying military personnel from bases within driving distance. The Haight-Ashbury could not accommodate this rapid influx of people, and the neighborhood scene quickly deteriorated. Overcrowding, homelessness, hunger, drug problems, and crime skyrocketed. Shop owners capitalized on the crowds and sold clothing at enormous profits. The original residents and hippies who had helped create the movement criticized them for selling out.

In the end, it was too much. By August, most people left to go home to school, but the Summer of Love had changed the neighborhood. What had once been a haven for those who sought to separate themselves from mainstream America had been overrun by the pressures and problems they had hoped to avoid. The neighborhood remained important in the collective conscience, but it had changed. Never again, would there be a place quite like it.



作为爱的夏天，人们记得 1967 年吸引了广泛的人群：青少年和大学生被同龄人吸引，加入文化乌托邦，中产阶级度假者，甚至在驾驶距离内的基地派出军人。海特 - 阿什伯里无法适应这种快速涌入的人群，邻里场景迅速恶化。过度拥挤，无家可归，饥饿，毒品问题和犯罪率暴涨。店主利用人群，以巨大的利润出售服装。帮助创建运动的原始居民和嬉皮士批评他们出售。

最后，这太过分了。到了八月，大多数人都离开了回家上学，但是爱之夏改变了邻里。对于那些试图将自己与主流美国分开的人来说曾经是一个避风港的地方已经被他们希望避免的压力和问题所淹没。这个社区在集体良知中仍然很重要，但它已经改变了。再也不会会有一个非常喜欢它的地方。

Primary Source: Photograph

As champions of anything alternative, hippies embraced Frisbee as a pastime. Ken Westerfield, pictured here, was especially important in organizing early competitive matches.

主要来源：照片

作为任何替代品的拥护者，嬉皮士将飞盘视为一种消遣。图中的 Ken Westerfield 在组织早期竞赛比赛中尤为重要。

FREE LOVE

The counterculture gave the 1960s its most well remembered catchphrase: sex, drugs, and rock and roll. To understand the counterculture, understanding each of these three aspects is essential.

During the 1960s, especially among the hippies, a culture of **free love** emerged. Beginning in San Francisco in the mid-1960s, this culture of free love was propagated by thousands of hippies who preached the power of love and the beauty of sex. For the hippies and those who tried to copy them, free love had a variety of meanings. Most

自由恋爱

反文化给了 20 世纪 60 年代最令人记忆的标语：性，毒品和摇滚乐。要了解反文化，了解这三个方面至关重要。

在 20 世纪 60 年代，尤其是嬉皮士中，出现了自由恋爱的文化。从 20 世纪 60 年代中期开始在旧金山，这种自由恋爱的文化被成千上万的嬉皮士传播，他们传播爱的力量和性的美。对于嬉皮士和试图复制它们的人来说，自由恋爱有多种含义。最明

2 WAS THE COUNTERCULTURE ANTI-AMERICAN?



obviously, it meant that the counterculture was rejecting their parents' moral teachings about sex and marriage. In this case, "free" meant free from the rules.

Sex became more socially acceptable outside of the strict boundaries of marriage. For example, studies show that, between 1965 and 1975, the number of women who had sex before marriage increased dramatically. Birth control became legal in 1965 and abortion in 1973, both as a result of Supreme Court cases. The increased availability of birth control helped reduce the chance that premarital sex would result in unwanted pregnancies, and by the mid-1970s, the majority of newly married American couples had experienced sex before marriage.

Colleges adapted to the changing values of their students. By the 1970s, it was acceptable for colleges to allow co-educational housing where male and female students mingled freely. The days of men's-only, or women's-only dorms were over.

In another sense, free love had nothing to do with sex. The counterculture emerged alongside America's growing involvement in the Vietnam War and by the time the counterculture reached its peak, the prospect of violent death in war was real for many young men. By embracing the idea of love as the opposite of hate, they could reject war. This view of free love is perhaps best captured in the lyrics of Chet Powers' song Let's Get Together. The chorus encourages the listeners "C'mon people now, Smile on your brother, Everybody get together, Try to love one another right now."

The most public demonstration of the concept of free love was a **love-in**. Across the country, hippies gathered in parks and on college campuses to protest, listen to music, sing, meditate, share drugs, and have sex. Naturally, adults at the time were not fond of either the activities at a love-in or the name.

DRUGS

In addition to changes in sexual attitudes, many members of the counterculture experimented with drugs. **Marijuana** and **LSD** were used most commonly, but experimentation with mushrooms and pills was widespread as well. A Harvard professor named **Timothy Leary** made headlines by openly promoting the use of LSD.

The counterculture was particular about its drugs. They were finding a new way to live and they rejected many of the favorite drugs of their parents. For example, they avoided alcohol and sedatives which believed would deaden their minds. Instead, they embraced

显的是,这意味着反文化拒绝了父母关于性和婚姻的道德教义。在这种情况下,“免费”意味着没有规则。

在严格的婚姻边界之外,性别变得更加社会可接受。例如,研究表明,在1965年至1975年之间,婚前性行为的女性人数急剧增加。由于最高法院的案件,1965年避孕和1973年堕胎合法化。生育控制的增加有助于降低婚前性行为导致意外怀孕的可能性,到20世纪70年代中期,大多数新婚美国夫妇在婚前都经历过性行为。

大学适应了学生不断变化的价值观。到了20世纪70年代,大学允许男女学生自由混合的男女同校住房是可以接受的。仅限男性或仅限女性的宿舍的日子已经结束。

从另一个意义上讲,自由恋爱与性无关。反文化与美国越来越多地参与越南战争一起出现,当反文化达到巅峰时,战争中暴力死亡的前景对许多年轻人来说都是真实的。通过将爱的观念视为仇恨的对立面,他们可以拒绝战争。这种自由恋爱的观点或许最能体现在 Chet Powers 的歌曲 "Let's Get Together" 的歌词中。合唱鼓励听众 "现在来吧,对你的兄弟微笑,每个人都聚在一起,现在就试着彼此相爱。"

自由恋爱概念最公开的表现是爱情。在全国各地,嬉皮士聚集在公园和大学校园里抗议,听音乐,唱歌,冥想,分享毒品,并发生性关系。当然,当时的成年人并不喜欢爱情或名字的活动。

药物

除了性态度的变化之外,反文化的许多成员都试验了毒品。大麻和 LSD 最常用,但蘑菇和药丸的实验也很普遍。一位名叫 Timothy Leary 的哈佛大学教授公开宣传使用 LSD,成为头条新闻。

反传统文化特别关注其毒品。他们找到了一种新的生活方式,他们拒绝了许多父母最喜欢的药物。例如,他们避免使用酒精和镇静剂,这些酒精和镇静剂会使人心旷神怡。相反,他们接受了致幻药物,

2 WAS THE COUNTERCULTURE ANTI-AMERICAN?



hallucinogenic drugs they saw as catalysts for spiritually awakening experiences. For many adherents of the counterculture, smoking marijuana, which they called *dope*, and using drugs like LSD or acid were part of what made them who they were.

There was a price to be paid for being different. With free love came an upsurge of venereal diseases. With LSD and acid came overdoses, drug addictions, and bad trips when drug-induced hallucinations turned into nightmares. Some of the most talented musicians of the counterculture were lost to drugs including Janice Joplin, Jim Morrison and Jimi Hendrix.

STYLE

As with other adolescent, white middle-class movements, deviant behavior of the hippies involved challenging the accepted fashion of their time. Both men and women in the hippie movement wore jeans and let their hair grow long. Both genders wore sandals, moccasins or went barefoot. Men often wore beards, while women wore little or no makeup. Hippies often chose brightly colored clothing and wore unusual styles, such as bell-bottom pants, vests, tie-dyed garments, dashikis, peasant blouses, and long, full skirts. Clothing inspired by Native American, Asian, African and Latin American motifs were popular. Much hippie clothing was self-made in defiance of corporate culture, and hippies often purchased their clothes from flea markets and second-hand shops. Favored accessories for both men and women included Native American jewelry, headscarves, headbands and long beaded necklaces. Hippies decorated their homes, vehicles and other possessions with **psychedelic art**. The hippies left a profound mark on American fashion. Most iconic elements of the hippie-look have been reincarnated multiple times on the runways of the world's high fashion capitals.

THE MERRY PRANKSTERS

Author Ken Kesey provided an important link between the Beat Generation and the counterculture of the 1960s, as well as one of its most memorable happenings. Along with his friend Neil Cassady, who had been the inspiration for the main character in Jack Kerouac's book *On the Road*, they made their own cross-country journey in 1964.

When Cassady needed to visit New York after the publication of his own second novel, Kesey, Cassady and a group of friends who called themselves the **Merry Pranksters** hatched the idea of reversing the

他们认为这些药物是精神唤醒体验的催化剂。对于许多反传统文化的追随者来说，吸食大麻，他们称之为涂料，并使用像 LSD 或酸这样的药物，这些都是他们的本性的一部分。

因为不同而付出了代价。随着自由的爱情出现了性病的热潮。当药物引起的幻觉变成噩梦时，LSD 和酸会导致药物过量，吸毒成瘾和不良旅行。反传统文化中一些最有才华的音乐家被包括 Janice Joplin, Jim Morrison 和 Jimi Hendrix 在内的毒品所迷失。

样式

与其他青少年，白人中产阶级运动一样，嬉皮士的不正常行为涉及挑战他们时代所接受的时尚。嬉皮士运动中的男性和女性都穿着牛仔裤，让头发长得很长。两个性别都穿着凉鞋，软皮鞋或赤脚。男人经常穿胡须，而女人很少或根本不化妆。嬉皮士经常选择色彩鲜艳的服装，穿着不同寻常的款式，如喇叭裤，背心，扎染服装，短款，农民衬衫和长裙。受美洲原住民，亚洲，非洲和拉丁美洲图案启发的服装很受欢迎。许多嬉皮服装是自制的，无视企业文化，嬉皮士经常从跳蚤市场和二手商店购买衣服。适合男性和女性的配饰包括美洲原住民珠宝，头巾，头带和长串珠项链。嬉皮士用迷幻艺术装饰他们的房屋，车辆和其他财产。嬉皮士给美国时尚留下了深刻的印记。嬉皮风格的大多数标志性元素已经在世界高级时装之都的 T 台上多次转世。

美丽的经纪人

作者 Ken Kesey 提供了垮掉的一代与 20 世纪 60 年代的反主流文化之间的重要联系，以及其中最令人难忘的事件之一。与他的朋友尼尔·卡萨迪（Neil Cassady）一起，他在杰克·卡拉克（Jack Kerouac）的著作《路上》（*The Road*）中成为主角的灵感，于 1964 年开始了他们自己的越野之旅。

当卡萨迪出版自己的第二部小说《凯西》之后需要访问纽约时，卡萨迪和一群自称为“风流恶作剧”的朋友出现了改变开拓者之旅并乘坐旧校车前往纽约的

2 WAS THE COUNTERCULTURE ANTI-AMERICAN?

WAS THE SOCIAL
REVOLUTION
ACTUALLY
REVOLUTIONARY?

journey of the pioneers and traveling to New York in an old school bus. This trip, described in **The Electric Kool-Aid Acid Test** was the group's attempt to create art out of everyday life, and to experience roadway America while high on LSD. The bus, which they nicknamed **Further** and decorated inside and out with psychedelic art, carried such cultural icons as the Grateful Dead and Stewart Brand who would go on to write the **Whole Earth Catalogue**, a guide to living a hippie lifestyle.



In an interview after arriving in New York, Kesey is quoted as saying, "The sense of communication in this country has damn near atrophied. But we found as we went along it got easier to make contact with people. If people could just understand it is possible to be different without being a threat." A huge amount of footage was filmed on 16mm cameras during the trip, which remained largely unseen until the release of Alex Gibney's documentary film *Magic Trip* in 2011.

After the bus trip, the Pranksters threw parties they called Acid Tests around the San Francisco Bay Area from 1965 to 1966. Many of the Pranksters lived at Kesey's residence in La Honda. In New York, Cassady introduced Kesey to Jack Kerouac and Allen Ginsberg, who then turned them on to Timothy Leary, the Harvard professor and champion of psychedelic drugs. The cross-country trip of **Further** and the activities of the Merry Pranksters led to a number of psychedelic buses appearing in popular media over the next few years, including in the Beatles' 1967 film *The Magical Mystery Tour*, the Partridge

想法。这次旅行，在电动 Kool-Aid 酸测试中描述的是该团体试图在日常生活中创造艺术，并在 LSD 上体验美国的道路。这辆公共汽车被昵称为“进一步”，内部和外部都装饰着迷幻艺术品，带有像 Grateful Dead 和 Stewart Brand 这样的文化偶像，他们将继续撰写“全球目录”，这是一个生活嬉皮生活方式的指南。

Primary Source: Photograph

Further, the bus driven by the Merry Pranksters on their trip across the country. Icons from the counterculture such as the Grateful Dead were part of the journey.

主要来源：照片

此外，由 Merry Pranksters 驾驶的公共汽车在全国各地旅行。来自反文化的图标，如 Grateful Dead，是旅程的一部分。

在抵达纽约后的一次采访中，引用了凯西的话说，“这个国家的沟通感几乎已经萎缩了。但我们发现，随着时间的推移它变得更容易与人接触。如果人们可以理解它可能是不同的而不是威胁。”在旅途中拍摄了 16mm 相机的大量镜头，直到 2011 年 Alex Gibney 的纪录片“魔术之旅”发行之前，这些镜头基本上是看不见的。

在公共汽车旅行之后，恶作剧者在 1965 年至 1966 年间在旧金山湾区周围举行了派对，他们称之为酸性测试。许多恶作剧者住在 Kesey 在 La Honda 的住所。在纽约，卡萨迪将凯西介绍给杰克凯鲁亚克和艾伦金斯伯格，然后他们将他们转交给哈佛教授和迷幻药物冠军蒂莫西利里。更进一步的越野之旅以及风流恶作剧的活动导致了未来几年在流行媒体上出现的一些迷幻巴士，包括披头士乐队 1967 年的电影“神奇神秘之旅”，1970 年的鹧 Family 家庭

2 WAS THE COUNTERCULTURE ANTI-AMERICAN?



Family TV show in 1970, The Muppet Movie in 1979, and later, The Magic School Bus books and TV series.

COMMUNES

Dropped out of mainstream society altogether was a way some hippies expressed their disillusionment with the cultural and spiritual limitations of American freedom. They joined **communes**, usually in rural areas, to share a desire to live closer to nature, respect the earth, and escape from modern life with its obsession with material goods. Many communes grew their own organic food. Others abolished the concept of private property, and all members shared willingly with one another. Some sought to abolish traditional ideas regarding love and marriage, and free love was practiced openly.

One of the most famous communes was **The Farm**, established in Tennessee in 1971. Residents of The Farm adopted a blend of Christian and Asian beliefs. They shared housing, owned no private property except tools and clothing, advocated nonviolence, and tried to live as one with nature, becoming vegetarians and avoiding the use of animal products. Like the urban hippies, they smoked marijuana in an effort to reach a higher state of consciousness and to achieve a feeling of oneness and harmony.

Most communes, however, faced fates similar to their 19th Century forebears. A charismatic leader would leave or the funds would become exhausted, and the commune would gradually dissolve. In other cases, disagreements, rivalries and jealousies destroyed the communes. After all, hippies were human too.

MUSIC

The common bond among many youths of the time was music. Centered in San Francisco, a new wave of **psychedelic rock** became the music of choice. Bands like the **Grateful Dead**, **Jefferson Airplane** and the **Doors** created new sounds with electrically enhanced guitars, subversive lyrics, and association with drugs. When the **Beatles** went psychedelic with their landmark album Sargent Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band, the music of the counterculture became mainstream.

Folk rock also became popular. In a rejection of commercialism, some artists of the counterculture turned back to America's musical roots. They popularized old songs and old instruments. Acoustic guitars, harmonicas and simple vocals became hip again. The best-known solo artist of the decade, **Bob Dylan** is remembered as the voice of the generation. His song, The Times They Are a-Changin' is an encapsulation of the spirit of the times.

电视节目, 1979 年的布偶电影, 以及后来的魔术校车书籍和电视剧。

公社

完全退出主流社会是一些嬉皮士表达他们对美国自由的文化和精神限制的幻灭的方式。他们加入了公社, 通常是在农村地区, 他们渴望与大自然亲密接触, 尊重地球, 并通过对物质产品的痴迷来摆脱现代生活。许多公社种植了自己的有机食品。其他人则废除了私有财产的概念, 所有成员都愿意彼此分享。有些人试图废除关于爱情和婚姻的传统观念, 并且公开地实行自由恋爱。

其中一个最著名的公社是 The Farm, 于 1971 年在田纳西州成立。农场的居民采用了基督教和亚洲信仰的融合。他们共享住房, 除工具和衣服外没有私人财产, 主张非暴力, 并试图与大自然生活在一起, 成为素食主义者并避免使用动物产品。像城市嬉皮士一样, 他们吸食大麻以达到更高的意识状态, 并获得一体和谐的感觉。

然而, 大多数公社面临的命运与 19 世纪的祖先相似。一个富有魅力的领导者会离开, 或者资金将耗尽, 公社将逐渐解散。在其他情况下, 分歧, 竞争和嫉妒摧毁了公社。毕竟, 嬉皮士也是人类。

音乐

当时许多年轻人之间的共同纽带是音乐。以旧金山为中心, 新一波迷幻摇滚成为首选音乐。像 Grateful Dead, Jefferson Airplane 和 Doors 这样的乐队用电吉他, 颠覆歌词和与毒品的联系创造了新的声音。当披头士与他们的地标专辑 Sargent Pepper 的 Lonely Hearts Club 乐队一起迷幻时, 反主流文化的音乐成为主流。

民谣摇滚也很受欢迎。在拒绝商业化的过程中, 反文化的一些艺术家又回到了美国的音乐根源。他们推广旧歌和旧乐器。原声吉他, 口琴和简单的人声再次成为时尚。作为这十年最著名的独唱艺术家, 鲍勃·迪伦被人们记住是这一代人的代言人。他的歌“The Times They Are a-Changin”是对时代精神的诠释。

2 WAS THE COUNTERCULTURE ANTI-AMERICAN?

WAS THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION ACTUALLY REVOLUTIONARY?

Other folk acts such as **Janice Joplin**, the **Mamas & the Papas**, **Simon & Garfunkel**, **Sonny & Cher**, and **Peter, Paul & Mary** continued the folk rock tradition.

Music, especially rock and folk music, provided the opportunity to form seemingly impromptu communities to celebrate youth, rebellion, and individuality. In mid-August 1969, one such concert near the town of Woodstock, New York became the cultural touchstone of a generation. No other event better symbolized the cultural independence and freedom of Americans coming of age in the counterculture.



其他民间演出如 Janice Joplin, Mamas & the Papas, Simon & Garfunkel, Sonny & Cher 以及 Peter, Paul 和 Mary 延续了民谣摇滚的传统。

音乐,特别是摇滚和民间音乐,提供了形成看似即兴的社区来庆祝青年,反叛和个性的机会。1969年8月中旬,在纽约伍德斯托克镇附近举办的一场音乐会成为了一代人的文化试金石。没有其他事件能更好地象征着反主流文化中年龄较大的美国人的文化独立和自由。

Primary Source: Photograph

The members of the Grateful Dead, one of the legendary musical groups of the counter

主要来源：照片

Grateful Dead 的成员,反传统文化的传奇音乐团体之一。

WOODSTOCK

The Woodstock Music & Art Fair – or simply **Woodstock** – was a music festival in August 1969 on a dairy farm in the Catskill Mountains of southern New York State. It is widely regarded as a pivotal moment in popular music history, as well as the definitive nexus for the larger counterculture generation.

The festival itself was plagued with challenges. The influx of attendees to the rural concert site created massive traffic jams. The makeshift facilities were not equipped to provide sanitation or first aid for the number of people attending. Hundreds of thousands found themselves in a struggle against bad weather, food shortages, and poor sanitation. The weekend was rainy and the concert site was a sea of mud before the event was over.

Guitarist **Jimi Hendrix** was the last act to perform at the festival. Because of the rain delays on Sunday, when Hendrix finally took the stage it was 8:30 Monday morning. The audience, which had peaked

WOODSTOCK

伍德斯托克音乐与艺术博览会 - 或简称伍德斯托克 - 于 1969 年 8 月在纽约州南部卡茨基尔山脉的一个奶牛场举办音乐节。它被广泛认为是流行音乐史上的关键时刻,也是较大的反文化一代的决定性关系。

节日本身就充满了挑战。与会者涌入农村音乐会场地引发了大规模的交通拥堵。临时设施无法为参加人数提供卫生设施或急救。成千上万的人发现自己正在与恶劣的天气,粮食短缺和恶劣的卫生条件作斗争。活动结束前,周末下雨,音乐会现场是泥海。

吉他手 Jimi Hendrix 是最后一次在电影节上演出的表演。由于周日下雨,当亨德里克斯最终登台时,周一早上 8:30。观众在节日期间达到了惊人的

2 WAS THE COUNTERCULTURE ANTI-AMERICAN?

WAS THE SOCIAL
REVOLUTION
ACTUALLY
REVOLUTIONARY?

at an estimated 400,000 during the festival, had been reduced to about 30,000 by that point. Many of them merely waited to catch a glimpse of Hendrix before leaving during his performance.

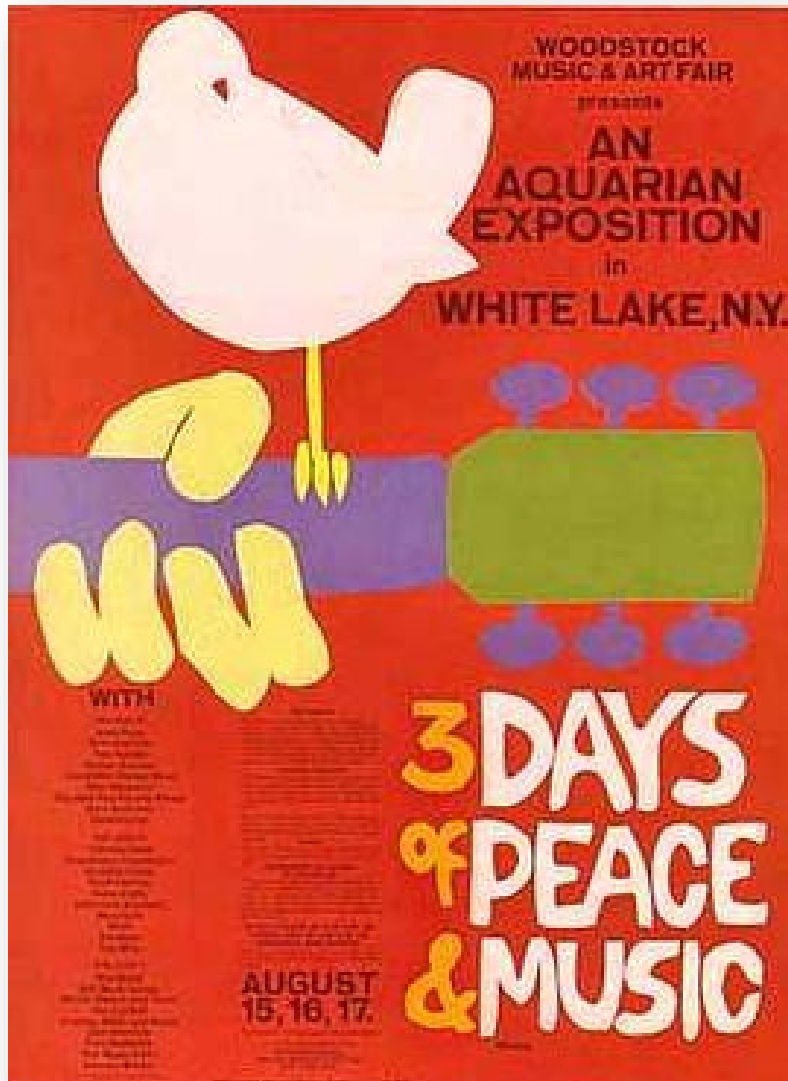
400,000, 到那时已经减少到大约 30,000。他们中的许多人在演出前离开之前只是等待着看到亨德里克斯的一瞥。

Primary Source: Poster

A poster promoting the music festival at Woodstock.

主要来源：海报

在伍德斯托克推广音乐节的海报。



Hendrix performed a two-hour set which included a psychedelic rendition of the The Star-Spangled Banner that was captured forever on film. The performance was a unique time capsule for the entire generation. Like the thousands of young Americans who loved their country but wanted it to be different from the way they knew it as children, Hendrix's rendition of the song is both the National Anthem and at the same time radically different. His performance at Woodstock that Monday morning in a blue-beaded white leather

亨德里克斯进行了两个小时的演出，其中包括在电影中永远拍摄的星光闪耀旗帜的迷幻演绎。性能是整个一代的独特时间胶囊。就像成千上万爱美国的年轻美国人一样希望它与他们认为是孩子的方式有所不同，亨德里克斯对这首歌的演绎既是国歌又是根本不同的。他周一早上在伍德斯托克的一件带有流苏和红色头巾的蓝色珠饰白色皮夹克的表演现在被认为是 20 世纪 60 年代的决定性时刻。

2 WAS THE COUNTERCULTURE ANTI-AMERICAN?

**WAS THE SOCIAL
REVOLUTION
ACTUALLY
REVOLUTIONARY?**

jacket with fringe and a red head scarf is now regarded as a defining moment of the 1960s.

Despite the weather and hardships, Woodstock satisfied most attendees. There was a sense of social harmony, which, with the quality of music, and the overwhelming mass of people, helped to make it one of the enduring events of the century.



尽管天气和艰辛，伍德斯托克满意大多数与会者。有一种社会和谐的感觉，随着音乐的质量和压倒性的人群，它有助于使其成为本世纪持久的事件之一。

Primary Source: Photograph

Jimi Hendrix was one of the great innovative musicians who graced the stages of the counterculture's concerts, and provided its defining anthem: his rendition of The Star Spangled Banner he performed at Woodstock.

主要来源：照片

吉米亨德里克斯是伟大的创新音乐家之一，他们为反主流文化的音乐会奠定了基础，并提供了定义的国歌：他在伍德斯托克演出的星条旗。

After the concert, Max Yasgur, who owned the farm that had been site of the event, saw it as a victory of peace and love. He spoke of how nearly half a million people filled with spent the three days with music and peace on their minds despite the potential for disaster, riot, looting, and catastrophe. He stated, "If we join them, we can turn

音乐会结束后，拥有该活动现场的 Max Yasgur 认为这是和平与爱的胜利。尽管可能发生灾难，骚乱，抢劫和灾难，他还谈到了将近 50 万人充满了三天的音乐与和平。他说，“如果我们加入他们，我们就能把今天美国问题的逆境变成对更光明，更和平的未来的希望……”

2 WAS THE COUNTERCULTURE ANTI-AMERICAN?



those adversities that are the problems of America today into a hope for a brighter and more peaceful future...”

ALTAMONT

If Woodstock had been a celebration of peace and love, December 6, 1969 showed a darker side of human nature. On that day, approximately 300,000 attended the Altamont Speedway Free Festival in **Altamont**, California. Coming less than four months after the musical, drug-filled and soggy weekend in New York, some anticipated that Altamont would be a Woodstock of the West.

The show featured many of the musical stars of the counterculture, including Santana, Jefferson Airplane, Crosby, Stills, Nash & Young, and the Rolling Stones. The Grateful Dead were also scheduled to perform but never took the stage.

Rolling Stone magazine wrote that the event was “rock and roll’s all-time worst day, December 6th, a day when everything went perfectly wrong.” Like Woodstock, the event was poorly organized, but unlike Woodstock, the failures led to tragedy.

Perhaps the greatest mistake was the decision to hire the Hell’s Angels motorcycle gang to handle stage security. The bikers were told to keep people off the stage and were paid with \$500 worth of beer. Predictably, as the bikers became increasingly drunk during the event, fights broke out, and tragically one concertgoer, Meredith Hunter, who stormed onto the stage was stabbed to death by the intervening bikers.

There were three accidental deaths as well. Two people died in a hit-and-run car accident, and one by LSD-induced drowning in an irrigation canal. Scores were injured, numerous cars were stolen and then abandoned, and there was extensive property damage.

The Altamont concert is often contrasted with Woodstock. While Woodstock represented peace and love, Altamont came to be viewed as the end of the hippie era and the de facto conclusion of 1960s youth culture. Writing for the New Yorker in 2015, pop culture critic Richard Brody said what Altamont ended was “the idea that, left to their own inclinations and stripped of the trappings of the wider social order, the young people of the new generation will somehow spontaneously create a higher, gentler, more loving grassroots order. What died at Altamont is the Rousseauian dream itself.”

阿尔塔蒙特

如果说伍德斯托克是对和平与爱的庆祝，那么 1969 年 12 月 6 日就表现出了人性的黑暗面。当天，约有 300,000 人参加了加利福尼亚州阿尔塔蒙特的 Altamont 赛道免费节。在纽约音乐，充满毒品和潮湿的周末之后不到四个月，一些人预计阿尔塔蒙特将成为西方的伍德斯托克。

该节目展示了许多反主流文化的音乐明星，包括桑塔纳，杰斐逊飞机，克罗斯比，剧照，纳什和杨和滚石乐队。Grateful Dead 也计划演出，但从未登台演出。

“滚石”杂志写道，这次活动是“摇滚乐史上最糟糕的一天，12 月 6 日，也就是一切都完全出错的日子。”就像伍德斯托克一样，这次活动组织得很糟糕，但与伍德斯托克不同，失败导致了悲剧。

也许最大的错误是决定聘请地狱天使摩托车团伙来处理阶段安全问题。这些骑车人被告知让人们离开舞台，并获得价值 500 美元的啤酒。可以预见的是，随着骑行者在活动期间变得越来越醉，战斗爆发了，不幸的是，一名参加舞台演出的梅德里斯·亨特（Meredith Hunter）因为干预骑车人而被刺死。

还有三次意外死亡。两人在一场肇事逃逸的车祸中丧生，一人死于 LSD 引发的灌溉渠溺水事故。分数受伤，许多汽车被盗，然后被遗弃，并造成大量财产损失。

Altamont 音乐会经常与 Woodstock 形成鲜明对比。虽然伍德斯托克代表了和平与爱，但阿尔塔蒙特却被视为嬉皮时代的终结和 20 世纪 60 年代青年文化的事实上的结束。流行文化评论家理查德布罗迪在 2015 年为纽约人写作时说，阿尔塔蒙特结束的是“他们的想法是，他们自己的倾向和剥夺了更广泛社会秩序的特征，新一代的年轻人会以某种方式自发创造一个更高，更温和，更有爱心的草根秩序。在阿尔塔蒙特去世的是卢梭的梦想。”

2 WAS THE COUNTERCULTURE ANTI-AMERICAN?

WAS THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION ACTUALLY REVOLUTIONARY?

LEGACY

The 1960s counterculture left an interesting legacy. It is important to note that the counterculture was probably no more than 10% of the American youth population. Contrary to common belief, most young Americans sought careers and lifestyles similar to their parents. The counterculture was simply so outrageous that the media made their numbers seem larger than reality. Nevertheless, this lifestyle made an indelible cultural impact on America for decades to come.

One lasting change from the countercultural movement was in American diet. Hippies fueled the opening of health food stores that sold wheat germ, yogurt, and granola, products unheard of in 1950s America. Vegetarianism became popular.



The counterculture made drug use more acceptable, broke down cultural norms about relationships and sex, and popularized an entirely new form of music. They lent their powerful energy to the social movements of their time and altered the course of American foreign policy in Vietnam. Changes in fashion proved more fleeting but have returned in various incarnations over time.

On the other hand, the hippie dream of perfecting society by founding communes or opening free stores and of finding the greater meaning of life through drug-induced hallucinogenic experiences seems to have failed entirely. Drugs may have produced fantastical visions in the

遗产

20 世纪 60 年代的反主流文化留下了有趣的遗产。值得注意的是，反文化可能不超过美国青年人口的 10%。与普遍看法相反，大多数年轻美国人寻求与父母相似的职业和生活方式。反文化是如此离谱，以至于媒体使他们的数字看起来比现实更大。尽管如此，这种生活方式在未来几十年对美国产生了不可磨灭的文化影响。

反文化运动的一个持久变化是美国饮食。嬉皮士推动了健康食品商店的开业，这些食品商店销售的是 20 世纪 50 年代美国闻所未闻的小麦胚芽，酸奶和麦片。素食主义开始流行。

Primary Source: Photograph

The days of free love, experimental drug use, new age clothing, communes and flowers adorning uncut hair, were fleeting, but have left their mark on America's identity, and certainly on the generation that grew up in the 1960s.

主要来源：照片

自由恋爱，实验性吸毒，新时代服装，公社和鲜花装饰未切割的头发的日子都是短暂的，但却在美国的身份上留下了自己的印记，当然还有在 20 世纪 60 年代长大的那一代。

反文化使得吸毒更容易被接受，破坏了关系和性的文化规范，并推广了一种全新的音乐形式。他们将强大的精力投入到当时的社会运动中，改变了美国在越南的外交政策。时尚的变化证明更为短暂，但随着时间的推移已经以各种形式回归。

另一方面，通过建立公社或开设自由商店以及通过药物引起的致幻经历寻找生命的更大意义来完善社会的嬉皮梦想似乎完全失败了。毒品可能在短期内产生了幻想，但随着时间的推移毁了生命。嬉皮士

2 WAS THE COUNTERCULTURE ANTI-AMERICAN?



short term, but ruined lives over time. The hippie utopian experiments ran the same disappointing course as utopian movements from decades past.

So what happened to the hippies? Some grew up, got married, returned to mainstream life, got jobs, had children and left their bohemian past behind. Others never gave up the dream and moved to distant corners of America still searching for something they once felt so close to having. Now retired, the aging hippies offer a perplexing question about the wisdom of perusing eternal youth.

CONCLUSION

When the Greatest Generation came home from World War II and started their happy families in the happy suburbs of the 1950s, they tried to build a safe, morally upstanding life for their children. They took them to church, added “under God” to the pledge of allegiance, let them watch westerns on television in which the good cowboys won, and taught them to love their country.

But to the dismay of these idealistic parents, their Baby Boomer children grew up and rejected this purified world of backyard barbeques and chaperoned ballroom dances. Instead, they did drugs, listened to rock and roll, had sex before marriage, did yoga, became vegetarians and protested the government.

In the eyes of the Greatest Generation, the children of the counterculture had rejected everything they knew to be American. For the Baby Boomers who were embracing the counterculture, they simply had a very different idea of the type of country they wanted to live in.

What do you think? Was the counterculture anti-American?

乌托邦式的实验与几十年前的乌托邦式运动一样令人失望。

嬉皮士怎么了？有些人长大，结婚，回到主流生活，找到工作，生了孩子，留下了波西米亚风格的过去。其他人从未放弃梦想，搬到美国的遥远角落，仍然在寻找他们曾经感觉如此接近的东西。现在退休了，衰老的嬉皮士提出了一个关于仔细阅读永恒青春的智慧的令人困惑的问题。

结论

当最伟大的一代从第二次世界大战回到家乡并在 20 世纪 50 年代幸福的郊区开始他们幸福的家庭时，他们试图为他们的孩子建立一个安全，道德上正直的生活。他们把他们带到教堂，在“上帝之下”加入忠诚的誓言，让他们在电视上观看西方人，好牛仔队赢了，并教他们爱国。

但令这些理想主义父母感到沮丧的是，他们的婴儿潮一代的孩子们长大了，拒绝了这个纯净的后院烧烤世界和陪伴的舞厅舞蹈。相反，他们做了毒品，听摇滚乐，婚前做爱，做瑜伽，成为素食主义者并抗议政府。

在最伟大的一代人眼中，反主流文化的孩子们拒绝了他们所知道的美国人的一切。对于那些接受反传统文化的婴儿潮一代，他们对他们想要居住的国家类型有着截然不同的看法。

你怎么看？反文化反美吗？

2 WAS THE COUNTERCULTURE ANTI-AMERICAN?



SUMMARY

The counterculture refers to a time during the 1960s when many young Americans rebelled against the traditional rules of society. The idea of rebellion was not new. In some way, they were continuing the legacy of the Beat Generation of the 1950s. However, the hippies of the counterculture were much more widely known and far more influential.

Fueled by the emergence of the Baby Boomer generation as teenagers, the counterculture, its music, art, fashion, and political ideas shaped the entire generation.

The counterculture was centered in the Height-Ashbury neighborhood of San Francisco. The climax of the entire movement was during the summer of 1967.

Hippies rebelled against many social norms. They experimented with new drugs, especially marijuana and LSD.

The hippies broke social rules about sex and marriage. They practiced free love and participated in love-ins.

The Merry Pranksters were a group of hippies who travelled from California to New York in an old school bus. Joined by popular musicians, they tried to demonstrate the ideas of the counterculture and recorded their experience.

Some hippies rejected modern life all together and tried to create perfect societies in communes where they shared property, and sometimes, sexual partners.

Rock and roll changed with the counterculture. Psychedelic rock became popular, as did folk rock. Music was an important part of the identity of the decade and the movement. For some, the climax of the counterculture was the Woodstock Music Festival in 1969.

The Altamont Music Festival in 1969 was the opposite of the Woodstock Festival and showed all of the dark sides of the counterculture. The organizers hired a biker gang to run security, drug use was rampant, and violence ensued.

摘要

反文化指的是 20 世纪 60 年代许多年轻美国人反抗传统社会规则的时期。反叛的想法并不新鲜。在某种程度上，他们继续保留了 20 世纪 50 年代垮掉一代的遗产。然而，反主流文化的嬉皮士更为广为人知，影响力更大。

婴儿潮一代作为青少年的出现推动了反传统文化，其音乐，艺术，时尚和政治思想塑造了整整一代人。

反传统文化集中在旧金山的 Height-Ashbury 社区。整个运动的高潮是在 1967 年夏天。

嬉皮士反对许多社会规范。他们试验了新药，特别是大麻和 LSD。

嬉皮士打破了关于性和婚姻的社会规则。他们练习自由恋爱并参与爱情。

Merry Pranksters 是一群嬉皮士，他们乘坐旧校车从加利福尼亚前往纽约。他们加入了流行音乐家的行列，试图展示反传统文化的观念并记录他们的经验。

一些嬉皮士一起拒绝现代生活，并试图在公社中创造完美的社会，在这些社区中他们共享财产，有时甚至是性伴侣。

摇滚乐随着反主流文化而改变。迷幻摇滚变得流行，民谣摇滚也开始流行。音乐是十年和运动身份的重要组成部分。对于一些人来说，反主流文化的高潮是 1969 年的伍德斯托克音乐节。

1969 年的阿尔塔蒙特音乐节是伍德斯托克音乐节的对立面，展示了反主流文化的所有黑暗面。组织者聘请了一个骑自行车的团伙来运行安全，毒品使用猖獗，随后发生暴力事件。



PEOPLE AND GROUPS

Hippies: Young people during the 1960s who rejected traditional cultural norms and values. They listened to rock and roll, experimented with drugs, broke rules about sexual behavior. They wore bright colors, created communes, supported many of the social movements of the decade, and generally opposed the war in Vietnam.

Diggers: A group of hippies in San Francisco who hated capitalism. They opened a store where everything was free and opened a free medical clinic.

Merry Pranksters: Group of hippies led by Ken Kesey and Neil Cassidy who travelled across the country in a school bus. They documented their quest to achieve the ideal hippie lifestyle in *The Electric Kool-Aid Acid Test*.

Timothy Leary: Harvard professor in the 1960s who promoted the use of LSD and other drugs.

Grateful Dead: Psychedelic rock group formed in the 1960s. They were led by Jerry Garcia and participated in the Merry Pranksters' cross-country road trip.

Jefferson Airplane: Psychedelic rock band from San Francisco. They became popular during the Summer of Love.

The Doors: Psychedelic rock band led by Jim Morrison.

The Beatles: British rock band who formed in the 1950s, then came to the United States and transformed their sound during the 1960s, eventually performing psychedelic rock.

Bob Dylan: Folk rock singer after World War II who wrote songs such as *The Times They Are a-Changin'* and is remembered as the storyteller of the generation.

Janice Joplin: Folk rock and blues singer who performed *Mercedes Benz*, among other popular songs of the 1960s.

The Mamas & the Papas: Folk rock group from the 1960s that performed *California Dreamin'* among other hits.

Simon & Garfunkel: Folk rock duo. They performed *Bridge Over Troubled Water* and *Sound of Silence*, among other hits.

Sonny & Cher: Folk rock duo formed in the 1960s. After Sonny Bono died, Cher went on to have a long solo career.

Peter, Paul & Mary: Folk rock group formed in the 1960s. They performed *Blowin' in the Wind* and other anti-war songs.

Jimi Hendrix: Innovative guitarist from the 1960s. His rendition of *The Star Spangled Banner* at Woodstock is famous.



KEY IDEAS

Free Love: Idea popularized by the young people of the counterculture during the 1960s that sex was beautiful and being free included freeing oneself from society's rules about sexual behavior.



LOCATIONS

Haight-Ashbury: The neighborhood in San Francisco that became the center of hippie culture, especially during the Summer of Love of 1967.

Communes: Communities formed by hippies during the 1960s in which they sought to implement their philosophy about the ideal ways to live. In some they abolished private property, in others they experimented with free love. The most famous was *The Farm*. Like the utopian communities of the early 1800s, they usually failed.

The Farm: Most famous of the communes of the counterculture. Located in Tennessee, its residents held a blend of Christian and Asian beliefs, rejected private property, and became vegetarians.



EVENTS

Summer of Love: Nickname for the summer of 1967 in San Francisco during which the hippie culture in that city climaxed.

Love-In: An event during the counterculture in which hippies gathered together to protest, listen to music, sing, meditate, share drugs and have sex. It was intended to be the opposite of the war in Vietnam.

Woodstock: Major music festival held in New York in 1969. It featured many of the greatest groups of the decade and is sometimes considered the climax of the counterculture.

Altamont: Music festival held in California in 1969. It was the opposite of Woodstock in many ways. It was on the opposite end of the country, was violent, and showed the worst of the counterculture.



SCIENCE

Marijuana: Drug that, like tobacco, is derived from dried leaves that are smoked. It is a mild hallucinogen and was popularized by the hippies of the counterculture. Today it has been legalized for private use in some states.

LSD: Powerful hallucinogenic drug popular in the 1960s. Hippies believed it could help a person get in touch with his or her spiritual side.



THE ARTS

Psychedelic Art: Style of art popularized by the hippies that included bold colors and patterns reminiscent of dreams or hallucinations. Tie died clothing is an example.

Psychedelic Rock: A variation of rock and roll music that used electric guitars, subversive lyrics and was played in the 1960s and 1970s by bands who were famous for experimenting with drugs. Some included the Grateful Dead and the Doors.

Folk Rock: Variation of music that became popular during the counterculture. It mixed rock and roll with traditional music and instruments. Bob Dylan, Janice Joplin, and Peter, Paul & Mary are a few performers of the genera.



BOOKS

The Electric Kool-Aid Acid Test: Book documenting the journey of the Merry Pranksters as they journeyed across the country during the 1960s.

Whole Earth Catalogue: A how-to book for hippies explaining such things as how to live in communes.

3

T H I R D Q U E S T I O N CAN WE END POVERTY?

**WAS THE SOCIAL
REVOLUTION
ACTUALLY
REVOLUTIONARY?**

INTRODUCTION

The price of living in a capitalist society is that there will always be economic winners and losers. While we have the opportunity to become rich, we know that there will also always be poverty. But is this true? Why can't a wealthy nation like ours, rich with natural resources, a stable government, and innovated people find a way to end poverty?

In the 1960s, President Lyndon Johnson set out to do just that. After stepping into the presidency when John F. Kennedy was assassinated, Johnson described for Americans a Great Society. In this society, there would be no poverty. People would be able to pay for healthcare, have safe food, safe cars, safe homes, access to great art and music, and people from all over the world would be able to come to the United States to join and participate in this utopian nation.

For some it seemed too idealistic, but the 1960s was a time of change and Americans were eager for idealism. Johnson was able to convince Congress to enact his plans, and won the presidency himself in a tremendous landslide victory in 1964.

Of course, there is still poverty today, over half a century later, so we know that Johnson did not succeed in ending poverty. But perhaps that was not the fault of his programs and ideas, but rather other circumstances at the time.

What do you think? Can we end poverty?

介绍

生活在资本主义社会中的代价是，总会有经济上的赢家和输家。虽然我们有机会致富，但我们知道总会有贫穷。但这是真的吗？为什么像我们这样富裕的国家，富裕的自然资源，稳定的政府和创新的人民找不到消除贫困的方法呢？

在 20 世纪 60 年代，林登约翰逊总统开始着手做到这一点。在约翰·肯尼迪被暗杀后进入总统职位后，约翰逊为美国人描述了一个伟大的社会。在这个社会中，不会有贫穷。人们将能够支付医疗费用，安全食品，安全的汽车，安全的家园，获得伟大的艺术和音乐，来自世界各地的人们将能够来到美国加入并参与这个乌托邦国家。

对于一些人来说，这似乎过于理想化，但 20 世纪 60 年代是一个变革的时代，美国人渴望理想主义。约翰逊能够说服国会制定他的计划，并在 1964 年以极大的压倒性胜利赢得了总统职位。

当然，半个多世纪以后，今天仍然存在贫困，所以我们知道约翰逊没有成功地消除贫困。但也许这不是他的计划和想法的错，而是当时的其他情况。

你怎么看？我们能结束贫困吗？

THE ASSASSINATION OF PRESIDENT KENNEDY

Ask any American who was over the age of eight in 1963 the question: “Where were you when President Kennedy was shot?” and a complete detailed story is likely to follow. The death of the young, dynamic president is one of the defining moments of the 1960s, and one that people who lived through it have never forgotten.

Although his public advocacy for civil rights had won him support in the African American community, and his steely performance during the Cuban Missile Crisis had led his overall popularity to surge, Kennedy understood that he had to solidify his base among White Southerners to secure his reelection in 1964. On November 21, 1963, he accompanied Vice President Lyndon Johnson to Texas to rally his supporters in that large state.



肯尼迪总统的谴责

询问任何 1963 年超过 8 岁的美国人的问题：“当肯尼迪总统被枪杀时你在哪里？”并且可能会有一个完整的详细故事。这位年轻，充满活力的总统的逝世是 20 世纪 60 年代的决定性时刻之一，也是经历过这种生活的人永远不会忘记的时刻之一。

虽然他对公民权利的公开宣传赢得了他在非洲裔美国人社区的支持，但他在古巴导弹危机期间的钢铁般的表现使他的整体受欢迎程度激增，肯尼迪明白他必须巩固他在白人南方人中的基础以确保他的连任。1963 年 11 月 21 日，他陪同副总统林登·约翰逊到德克萨斯州，在这个大州召集他的支持者。

Primary Source: Newspaper

The headline of The Boston Globe captured the sentiments of the nation. Kennedy's death shocked the nation.

主要来源：报纸

“波士顿环球报”的标题吸引了全国人民的情绪。肯尼迪的去世震惊了整个国家。

President Kennedy's motorcade route through Dallas on November 22 was planned to give him maximal exposure to Dallas crowds before his arrival at a luncheon with civic and business leaders in the city. The planned motorcade route was widely reported in Dallas newspapers several days before the event for the benefit of people who wished to view the motorcade, but tragically gave Kennedy's assassin a chance to plan his attack.

At about 11:40am, the presidential motorcade left for the trip through Dallas. By the time the motorcade reached **Dealey Plaza**, Kennedy was only five minutes away from the planned destination. At 12:30 p.m., as Kennedy's uncovered limousine entered Dealey Plaza, a reported

肯尼迪总统 11 月 22 日通过达拉斯的车队路线计划在他到达与该市的公民和商业领袖的午餐会之前，让他最大限度地接触达拉斯人群。计划中的车队路线在事件发生前几天在达拉斯报纸上被广泛报道，这对于那些希望观看车队的人来说是有益的，但是悲惨地让肯尼迪的刺客有机会计划他的攻击。

大约上午 11 点 40 分，总统车队前往达拉斯。当车队到达 Dealey Plaza 时，肯尼迪距离计划目的地只有五分钟的路程。下午 12 点 30 分，当肯尼迪的无人驾驶豪华轿车进入迪利广场时，据报道有三枪被

3 CAN WE END POVERTY?

three shots were fired at Kennedy. Seriously injured, Kennedy was rushed to Parkland Hospital where he was pronounced dead.

Vice-President Johnson had been riding two cars behind Kennedy in the motorcade and was not injured. He took the oath of office and became president. At his side was a grieving Jacqueline Kennedy. The photograph of the moment is one of the most heart-wrenching in American presidential history.



The gunfire that killed Kennedy appeared to come from the upper stories of the Texas School Book Depository building. **Lee Harvey Oswald**, an employee at the depository and a trained sniper was charged with the murders of President Kennedy and Dallas police officer J.D. Tippit. Oswald denied shooting anyone, and claimed he was being framed because he had lived in the Soviet Union. Oswald's case never came to trial because he was shot and killed two days later while being escorted from Dallas Police Headquarters to the County Jail by Dallas nightclub owner Jack Ruby. Arrested immediately after the shooting, Ruby said he had been distraught over the Kennedy assassination and sought to avenge the president's death.

News of the president's death shocked the nation. Men and women wept openly. People gathered in department stores to watch the television coverage, while others prayed. Traffic in some areas came to a halt as the news spread from car to car. Schools across the country dismissed their students early. The state funeral took place in Washington, DC during the three days that followed the assassination.

枪击在肯尼迪。严重受伤，肯尼迪被送往帕克兰医院，在那里他被宣布死亡。

副总统约翰逊在车队的肯尼迪身后骑了两辆车而没有受伤。他宣誓就任总统。在他身边是一个悲伤的杰奎琳肯尼迪。这一时刻的照片是美国总统历史上最令人痛心的事情之一。

Primary Source: Photograph

The tragic image of Jacqueline Kennedy standing next to Lyndon Johnson as he took the oath of office aboard Air Force One. Johnson refused to leave Dallas until Kennedy's body and the former First Lady were aboard.

主要来源：照片

杰奎琳·肯尼迪（Jacqueline Kennedy）站在林登·约翰逊（Lyndon Johnson）身边的悲惨形象，他在空军一号上宣誓就职。约翰逊拒绝离开达拉斯，直到肯尼迪的身体和前第一夫人登上。

杀害肯尼迪的枪声似乎来自德克萨斯州学校图书馆大楼的上层。保管人员和训练有素的狙击手 Lee Harvey Oswald 被控犯有肯尼迪总统和达拉斯警察 J.D. Tippit 谋杀案。奥斯瓦德否认枪击任何人，并声称他被诬陷因为他曾住在苏联。奥斯瓦德的案件从未受到审判，因为他在两天后被达拉斯夜总会老板杰克·鲁比从达拉斯警察总部护送到县监狱时被枪杀。在枪击事件发生后立即被捕，Ruby 表示他对肯尼迪遇刺事件感到心烦意乱，并试图为总统的死报仇。

总统逝世的消息震惊了整个国家。男人和女人公然哭泣。人们聚集在百货商店观看电视报道，而其他人们则祈祷。随着消息从汽车传播到汽车，一些地区的交通停止了。全国各地的学校提前解雇学生。在暗杀事件发生后的三天内，国葬在华盛顿特区举

3 CAN WE END POVERTY?



Kennedy's coffin was carried on a horse-drawn caisson to the Capitol to lie in state. Throughout the day and night, hundreds of thousands of people lined up to view the guarded casket. Representatives from over 90 countries attended the state funeral and after the Requiem Mass at St. Matthew's Cathedral, the late president was laid to rest at Arlington National Cemetery across the Potomac River from the capital city. Is gravesite is now marked by an eternal flame. In a testament to the slain president's popularity, 50,000 people visited the site each day in the first few years after his death.

President Johnson appointed a special commission to investigate Kennedy's assassination. Headed by Chief Justice Earl Warren, and therefore known to history as the **Warren Commission**, they concluded that Oswald was the lone assassin. The ten-month investigation by the Warren Commission concluded that the President was assassinated by Lee Harvey Oswald acting alone, and that Jack Ruby acted alone when he killed Oswald before he could stand trial. These conclusions were initially supported by the American public. However, polls conducted from 1966 to 2004 found that as many as 80% of Americans have suspected that there was a plot or cover-up. The assassination is still the subject of widespread debate, and has spawned numerous conspiracy theories.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

Born in a farmhouse in Stonewall, Texas, the new president had been a high school teacher and worked as a Congressional aide before winning election to the House of Representatives in 1937. He won election to the Senate in 1948 and rose through the ranks of leadership to become the Senate Majority Leader in 1955. Johnson was a master of convincing others to agree with him and he artfully moved legislation through Congress. A contemporary writes of the famous Johnson Treatment, "It was an incredible blend of badgering, cajolery, reminders of past favors, promises of future favors, predictions of gloom if something doesn't happen. When that man started to work on you, all of a sudden, you just felt that you were standing under a waterfall and the stuff was pouring on you."

Johnson ran for the Democratic nomination in the 1960 presidential election but lost to Kennedy. He did, however, accept Kennedy's invitation to be his running mate in the general election.

After Kennedy's death, Johnson continued both his predecessor's major political initiatives and maintained his team of advisors. Johnson's cabinet included several members of Kennedy's cabinet. Johnson retained Dean Rusk as Secretary of State, Robert McNamara as Secretary of Defense, as well as Kennedy's Secretaries of Agriculture

行。肯尼迪的棺材是用马拉的沉箱运到国会大厦的。整个白天和晚上，成千上万的人排队看着守卫的棺材。来自 90 多个国家的代表参加了国葬，在圣马太大教堂的安魂曲弥撒之后，已故的总统在首都波托马克河对面的阿灵顿国家公墓安息。现在，墓地的标志是永恒的火焰。为了证明被杀的总统的受欢迎程度，在他去世后的最初几年里，每天有 5 万人访问该网站。

约翰逊总统任命了一个特别委员会来调查肯尼迪遇刺事件。由首席大法官厄尔·沃伦 (Earl Warren) 率领，因而被称为沃伦委员会 (Warren Commission)，他们认为奥斯瓦尔德是唯一的刺客。沃伦委员会进行的为期十个月的调查得出结论，总统被李·哈维·奥斯瓦尔德单独行动暗杀，杰克·鲁比在他能够受审前杀死奥斯瓦尔德时单独行动。这些结论最初得到了美国公众的支持。然而，从 1966 年到 2004 年进行的民意调查发现，多达 80% 的美国人怀疑有阴谋或掩饰。暗杀仍然是广泛辩论的主题，并产生了许多阴谋论。

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

这位新任总统出生于德克萨斯州斯通沃尔的一间农舍，在 1937 年赢得众议院选举之前，他曾是一名高中教师并担任国会助理。他于 1948 年当选为参议院议员，并在领导层中崛起在 1955 年成为参议院多数党领袖。约翰逊是说服别人同意他的大师，他巧妙地通过国会通过立法。著名的约翰逊治疗的当代写作，“这是一个令人难以置信的混合糅，cajolery，过去的恩惠的提醒，未来的恩惠的承诺，如果事情没有发生的暗淡的预测。当那个男人开始为你工作时，突然之间，你只是觉得你站在瀑布下，那些东西正倾泻在你身上。”

约翰逊在 1960 年的总统选举中竞选民主党提名但输给了肯尼迪。然而，他确实接受了肯尼迪的邀请，成为他在大选中的竞选搭档。

在肯尼迪去世后，约翰逊继续他的前任的主要政治举措，并保持他的顾问团队。约翰逊的内阁包括肯尼迪内阁的几名成员。在他担任总统期间，约翰逊聘请迪恩·腊斯克担任国务卿，罗伯特·麦克纳马拉担任国防部长，以及肯尼迪的农业和内政部长。前

3 CAN WE END POVERTY?

and the Interior, all for the duration of his presidency. Former presidential candidate Adlai Stevenson continued as Johnson's Ambassador to the United Nations until Stevenson's death in 1965. Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, the former president's younger brother, with whom Johnson had a notoriously difficult relationship, remained in office for a few months, before leaving in 1964 to run for the Senate.



总统候选人阿德莱·史蒂文森继续担任约翰逊的联合国大使，直到史蒂文森于 1965 年去世。前总统的弟弟罗伯特·肯尼迪，约翰逊与他有着异乎寻常的困难关系，他在任职前几个月任职。1964 年离开竞选参议院。

Primary Source: Photograph

This image captures the infamous Johnson Treatment. The president, on the left, leans in as he makes his case to a reluctant member of congress. Johnson always made sure his chair was higher than those he was meeting with in order to maximize his ability to get the “yes” response he was looking for.

主要来源：照片

这张照片捕捉了臭名昭著的约翰逊治疗。左派总统向一位不情愿的国会议员提出诉讼。约翰逊总是确保他的椅子高于他遇到的那些椅子，以便最大限度地提高他获得他所寻求的“是”回应的能力。

THE GREAT SOCIETY

Johnson continued Kennedy's push to pass a civil rights law. However, Johnson decided to implement some of his own priorities and a few months after taking office, announced his most famous initiative.

In May 1964, in a speech at the University of Michigan, Lyndon Johnson described in detail his vision of the **Great Society** he planned to create. Johnson had been a supporter of Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal during the 1930s, but those programs were designed to address an economic crisis. In the 1960s, Johnson wanted to the nation to go a step further and use all the best of its resources, especially human resources, to become truly great.

Addressing the graduates, he recounted the nation's past challenges and accomplishments. “For a century we labored to settle and to subdue a continent. For half a century we called upon unbounded invention and untiring industry to create an order of plenty for all of our people.” He proceeded to describe what he saw as the challenge

伟大的社会

约翰逊继续肯尼迪推动通过民权法。然而，约翰逊决定实施他自己的一些优先事项，并在上任几个月后，宣布了他最著名的倡议。

1964 年 5 月，林登约翰逊在密歇根大学的一次演讲中详细描述了他计划创造的伟大社会的愿景。约翰逊在 20 世纪 30 年代一直是富兰克林罗斯福新政的支持者，但这些计划旨在解决经济危机。在 20 世纪 60 年代，约翰逊希望国家更进一步，充分利用其所有资源，特别是人力资源，成为真正伟大的人才。

在向毕业生发表讲话时，他回顾了国家过去的挑战和成就。“一个世纪以来，我们努力安顿下来并制服一个大陆。半个世纪以来，我们呼吁无限制的发明和不倦的行业为我们所有人创造一个充足的秩序。”他接着描述了他所看到的未来几年他们将要

they would have to help him solve in the coming years. “The challenge of the next half century is whether we have the wisdom to use that wealth to enrich and elevate our national life, and to advance the quality of our American civilization. Your imagination, your initiative, and your indignation will determine whether we build a society where progress is the servant of our needs, or a society where old values and new visions are buried under unbridled growth. For in your time we have the opportunity to move not only toward the rich society and the powerful society, but upward to the Great Society. The Great Society rests on abundance and liberty for all.”

For Johnson, “liberty for all” meant freedom from racial injustice, freedom from poverty, as well as the freedom to live in a nation rich with natural beauty, artistic expression, available healthcare, and a government that watched out for the wellbeing of its citizens.

When Congress convened the following January, he and his supporters began their effort to turn his promise into reality. By combatting racial discrimination and attempting to eliminate poverty, the reforms of the Johnson administration changed the nation.

THE WAR ON POVERTY

The centerpiece of Johnson’s plan to create a Great Society was the eradication of poverty in the United States. Johnson had seen poverty up close back in Texas and saw it as a moral issue rather than just a matter of economics. The **War on Poverty**, as he termed it, was fought on many fronts, but the driving idea behind everything was the help people find ways to rise out of poverty, not just to give them relief. In other words, Johnson wanted the government to use taxpayer money to give the poor a chance, rather than just give them money. As he said it, “I want to be the President who helped to feed the hungry and to prepare them to be taxpayers instead of tax-eaters... I want to be the President who helped the poor to find their own way...”

In the 1960s the economy was doing well and there were jobs available, but for many poor Americans they couldn’t apply for these opportunities because they lacked the skills necessary. The Economic Opportunity Act (EOA) of 1964 established and funded a variety of programs to assist the poor in finding jobs. The Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO), first administered by President Kennedy’s brother-in-law Sargent Shriver, coordinated programs such as the **Jobs Corps** and the Neighborhood Youth Corps, which provided job training programs and work experience for the disadvantaged.

Volunteers in Service to America recruited people to offer educational programs and other community services in poor areas, just as the

帮助他解决的挑战。“未来半个世纪的挑战是，我们是否有智慧利用这些财富来丰富和提升我们的国家生活，并提高我们美国文明的质量。你的想象力，主动性和愤慨将决定我们是建立一个社会，在这个社会中，进步是我们需要的仆人，还是一个旧的价值观和新的愿景被埋在无限制的增长之下的社会。因为在你的时代，我们不仅有机会向富裕的社会和强大的社会迈进，而且还有机会向伟大的社会迈进。伟大的社会依赖于所有人的丰富和自由。”

对于约翰逊来说，“人人享有自由”意味着摆脱种族不公正，摆脱贫困的自由，以及生活在一个富有自然美，艺术表达，可用医疗保健的国家的自由，以及一个关注其福祉的政府。公民。

当国会在接下来的一月召开会议时，他和他的支持者开始努力将他的承诺变为现实。通过打击种族歧视和企图消除贫困，约翰逊政府的改革改变了国家。

对贫困的战争

约翰逊创建伟大社会计划的核心是消除美国的贫困。约翰逊在德克萨斯州看到了贫困，并认为这是一个道德问题，而不仅仅是经济问题。正如他所说的那样，“贫穷之战”在很多方面进行了斗争，但一切背后的驱动思想是帮助人们找到摆脱贫困的方法，而不仅仅是让他们得到救济。换句话说，约翰逊希望政府用纳税人的钱给穷人一个机会，而不是仅仅给他们钱。正如他所说，“我想成为总统，帮助养活饥饿者，让他们成为纳税人而不是税务人员.....我想成为帮助穷人找到自己方式的总统.....”

在 20 世纪 60 年代，经济状况良好，并且有工作机会，但对于许多贫穷的美国人来说，他们无法申请这些机会，因为他们缺乏必要的技能。1964 年的“经济机会法”（EOA）建立并资助了各种方案，以帮助穷人找到工作。经济机会办公室（OEO）首先由肯尼迪总统的姐夫 Sargent Shriver 管理，负责协调诸如乔布斯军团和邻里青年团等计划，为弱势群体提供就业培训计划和工作经验。

正如和平队在海外所做的那样，为美国服务的志愿者招募人员在贫困地区提供教育计划和其他社区服

3 CAN WE END POVERTY?

WAS THE SOCIAL
REVOLUTION
ACTUALLY
REVOLUTIONARY?

Peace Corps did abroad. The Community Action Program, also under the OEO, funded local Community Action Agencies, organizations created and managed by residents of disadvantaged communities to improve their own lives and those of their neighbors. The EOA fought rural poverty by providing low-interest loans to those wishing to improve their farms or start businesses. EOA funds were also used to provide housing and education for migrant farm workers. Other legislation created jobs in Appalachia, one of the poorest regions in the United States, and brought programs to Indian reservations. One of EOA's successes was the Rough Rock Demonstration School on the Navajo Reservation that, while respecting Navajo traditions and culture, also trained people for careers and jobs outside the reservation.

EDUCATION

Johnson, a former teacher, realized that a lack of education was the primary cause of poverty and other social problems. Educational reform was thus an important pillar of the society he hoped to build, and one of the chief pieces of legislation that Congress passed in 1965 was the **Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA)**. This law provided increased federal funding to both elementary and secondary schools, allocating more than \$1 billion for the purchase of books and library materials, and the creation of educational programs for disadvantaged children.



务。同样隶属于 OEO 的社区行动计划资助了当地社区行动机构，这些机构由弱势群体的居民创建和管理，以改善他们自己和邻居的生活。EOA 通过向希望改善农场或创业的人提供低息贷款来解决农村贫困问题。EOA 资金还用于为农民工提供住房和教育。其他立法在阿巴拉契亚 (Appalachia) 创造了就业机会，这是美国最贫穷的地区之一，并为印度的保留地带来了计划。EOA 的成功之一是纳瓦霍保留地的粗糙岩石示范学校，在尊重纳瓦霍传统和文化的同时，也培养了人们在保留之外的职业和工作。

教育

约翰逊，一位前任教师，意识到缺乏教育是导致贫困和其他社会问题的主要原因。因此，教育改革是他希望建立的社会的重要支柱，国会于 1965 年通过的主要立法之一是“中小学教育法”（ESEA）。该法律为小学和中学提供了更多的联邦资金，为购买书籍和图书馆资料分配了 10 多亿美元，并为弱势儿童制定了教育计划。

Primary Source: Photograph

Lady Bird Johnson reads to students at a Head Start program. She was a champion of all of her husband's Great Society programs, especially Head Start and his environmental initiatives.

主要来源：照片

伯德约翰逊夫人在 Head Start 计划中向学生们朗读。她是所有丈夫的伟大社会计划的冠军，尤其是 Head Start 和他的环保计划。

The ESEA was not important only because it provided funding for schools, but also because it was the first time the federal government became involved in providing money for the public schools. For most

ESEA 并不重要，因为它为学校提供资金，也因为这是联邦政府第一次参与为公立学校提供资金。在国家历史的大部分时间里，学校是地方政府的责

3 CAN WE END POVERTY?



of the nation's history, schools were the responsibility of local governments. However, after Johnson's Great Society, every president and members of congress have promised to improve education and have allocated federal money to do so. Even still, federal funding accounts for only a small fraction of a school's overall budget. Most of a school's budget is still provided by local taxes and decisions about curriculum are made at the state and local level.

The Higher Education Act, signed into law in 1966, provided scholarships and low-interest loans for the poor, increased federal funding for colleges and universities, and created a corps of teachers to serve schools in impoverished areas. Today, approximately two-thirds of all student financial support comes from the federal government.

When high school seniors complete their Federal Application for Student Aid (FAFSA), they become eligible for any of three forms of federal funding: Grants, or money given, loans, which have to be repaid after graduation, or work-study, which is money that can be earned by working at a job during school.

The planners of education reform that was part of the War on Poverty understood that systemic poverty was generational. That is, being the child of poor parents makes it much more likely that a person will grow up to be poor. One factor in this pattern is the ability to prepare children for kindergarten. While middle and upper class parents can provide books and toys for their young children, take them to museums, zoos, camps or send them to a preschool, poorer parents cannot afford these things, and often gave less time to teach their children because they were working.

To combat this problem, Johnson created **Head Start**, a program that provided government-funded preschool for low-income families. In this way, children from poor families would not start kindergarten already behind their middle and upper class peers. In 2009, David Deming evaluated the program, using the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth. He compared siblings and found that those who attended Head Start showed stronger academic performance as shown on test scores for years afterward, were less likely to be diagnosed as learning-disabled, less likely to commit crime, more likely to graduate from high school and attend college, and less likely to suffer from poor health as an adult.

MEDICARE AND MEDICAID

During the New Deal, President Franklin Roosevelt had enacted Social Security, an important program that provides financial support for America's elderly. Johnson realized that despite Social Security, the

任。然而，在约翰逊的伟大社会之后，每位总统和国会议员都承诺改善教育，并拨出联邦资金这样做。即便如此，联邦资金仅占学校总体预算的一小部分。学校的大部分预算仍由地方税收提供，课程决策由州和地方层面决定。

1966 年签署成为法律的“高等教育法”为穷人提供奖学金和低息贷款，增加了对高等院校的联邦资助，并创建了一支教师队伍，为贫困地区的学校提供服务。今天，大约三分之二的学生资助来自联邦政府。

当高中毕业生完成联邦学生援助申请（FAFSA）时，他们有资格获得三种形式的联邦资助：赠款，或给予的钱，贷款，必须在毕业后偿还，或工作学习，这是在学校工作时可以赚到的钱。

作为扶贫战争一部分的教育改革规划者理解，系统性贫困是世代相传的。也就是说，作为贫困父母的孩子，人们更容易成长为穷人。这种模式的一个因素是为幼儿园准备儿童的能力。中产阶级和上层阶级的父母可以为他们的孩子提供书籍和玩具，带他们去博物馆，动物园，营地或送他们去学前班，较贫穷的父母负担不起这些东西，而且往往给孩子们教的时间少，因为他们是工作。

为了解决这个问题，约翰逊创建了 Head Start，这是一个为低收入家庭提供政府资助的幼儿园的计划。通过这种方式，来自贫困家庭的孩子不会在中产阶级和高年级同龄人之后开始上幼儿园。2009 年，David Deming 使用全国青年纵向调查对该计划进行了评估。他对兄弟姐妹进行了比较，结果发现那些参加过 Head Start 的学生表现出更强的学习成绩，如后几年的考试成绩，不太可能被诊断为学习障碍，不太可能犯罪，更有可能从高中毕业并参加大学，成年后不太可能患上健康状况不佳。

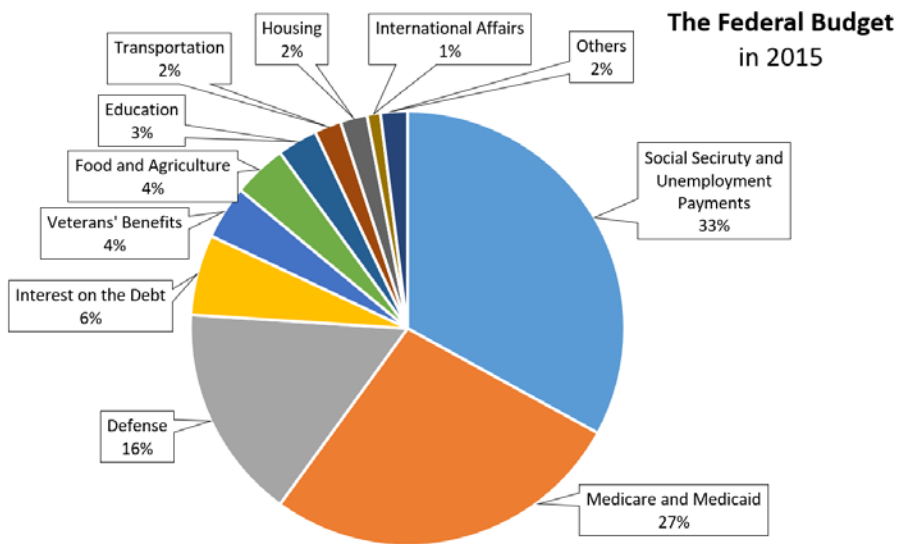
医疗和医疗

在新政期间，富兰克林罗斯福总统颁布了社会保障计划，这是一项为美国老年人提供财政支持的重要计划。约翰逊意识到，尽管社会保障，该国的老年

3 CAN WE END POVERTY?

nation's elderly were among its poorest and most disadvantaged citizens, and added to the social safety net by enacting a program to provide medical insurance for the elderly. The creation of **Medicare**, a program to pay the medical expenses of those over sixty-five, has, along with Social Security, been one of the most popular and most expensive programs run by the federal government. Initially opposed by the American Medical Association, which feared the creation of a national healthcare system, the new program was supported by most citizens because it would benefit all social classes, not just the poor.

人是最贫困和最弱势的公民，并通过颁布一项为老年人提供医疗保险的计划，增加了社会安全网。医疗保险计划是一项支付六十五岁以上医疗费用的计划，与社会保障一起，是联邦政府管理的最受欢迎和最昂贵的计划之一。最初由美国医学协会反对，该协会担心建立国家医疗保健系统，新计划得到大多数公民的支持，因为它将使所有社会阶层受益，而不仅仅是穷人。



Secondary Source: Chart

A pie chart of the federal budget in 2015 shows the enormous expense of the entitlement safety net programs such as Social Security, unemployment, Medicare and Medicaid, which together account for well over half of all federal spending. As the Baby Boomers live out their long retirements, greater and greater allocations will be needed to support these programs. Either taxes on younger workers will have to go up, or the benefits the elderly receive will have to go down.

次要来源：图表

2015 年联邦预算的饼图显示了社会保障、失业、医疗保险和医疗补助等权利安全网计划的巨额费用，这些计划共占所有联邦支出的一半以上。随着婴儿潮一代的长期退休生活，需要越来越多的拨款来支持这些项目。对年轻工人的税收必须上涨，否则老年人获得的福利将不得不下降。

Like Social Security, current workers pay the costs of Medicare. As the Baby Boomers retire, more and more will be taking advantage of Medicare benefits and the government will have to pay for their prescription drugs, doctors' visits, and other treatments. With better healthcare, Americans are living longer. The combined effect of the large number of Baby Boomers and the longer they are all living, the cost of Medicare is rising quickly. Politicians in the coming decades will have to face tough choices. Either they will have to raise taxes on current workers to pay for Medicare's costs, or cut benefits. Since older Americans vote in greater numbers than younger Americans, the outcome seems obvious.

与社会保障一样，现有员工支付医疗保险费用。随着婴儿潮一代退休，越来越多的人将利用医疗保险福利，政府将不得不支付他们的处方药，医生的访问和其他治疗费用。随着更好的医疗保健，美国人的寿命更长大量婴儿潮一代的综合效应和他们所生活的时间越长，医疗保险的成本迅速上升。未来几十年的政治家将不得不面对艰难的选择。他们要么必须对现有工人征税，要么支付 Medicare 的费用，要么削减福利。由于美国老年人的投票数量超过了年轻的美国人，因此结果显而易见。

A year after Medicare was created, a medical program for the poor was enacted entitled **Medicaid**. States use money from the federal government and run the program themselves so Medicaid is known by different names in different places. For example, California calls their program Medi-Cal, in Massachusetts it is known as MassHealth, and

医疗保险成立一年后，颁布了一项针对穷人的医疗计划，名为医疗补助计划。各州使用联邦政府的资金并自行运行该计划，因此医疗补助计划在不同地方以不同的名称而闻名。例如，加利福尼亚称他们的计划为 Medi-Cal，在马萨诸塞州称为

3 CAN WE END POVERTY?

Hawaii's version of Medicaid is called Quest. As part of the Affordable Care Act (ACA), also known as Obama Care, passed in 2010, the Medicaid program was greatly expanded by redefining who qualified to receive its benefits.

THE ARTS

Perhaps influenced by Kennedy's commitment to the arts, Johnson also signed legislation creating the **National Endowment for the Arts** and the National Endowment for the Humanities, which provided funding for artists and scholars. In September 1965, when he signed the National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities Act, Johnson, declared, "the arts and humanities belong to all the people of the United States." Government support for the arts is an assertion that culture is a concern of everyone, not just private citizens.

The Public Broadcasting Act of 1967 authorized the creation of the private, not-for-profit **Corporation for Public Broadcasting**, which helped launch the Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) and National Public Radio (NPR) in 1970.



MassHealth, 夏威夷版的 Medicaid 称为 Quest。作为 2010 年通过的平价医疗法案 (ACA) 的一部分, 通过重新定义有资格获得福利的人, 医疗补助计划得到了极大的扩展。

艺术

也许受到肯尼迪对艺术的承诺的影响, 约翰逊还签署了立法, 创立了国家艺术基金会和国家人文基金会, 为艺术家和学者提供资金。1965 年 9 月, 当他签署了国家艺术与人文基金会法案时, 约翰逊宣称, "艺术和人文学科属于美国所有人。"政府对艺术的支持是一种观念, 即文化是一个问题。每个人, 而不仅仅是私人公民。

1967 年的“公共广播法”授权设立私营非营利性公共广播公司, 该公司于 1970 年帮助发起公共广播服务 (PBS) 和国家公共广播电台 (NPR)。

Primary Source: Photograph

Sesame Street premiered in 1969, launched with funding from the Corporation for Public Broadcasting.

主要来源：照片

芝麻街于 1969 年首播, 由公共广播公司资助推出。

Since its inception, the National Endowment for the Arts and National Endowment for the Humanities have funded theatrical productions, translations of works of literature, art exhibits, and have made the arts accessible to millions of schoolchildren. Sometimes, people forget that the arts are expansive. However, consider the cost of paying for school busses to transport elementary school students to a theater to watch a play. This is an experience most Americans are familiar with, but do not often realize that the cost of those busses was probably paid for with a grant from the National Endowment for the Arts.

自成立以来, 国家艺术基金会和国家人文基金会资助了戏剧作品, 文学作品的翻译, 艺术展览, 并使数百万学童能够获得艺术。有时, 人们会忘记艺术是广阔的。但是, 考虑支付校车费用以便将小学生送到剧院观看比赛的费用。这是大多数美国人熟悉的经历, 但是并不经常意识到这些公共汽车的成本可能是通过国家艺术基金会的赠款支付的。

3 CAN WE END POVERTY?



Another important project these Great Society programs have undertaken is the recognition of America's great artists. The National Medal of Arts, given annually by the president has been awarded to such great contributors as painters Georgia O'Keeffe, Jacob Lawrence, and Andrew Wyeth, musicians Dave Brubeck, Wynton Marsalis, Johnny Cash, and Ray Charles, writers Ralph Ellison, and Beverly Cleary, and dancers Mikhail Baryshnikov and Suzanne Farrell.

CONSUMER PROTECTION

In the first decade of the 1900s, muckrakers such as Upton Sinclair made food safety a part of the national conversation with their books. The *Jungle*, for example, helped spur congress to create the Food and Drug Administration. As part of the Great Society, Johnson moved consumer protection a step further.

The Cigarette Labeling and Advertising Act of 1965 required packages to carry warning labels. The Motor Vehicle Safety Act of 1966 set standards through creation of the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration. The Fair Packaging and Labeling Act requires products have a label to identify manufacturer, address, and clearly mark quantity and servings. The Child Safety Act of 1966 prohibited any chemical so dangerous that no warning can make it safe and the Flammable Fabrics Act of 1967 set standards for children's sleepwear. The Wholesome Meat Act of 1967 and Wholesome Poultry Products Act of 1968 improved inspection of the nation's meats. The Truth-in-Lending Act of 1968 required lenders and credit providers to disclose the full cost of finance charges in both dollars and annual percentage rates, on installment loan and sales. The Land Sales Disclosure Act of 1968 provided safeguards against fraudulent practices in the sale of land. The Radiation Safety Act of 1968 provided standards and recalls for defective electronic products.

We have Johnson to thank for the fact that we can look on the side of a package at the grocery store and know what ingredients it contains, or eat a hamburger without fearing for our health, or ride in a car and know it will protect us in an accident, or rest easy knowing that the things in our house will not poison our children.

IMMIGRATION

The United States is a nation of immigrants. However, after World War I, people began to fear the impact that immigrants were having. Communists led by Vladimir Lenin had just taken power in Russia, revolutions were brewing in Europe, and traditional racist fears were brewing. In response, Congress passed the Immigration Act of 1924,

这些伟大社会计划所承担的另一重要项目是对美国伟大艺术家的认可。每年由总统颁发的国家艺术奖章授予画家乔治亚·奥基夫，雅各布·劳伦斯和安德鲁·惠斯，音乐家戴夫·布鲁贝克，威尔顿·马萨利斯，约翰尼·卡什和雷·查尔斯，作家拉尔夫·埃里森等杰出贡献者。和 Beverly Cleary，舞者 Mikhail Baryshnikov 和 Suzanne Farrell。

消费者保护

在 20 世纪的第一个十年，像厄普顿·辛克莱这样的诽谤者将食品安全作为他们书籍全国对话的一部分。例如，丛林帮助推动国会创建食品和药物管理局。作为伟大社会的一部分，约翰逊将消费者保护向前推进了一步。

1965 年的“卷烟标签和广告法案”要求包裹带有警告标签。1966 年的“机动车安全法”通过建立国家公路交通安全管理局制定了标准。“公平包装和标签法”要求产品有标签，以识别制造商，地址，并清楚标明数量和份量。1966 年的“儿童安全法”禁止任何化学品如此危险，以至于没有任何警告可以使其安全，1967 年的“易燃织物法”为儿童睡衣设定了标准。1967 年的卫生肉法和 1968 年的卫生家禽产品法改善了对国家肉类的检查。1968 年的“真相借贷法”要求贷款人和信贷提供者以分期付款和销售的美元和年度百分比率披露财务费用的全部费用。1968 年的“土地销售披露法”为出售土地的欺诈行为提供了保障。1968 年的“辐射安全法”为有缺陷的电子产品提供了标准和召回。

我们让约翰逊感谢我们可以在杂货店看到包装的一面，知道它含有什么成分，或者吃汉堡包而不用担心我们的健康，或者坐在车里知道它会保护我们在一次事故中，或者很容易知道我们家里的东西不会毒害我们的孩子。

移民

美国是一个移民国家。然而，第一次世界大战后，人们开始担心移民所带来的影响。由弗拉基米尔·列宁领导的共产党人刚刚在俄罗斯掌权，革命正在欧洲酝酿，传统的种族主义恐惧正在酝酿之中。作为回应，国会通过了 1924 年的移民法案，

3 CAN WE END POVERTY?



which ended almost legal immigration. It set quotas for how many people could enter the United States from any particular country, favored White Europeans, and ended immigration from Asia all together.

In 1965, the Johnson Administration encouraged Congress to pass the **Immigration and Nationality Act**, which radically changed the nation's immigration policy. The law lifted restrictions on immigration from Asia and gave preference to immigrants with family ties in the United States and immigrants with desirable skills. Although the measure seemed less significant than many of the other legislative victories of the Johnson administration at the time, it opened the door for a new era in immigration. When it was first passed, its advocates believed that the trend of predominantly White immigration would continue, since most Americans at the time were White. However, because it favored families, once one immigrant had moved to the United States, the law made it possible for other family members to obtain visas to immigrant as well. Over the past 50 years, this has made possible the formation of Asian and Latin American immigrant communities.

Between the passage of immigration restrictions in the 1920s and the Great Society in the 1960s, 52% of immigrants were from Europe and only 6% were from Asia. Since the passage of the Immigration and Nationality Act in 1965, 14% have been from Europe and 33% from Asia. The rebirth of Chinatowns, as well as the establishment of Vietnamese, Thai, Korean, Japanese, Indian, Pakistani, as well as various African ethnic communities in the United States are the effects of the policy change implemented by Johnson.

Immigration from Latin America was not ended in 1924 because of the need farm workers and Hispanic immigrants have accounted for about 45% of the nation's total new arrivals in the past 100 years.

CIVIL RIGHTS AND THE ENVIRONMENT

The fight for civil rights was an important part of Johnson's quest to create a Great Society. He used his considerable ability to work with Congress to pass the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965, both of which we discussed in the preceding unit.

Johnson was also greatly concerned with protecting the environment, which we will discuss at length in our next reading.

该法案几乎终止了合法移民。它设定了有多少人可以从任何特定国家进入美国，青睐白人欧洲人，并结束了从亚洲移民到美国的报价。

1965 年，约翰逊政府鼓励国会通过“移民和国籍法”，从根本上改变了国家的移民政策。法律取消了对亚洲移民的限制，并优先考虑在美国与家庭有联系的移民和有理想技能的移民。虽然这项措施似乎没有当时约翰逊政府的许多其他立法胜利那么重要，但它为移民新时代打开了大门。当它首次通过时，它的支持者认为，白人移民的主要趋势将持续下去，因为当时大多数美国人都是白人。然而，由于它有利于家庭，一旦移民移居美国，法律规定其他家庭成员也可以获得移民签证。在过去的 50 年里，这使得亚洲和拉丁美洲移民社区的形成成为可能。

在 20 世纪 20 年代的移民限制和 20 世纪 60 年代的大社会之间，52% 的移民来自欧洲，只有 6% 来自亚洲。自 1965 年“移民和国籍法”通过以来，14% 来自欧洲，33% 来自亚洲。唐人街的重生，以及越南，泰国，韩国，日本，印度，巴基斯坦以及美国各种非洲民族社区的建立，都是约翰逊实施政策变革的结果。

拉丁美洲的移民并未在 1924 年结束，因为农民工的需求和西班牙裔移民在过去 100 年中占全国新移民人数的 45% 左右。

公民权利与环境

争取公民权利是约翰逊创建伟大社会的重要组成部分。他利用自己相当的能力与国会合作，通过了 1964 年的“民权法案”和 1965 年的“选举权法案”，我们在上一个单元中对此进行了讨论。

约翰逊也非常关注保护环境，我们将在下一次阅读中详细讨论。

3 CAN WE END POVERTY?

WAS THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION ACTUALLY REVOLUTIONARY?



Primary Source: Photograph

President Johnson met with Martin Luther King, Jr. and other civil rights leaders in the Oval Office of the White House. His support was an important component of the effort to convince Congress to pass both the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

主要来源：照片

约翰逊总统会见了小马丁路德金和白宫椭圆形办公室的其他民权领袖。他的支持是说服国会通过 1964 年民权法案和 1965 年投票权法案的重要组成部分。

THE END OF THE GREAT SOCIETY

Perhaps the greatest casualty of the nation's war in Vietnam during the 1960s and early 1970s was the Great Society. As the war escalated, money spent to fund it also increased, leaving less to pay for the many social programs Johnson had created to lift Americans out of poverty. Johnson knew he could not achieve his Great Society while spending money to wage the war, however he was unwilling to withdraw from Vietnam for fear that the world would perceive this action as evidence of American failure. On balance, he was willing to sacrifice all he could do to end poverty and improve life at home so that the United States could carry out its responsibilities as a superpower in the Cold War.

Vietnam doomed the Great Society in other ways as well. Dreams of racial harmony suffered, as many African Americans, angered by the failure of Johnson's programs to alleviate severe poverty in the inner cities, rioted in frustration. Their anger was heightened by the fact that a disproportionate number of African Americans were fighting and dying in Vietnam. Nearly two-thirds of eligible African Americans were drafted, whereas draft deferments for college, exemptions for skilled workers in the military industrial complex, and officer training programs allowed White middle-class youth to either avoid the draft or volunteer for a military branch of their choice. As a result, less than one-third of White men were drafted.

Although the Great Society failed to eliminate suffering or increase civil rights to the extent that Johnson wished, it made a significant difference in people's lives. By the end of Johnson's Administration,

伟大社会的终结

也许在 20 世纪 60 年代和 70 年代初期，越南国家战争中最大的牺牲品就是大社会。随着战争的升级，用于资助它的资金也增加了，为约翰逊为使美国人摆脱贫困所创造的许多社会计划付出的代价更少。约翰逊知道他在花钱发动战争时无法实现他的伟大社会，但他不愿意从越南撤军，因为担心世界会认为这一行动是美国失败的证据。总的来说，他愿意牺牲他所能做的一切来消除贫困和改善国内生活，以便美国能够履行其作为冷战时期超级大国的责任。

越南也以其他方式注定了伟大的社会。种族和谐的梦想受到了影响，因为许多非洲裔美国人因为约翰逊的计划未能缓解内城的严重贫困而感到愤怒，他们沮丧地骚动。由于不成比例的非洲裔美国人在越南战斗和死亡，他们的愤怒更加激烈。大约有三分之二的合格非洲裔美国人被起草，而大学延期退休，军事工业综合体技术工人豁免以及军官培训计划让白人中产阶级青年要么避开草案，要么自愿参加他们的军事分支。选择。结果，不到三分之一的白人男子被选中。

虽然伟大社会未能消除痛苦或增加公民权利达到约翰逊所希望的程度，但它对人们的生活产生了重大影响。到约翰逊政府结束时，生活在贫困线以下的

3 CAN WE END POVERTY?



the percentage of people living below the poverty line had been cut nearly in half. While more minorities continued to live in poverty, the percentage of poor African Americans had decreased dramatically. The creation of Medicare and Medicaid as well as the expansion of Social Security benefits and welfare payments improved the lives of many, while increased federal funding for education enabled more people to attend college than ever before.

Conservative critics argued that, by expanding the responsibilities of the federal government to care for the poor, Johnson had hurt both taxpayers and the poor themselves. Aid to the poor, many maintained, would not only fail to solve the problem of poverty but would also encourage people to become dependent on the government and lose their desire and ability to care for themselves, an argument that many found intuitively compelling but which lacked conclusive evidence. These same critics also accused Johnson of saddling the United States with a large debt as a result of all the money he borrowed in order to fund both the war in Vietnam and the programs of the Great Society.

THE WARREN COURT

Earl Warren was the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court from 1953 to 1969. His time on the court is remembered as an era in which the Court made numerous progressive decisions that advanced civil rights. During his tenure, Warren wrote the *Brown v. Board of Education* and *Hernandez v. Texas* decisions. He ruled that witnesses did not have to testify before the House Un-American Activities Committee that had become infamous during the Red Scare. In *Engel v. Vitale* his court ruled that schools cannot force students to participate in prayers. He was chief justice when President Nixon tried to prevent newspapers from printing stories that contained secrets about the Vietnam War and ruled that the people have the right to know what their government is doing. However, two rulings in particular made by the **Warren Court** are remembered because together they greatly advanced protection of people accused of crimes, especially for those who are poor.

In 1961, a poor man named Clarence Earl Gideon was arrested and put on trial for robbing a pool hall in Florida. When he appeared before the court, Gideon could not afford an attorney to represent him, and the prosecutor easily convinced the jury that Gideon was guilty. However, Gideon was not guilty and believed that he should have been entitled to a government appointed lawyer. **Public defenders**, as they are known, are lawyers paid with tax money who defend people accused of crimes who cannot afford to hire lawyers of their own. Gideon took his case, **Gideon v. Wainwright**, all the way to the Supreme Court where he won.

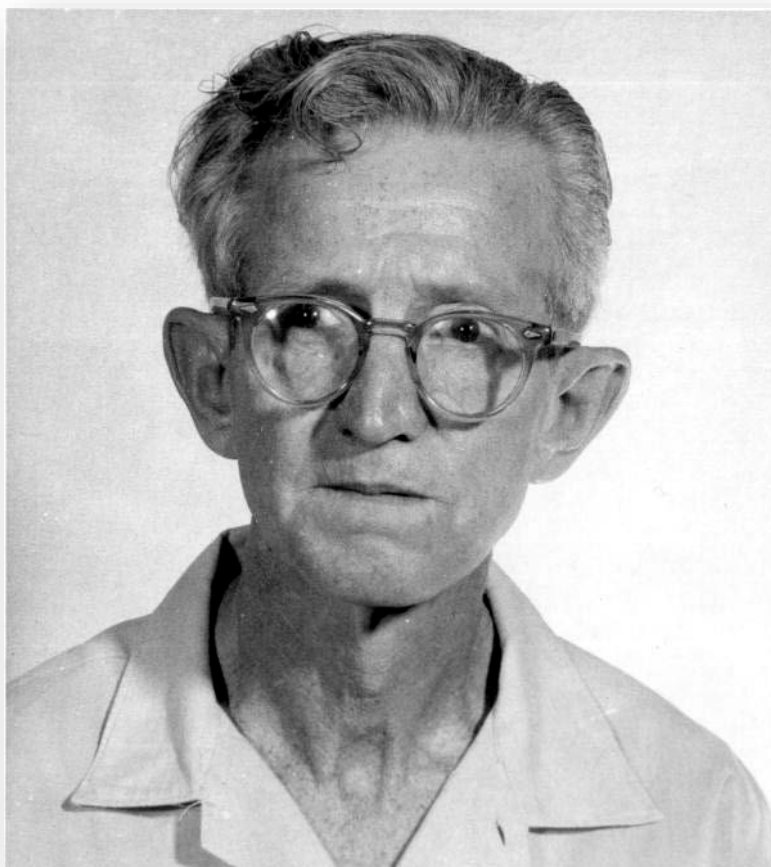
人口比例几乎减少了一半。虽然更多的少数民族继续生活在贫困中，但贫穷的非洲裔美国人的比例急剧下降。医疗保险和医疗补助的创建以及社会保障福利和福利支出的扩大改善了许多人的生活，同时增加的联邦教育经费使更多的人上大学比以往任何时候都多。

保守派批评者认为，通过扩大联邦政府的责任来照顾穷人，约翰逊自己也伤害了纳税人和穷人。许多人保持对穷人的援助，不仅不能解决贫困问题，而且还会鼓励人们依赖政府，失去他们关心自己的愿望和能力，许多人认为这种说法在直觉上引人注目但却缺乏确凿的证据。这些同样的批评者还指责约翰逊为了给越南的战争和大社会的计划提供资金而借给他的所有资金，使美国承担了巨额债务。

WARREN COURT

伯爵沃伦从 1953 年到 1969 年担任最高法院首席大法官。他在法庭上的时间被人们记住是法院做出许多推进公民权利的进步决定的时代。在他任职期间，沃伦写了布朗诉教育委员会和埃尔南德斯诉德克萨斯州的决定。他裁定证人不必在众议院非美活动委员会作证，而该委员会在红色恐慌期间已经臭名昭着。在恩格尔诉维塔案中，他的法院裁定学校不能强迫学生参加祈祷。当尼克松总统试图阻止报纸刊登包含越南战争秘密的报道并且裁定人民有权知道他们的政府在做什么时，他就是首席大法官。然而，沃伦法院特别提出的两项裁决被人们记住，因为他们共同极大地保护了被控犯罪的人，特别是对那些穷人。

1961 年，一名名叫 Clarence Earl Gideon 的穷人因抢劫佛罗里达州的一个游泳池大厅而被捕并接受审判。当他出庭时，基甸无法让律师代表他，而检察官很容易让陪审团确信基甸是有罪的。然而，基甸并无罪，并认为他应该有权获得政府指定的律师。众所周知，公设辩护律师是用税款支付的律师，为被控犯有无法雇用自己律师费用的罪行的人辩护。吉迪恩接过他的案子，吉迪恩诉温赖特，一直到最高法院，他赢了。

**Primary Source: Photograph**

Clarence Earl Gideon was convicted of a crime although he was too poor to afford a lawyer to help with his defense in court. He took his case to the Supreme Court where he won. Today, everyone accused of a crime has the right to an attorney. Those who cannot afford their own lawyer will be represented by a public defender paid for with tax money.

主要来源：照片

克拉伦斯·厄尔·吉迪恩 (Clarence Earl Gideon) 被判犯有罪，但他太穷，无法让律师帮助他在法庭辩护。他把他的案子带到了他赢得的最高法院。今天，被控犯罪的每个人都有权获得律师。那些买不起自己律师的人将由一名有税收支付的公设辩护人代表。

In 1963, Ernesto Miranda was arrested, by the Phoenix Police Department, based on circumstantial evidence linking him to the kidnapping and rape of an eighteen-year-old woman. After two hours of interrogation by police officers, Miranda signed a written confession. However, at no time was Miranda told of his right to consult with a lawyer. Before being presented with the form on which he was asked to write out the confession he had already given orally, he was not advised of his right to remain silent, nor was he informed that his statements during the interrogation would be used against him. These rights are guaranteed by the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution. At trial, when prosecutors offered Miranda's written confession as evidence, his court-appointed lawyer objected that the confession was not truly voluntary and should be excluded from the trial. Moore's objection was overruled and Miranda was convicted. Like Gideon, Miranda and Moore believed the police and prosecutors should not be able to use a confession unless the person on trial knew that confession might be used in court. The Supreme Court agreed. In **Miranda v. Arizona**, they clarified that statements made by those in

1963 年，埃内斯托·米兰达被凤凰警察局逮捕，根据间接证据将他与绑架和强奸一名十八岁女子联系起来。经过两个小时的警察审讯，米兰达签署了一份书面供词。然而，米兰达在任何时候都没有告诉他与律师协商的权利。在被要求提出他已经口头表达供认的表格之前，他没有被告知他有权保持沉默，也没有被告知他在审讯期间的陈述会被用来对付他。“宪法”第五修正案保障了这些权利。在审判时，当检察官提供米兰达的书面供词作为证据时，他的法庭指定的律师反对说，供认并非真正自愿，应被排除在审判之外。摩尔的反对意见被驳回，米兰达被判有罪。像吉迪恩一样，米兰达和摩尔认为警察和检察官不应该使用供词，除非审判中的人知道可以在法庭上使用供认。最高法院同意了。在米兰达诉亚利桑那州，他们澄清说，如果警方明确警告过这种情况，警察拘留的人所作的陈述只能用于审判。

3 CAN WE END POVERTY?

police custody can only be used in a trial if the person has clearly been warned that such is the case.

This warning is now known as the **Miranda Warning**, and incorporates both the Gideon case and the Miranda case. The exact wording varies, but could read, “You have the right to remain silent. Anything you say can be used against you in court. You have the right to talk to a lawyer for advice before we ask you any questions. You have the right to have a lawyer with you during questioning. If you cannot afford a lawyer, one will be appointed for you before any questioning if you wish. If you decide to answer questions now without a lawyer present, you have the right to stop answering at any time.”

While most Americans eventually agreed that the Court’s desegregation decisions were fair and right, disagreement about the “due process revolution” continues. Warren took the lead in criminal justice despite his years as a tough prosecutor. He always insisted that the police must play fair or the accused should go free. Warren was privately outraged at what he considered police abuses that ranged from warrantless searches to forced confessions.

Conservatives angrily denounced the Warren Court’s decisions claiming that they prevented the police from effectively putting criminals behind bars. Violent crime and homicide rates shot up nationwide in the following years. In New York City, for example, after steady to declining trends until the early 1960s, the homicide rate doubled in the period from 1964 to 1974. Controversy exists about the cause, with conservatives blaming the Supreme Court’s decisions, and liberals pointing to increased urbanization and income inequality characteristic of that era. After 1992 the homicide rates fell sharply.

CONCLUSION

Many liberals would argue that the failure of the War on Poverty to actually end poverty was the fault of external factors such as the Vietnam War. The programs and ideas President Johnson championed would have worked if other distractions had not interfered.

Conservatives, on the other hand, claim that the War on Poverty, while well-intentioned, would never have undone the natural order of the capitalist economic system, and in some ways might have made poverty worse. People who know the government will rescue them when they fall on hard times are less likely to work their way out of poverty. Or so the argument goes.

What do you think? Can we end poverty?

此警告现在称为米兰达警告，并结合了 Gideon 案和 Miranda 案。确切的措辞各不相同，但可以读作：“你有权保持沉默。你说的任何话都可以在法庭上对你使用。在我们向您提出任何问题之前，您有权与律师联系以获取建议。您有权在提问期间聘请律师。如果您买不起律师，如果您愿意，可以在任何提问之前为您指定一名律师。如果您决定在没有律师在场的情况下回答问题，您有权随时停止回答。”

虽然大多数美国人最终同意法院的废除种族隔离决定是公正和正确的，但对“正当程序革命”的分歧仍在继续。尽管沃伦多年来一直担任严厉的检察官，但他还是在刑事司法方面处于领先地位。他总是坚持警察必须公平，否则被告应该获得自由。沃伦私下对他认为的警察滥用行为感到愤怒，这种行为从无证搜查到逼供。

保守派愤怒地谴责沃伦法院的决定，声称他们阻止警方有效地将罪犯绳之以法。在接下来的几年里，全国范围内的暴力犯罪率和凶杀案率都有所上升。例如，在纽约市，直到 20 世纪 60 年代初，经历了稳定到下降的趋势，凶杀率在 1964 年至 1974 年期间翻了一番。关于这一事业存在争议，保守派指责最高法院的裁决，而自由主义者则指出城市化进程加剧和那个时代的收入不平等特征。1992 年以后，凶杀率大幅下降。

结论

许多自由主义者认为，战争失败实际上消除贫困是越南战争等外部因素的错误。如果其他干扰没有干扰，约翰逊总统所倡导的计划和想法将起作用。

另一方面，保守派声称，贫穷之战虽然是善意的，但却永远不会破坏资本主义经济体系的自然秩序，并且在某些方面可能会使贫困恶化。知道政府的人会在遇到困难时拯救他们，他们不太可能摆脱贫困。或者论证如此。

你怎么看？我们能结束贫困吗？

SUMMARY

In 1963, President John F. Kennedy was assassinated by Lee Harvey Oswald while riding through Dallas, Texas in an open limousine. A man seeking to avenge the president's death killed Oswald a few days later. The Warren Commission investigated the killing and found that Oswald had acted alone, but Kennedy's death remains the subject of conspiracy theories.

The new president was Lyndon Johnson from Texas. Johnson was long-time member of Congress and a master at convincing others to agree with him.

Johnson continued many of Kennedy's programs. He also wanted to improve the nation and believed America should be a Great Society.

Johnson declared a War on Poverty. He signed many laws that were designed to end poverty, mostly by giving people the education or support they needed to find jobs, rather than just by giving away money.

Johnson signed the ESEA, which provided federal funding for education. This was the first time the federal government got involved in funding local schools. He also created Head Start for low-income preschoolers and increased federal scholarships and loans for college.

Johnson created Medicare to cover health insurance for the elderly and Medicaid to provide health insurance for the poor. Both programs remain popular and account for about a quarter of the entire federal budget.

Johnson's Great Society included federal funding for the arts, including funding for public radio and television.

Johnson also passed laws to protect consumers, such as regulations on automobile safety, truth in packaging, and financial disclosures.

Johnson signed the Immigration and Nationality Act, which ended national quotas for immigration and implemented a family reunification policy. This greatly increased immigration from Asia and Africa.

The Great Society and Johnson's War on Poverty were limited because Johnson was also spending money to fight the Vietnam War. Conservatives criticize the Great Society programs as excessive government.

摘要

1963 年，约翰·肯尼迪总统被李·哈维·奥斯瓦尔德 (Lee Harvey Oswald) 在开放式豪华轿车中穿越德克萨斯州达拉斯时被暗杀。几天后，一名寻求报复总统死亡的男子杀死了奥斯瓦尔德。沃伦委员会对这起杀人事件进行了调查，发现奥斯瓦尔德一直独自行动，但肯尼迪的死亡仍然是阴谋理论的主题。

新任总统是德克萨斯州的林登约翰逊。约翰逊是国会的长期成员，也是说服别人同意他的大师。

约翰逊继承了肯尼迪的许多计划。他还希望改善国家，并相信美国应该是一个伟大的社会。

约翰逊宣战贫穷。他签署了许多旨在消除贫困的法律，主要是通过给人们提供寻找工作所需的教育或支持，而不仅仅是提供金钱。

约翰逊签署了 ESEA，为教育提供联邦资金。这是联邦政府首次参与资助当地学校。他还为低收入学龄前儿童创建了 Head Start，并为大学增加了联邦奖学金和贷款。

约翰逊创建了医疗保险，为老年人和医疗补助提供医疗保险，为穷人提供健康保险。这两个项目仍然很受欢迎，约占整个联邦预算的四分之一。

约翰逊的伟大社会包括联邦政府对艺术的资助，包括为公共广播和电视提供资金。

约翰逊还通过法律保护消费者，例如汽车安全法规，包装真相和财务披露。

约翰逊签署了“移民和国籍法”，该法案终止了移民的国家配额，并实施了家庭团聚政策。这极大地增加了来自亚洲和非洲的移民。

伟大的社会和约翰逊的贫困战争是有限的，因为约翰逊也花钱来对抗越南战争。保守派批评大社会计划是过度政府。

3 CAN WE END POVERTY?

**WAS THE SOCIAL
REVOLUTION
ACTUALLY
REVOLUTIONARY?**

During the 1960s, the Supreme Court under Chief Justice Earl Warren ruled on multiple cases that expanded civil rights, including *Brown v. Board of Education*, and well as cases that led to the creation of the Miranda Warning.

在 20 世纪 60 年代，首席大法官厄尔·沃伦（Earl Warren）领导的最高法院裁定了多起扩大公民权利的案件，包括布朗诉教育委员会，以及导致米兰达警告制定的案件。



PEOPLE AND GROUPS

Lee Harvey Oswald: The man who shot and killed President John F. Kennedy. He was killed by Jack Ruby a few days later.

Warren Commission: Group who led the official government investigation of the assassination of President Kennedy. They concluded that Oswald had acted alone.

Earl Warren: Chief Justice of the Supreme Court in the 1950s and 1960s who pushed the Court to rule favorably on numerous cases related to civil rights.

The Warren Court: Nickname for the Supreme Court during the 1950s and 1960s during a period of time when handed down many civil rights and criminal justices rulings that historians view as particularly liberal.

Public Defender: Lawyer paid by tax dollars who defends people who cannot afford a lawyer of their own.



GOVERNMENT PROGRAMS & AGENCIES

The Great Society: Collection of laws and problems implemented by President Lyndon Johnson to improve life in America. They included his War on Poverty as well as programs to protect the environment and Medicare and Medicaid.

War on Poverty: Name given to the laws promoted by President Lyndon Johnson designed specifically to help the poor. These included the Jobs Corps which provided training, as well as education laws such as Head Start and college financial aide.

Jobs Corps: Program that was part of Johnson's War on Poverty. It provides training so people can learn skills they will need to be hired.

Head Start: Preschool program for children from low-income families that was instituted as part of the War on Poverty in the 1960s.

Medicare: Program that provides health insurance for the elderly. It is a signature program created as part of the Great Society in the 1960s by President Johnson.

Medicaid: Program that provides health insurance for lower-income Americans. It is run independently by states and goes by different names in the different states.

National Endowment for the Arts: Program created in the 1960s as part of the Great Society that uses federal tax dollars to fund art exhibits, performances, and art education.

Corporation for Public Broadcasting: Program created in the 1960s as part of the Great Society that uses federal tax dollars to support public television and public radio programming.



KEY IDEAS

Miranda Warning: Statement made by arresting police officers advising people of their right to remain silent and their right to an attorney.



COURT CASES

Gideon v. Wainwright: 1963 Supreme Court cases that guaranteed a lawyer to all those accused of a crime.

Miranda v. Arizona: 1966 Supreme Court case which banned the use of confessions or statements made by a defendant before they had been advised of their right to remain silent. This case led to the now-famous Miranda Warnings.



LAWS

Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA):

Law passed in 1965 as part of the Great Society and War on Poverty that greatly increased federal funding for school and made the federal government a major player in funding education.

Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965: Major revision to immigration law passed in 1965 that eliminated national quotas and instead encouraged family reunification. It led to a tremendous increase in immigration from Asia, Latin America and Africa.



EVENTS

Assassination of John F. Kennedy: November 22, 1963 – Dallas, Texas.



LOCATIONS

Dealey Plaza: The location in Dallas, Texas where President Kennedy was assassinated.

4

F O U R T H Q U E S T I O N CAN WE SAVE THE EARTH?

**WAS THE SOCIAL
REVOLUTION
ACTUALLY
REVOLUTIONARY?**

INTRODUCTION

In their zeal to fix the nation's problems during the 1960s, reformers found a new topic of concern: the environment. Today, caring about our carbon footprint is normal and separating our rubbish and recycling into multiple trashcans is normal, but this was not always the case. Certainly earlier conservationists like Theodore Roosevelt and John Muir had talked about preserving America's wildlands, but those steps were tiny compared to the massive efforts underway today.

Observing Earth Day and talking about saving the whales are things students today grew up with, but where did they come from? When did Americans start to care about saving the Earth? And, what did they think they were saving the Earth from? Why did they care at that time?

Spurred on by their newfound love for nature, the young people of the counterculture took up environmentalism. They found allies in the White House and Congress as part of Johnson's Great Society, and Saving the Earth became part of the national conversation. The environmental movement grew up, just like the hippies that helped launch it, which brings us to an interesting, and more present question: can we save the Earth? Hopefully, by understanding how the environmental movement started and changed over time, we can understand something about our ecological future.

介绍

在 20 世纪 60 年代他们热衷于解决国家问题时，改革者们发现了一个令人关注的新话题：环境。今天，关心我们的碳足迹是正常的，将我们的垃圾分开并回收到多个垃圾桶是正常的，但情况并非总是如此。当然早期的保护主义者如西奥多罗斯福和约翰穆尔曾谈到保护美国的荒地，但与今天正在进行的大规模努力相比，这些步骤微不足道。

观察地球日和谈论拯救鲸鱼是学生今天长大的事情，但他们来自哪里？美国人什么时候开始关心拯救地球？而且，他们认为他们从地球中拯救了什么？那时他们为什么关心？

在他们对自然的新发现的激情刺激下，反主流文化的年轻人开始接受环保主义。作为约翰逊大社会的一部分，他们在白宫和国会中找到了盟友，拯救地球成为全国对话的一部分。环境运动长大了，就像嬉皮士一样帮助发动它，这给我们带来了一个有趣的，更现实的问题：我们能拯救地球吗？希望通过了解环境运动如何开始和随时间变化，我们可以了解我们的生态未来。

A HISTORY OF CONSERVATION

Americans have not always been concerned about the environment the way we are today. The modern environmental movement began in the 1960s, but its roots go much farther back.

Conservation first became a national issue during the Progressive Era when outdoorsmen, fishermen, and the great conservationist John Muir began advocating for the protection of America's most beautiful, and unique stretches of wilderness. This conservation movement urged politicians to establish state and national parks and forests, wildlife refuges, and national monuments. It was a time period when settlement had extended fully from sea to sea and the great industrial factories and cities of the East were on the rise. For many, the idea of preserving natural resources made sense. Even within the growing cities, efforts were underway in the form of the City Beautiful Movement to preserve green spaces for humans to enjoy.

It was at this time that President Theodore Roosevelt, an avid hunter and outdoorsman himself, put the issue high on the national agenda. He encouraged the Newlands Reclamation Act of 1902 to promote federal construction of dams to irrigate small farms and placed 360,000 square miles of wilderness under federal protection. Roosevelt set aside more federal land for national parks and nature preserves than all of his predecessors combined and is justifiably considered the nation's first conservation president.

Even at the dawn of the 1900s, however, there were differing views of how to best preserve and use America's wildlands. For Roosevelt, nature was a resource to be used. Rivers could be dammed and used for the production of electricity or for irrigation. Forests were to be preserved from being cut down to be turned into farmland, but not to be left unused. Instead, the government's role, in Roosevelt's eyes, was to protect the forest so that it could be periodically logged for lumber. However, in 1903 Roosevelt toured the Yosemite Valley with John Muir, who had a very different view of conservation, and tried to minimize commercial use of water resources and forests. Working through the Sierra Club he founded, Muir succeeded in 1905 in having Congress transfer the Mariposa Grove and Yosemite Valley to the National Park Service. In short, Muir wanted nature preserved for the sake of pure beauty, and although he succeeded in preserving Yosemite, the debate about how to best use or preserve America's natural resources continues.

During the New Deal, President Franklin Roosevelt used numerous programs to end wasteful land-use. He fought to mitigate the effects of the Dust Bowl, and efficiently develop natural resources in the West.

保守的历史

美国人并不总是像我们今天这样关注环境。现代环境运动开始于 20 世纪 60 年代，但它的根源更进一步。

在进步时代，当户外人员，渔民和伟大的自然保护主义者约翰·缪尔开始倡导保护美国最美丽，最独特的荒野时，保护首先成为全国性问题。这场保护运动敦促政治家建立州和国家公园和森林，野生动物保护区和国家古迹。这是一个时期，定居点从海到海完全延伸，东部的大工业工厂和城市正在崛起。对许多人来说，保护自然资源的想法是有道理的。即使在不断发展的城市中，也正在以城市美丽运动的形式努力保护人类享受的绿色空间。

正是在这个时候，西奥多·罗斯福总统，一个狂热的猎人和户外运动员，将这个问题置于国家议程的重要位置。他鼓励 1902 年的 Newlands Reclamation Act 促进联邦建造水坝以灌溉小农场，并将 360,000 平方英里的荒野置于联邦保护之下。罗斯福为国家公园和自然保护区预留了更多联邦土地，而不是他的所有前任合并，并且被认为是该国第一个保护总统。

然而，即使在 20 世纪初，人们对如何最好地保护和利用美国的荒地也有不同的看法。对于罗斯福来说，自然是一种可以使用的资源。河流可能被诅咒并用于生产电力或灌溉。保护森林不被砍伐变成农田，但不能闲置。相反，政府在罗斯福眼中的角色是保护森林，以便定期记录木材。然而，在 1903 年，罗斯福与约翰·缪尔一起参观了优胜美地山谷，约翰·缪尔对保护有着截然不同的看法，并试图尽量减少对水资源和森林的商业利用。通过他创立的塞拉俱乐部，缪尔成功地在 1905 年让国会将 Mariposa Grove 和 Yosemite Valley 转移到国家公园管理局。简而言之，缪尔希望为了纯粹的美而保留自然，尽管他成功地保留了优胜美地，但关于如何最好地利用或保护美国自然资源的争论仍在继续。

在新政期间，富兰克林·罗斯福总统使用了许多计划来结束浪费的土地使用。他努力减轻沙尘暴的影响，并有效地开发西部的自然资源。所有新政

One of the most popular of all New Deal programs was the Civilian Conservation Corps, which sent two million poor young men to work in rural and wilderness areas, primarily on conservation projects.

After World War II, increasing encroachment on wilderness land in the form of urban sprawl, encouraged by the nation's expanding roadways, evoked the continued resistance of conservationists. They succeeded in blocking a number of projects in the 1950s and 1960s, including the proposed Bridge Canyon Dam that would have backed up the waters of the Colorado River into the Grand Canyon National Park.



By the 1950s, pollution from decades of production in industrial cities had become a matter of serious concern. Famously pointing out the effects of industrial pollution, the **Cuyahoga River** in Cleveland, Ohio was so contaminated with oil that it caught on fire – more than once! At least 13 fires have been reported on the Cuyahoga River, the first occurring in 1868. The largest river fire in 1952 caused over \$1 million in damage to boats, a bridge, and a riverfront office building. On June 22, 1969, a river fire captured the attention of Time magazine, which described the Cuyahoga as the river that “oozes rather than flows” and in which a person “does not drown but decays”.

However, it was not a river on fire that ignited the modern environmental movement. It was a book.

计划中最受欢迎的项目之一是民间保护团，其中有 200 万贫困年轻人在农村和荒野地区工作，主要是保护项目。

第二次世界大战后，在国家不断扩大的道路的鼓励下，以城市扩张形式对荒野土地的侵蚀日益增加，引起了环保主义者的持续抵制。他们成功地阻止了 20 世纪 50 年代和 60 年代的一些项目，包括拟建的桥峡谷大坝，它将科罗拉多河的水域支撑到大峡谷国家公园。

Primary Source: Photograph

The Cuyahoga River on fire in Cleveland, Ohio. Images of the burning river published in Time Magazine helped Americans understand the extent of industrial pollution and the importance of regulations such as the Clean Water Act.

主要来源：照片

Cuyahoga 河在火在克利夫兰，俄亥俄。发表在“时代”杂志上的燃烧河流图像帮助美国人了解工业污染的程度以及“清洁水法”等法规的重要性。

到 20 世纪 50 年代，工业城市数十年的生产污染已成为一个严重关切的问题。美国俄亥俄州克利夫兰的凯霍加河（Cuyahoga River）被油污染得太火了 - 不止一次，它引人注目地指出了工业污染的影响！至少有 13 起火灾报告在凯霍加河上，第一次发生在 1868 年。1952 年最大的河流火灾对船只，桥梁和河滨办公楼造成了超过 100 万美元的损失。1969 年 6 月 22 日，一场河火引起了时代杂志的注意，该杂志将凯霍加描述为“渗出而不是流动”的河流，其中一个人“不会淹死而是腐烂”。

然而，点燃现代环境运动并不是一条着火的河流。这是一本书。

RACHEL CARSON AND SILENT SPRING

Rachel Carson sent a wake-up call to America with her 1962 book **Silent Spring**. Carson wrote of the horrors of **DDT**, a popular pesticide used on many American farms. DDT wrought havoc on the nation's bird population. The pesticide, when ingested by birds, proved poisonous as it resulted in thin eggshells that could not adequately support the birds before they hatched. Carson wrote compellingly about a spring when birds did not return from their fall migrations, and how the domino effect on the ecosystems resulted in a spring when the frogs did not croak, crickets did not sing, and all of nature had fallen silent.

Carson's work had a powerful impact. *Silent Spring* became a rallying point for the new social movement in the 1960s. Many students involved in the counterculture, anti-war movement and various civil rights movements of the time embraced the call for environmental awareness. According to environmental engineer and Carson scholar H. Patricia Hynes, "Silent Spring altered the balance of power in the world. No one since would be able to sell pollution as the necessary underside of progress so easily or uncritically."



Carson's most direct legacy in the environmental movement was the campaign to ban the use of DDT in the United States, and related efforts to ban or limit its use throughout the world. The 1967 formation of the Environmental Defense Fund was the first major milestone in the campaign against DDT. The organization brought lawsuits against the

RACHEL CARSON 和沉默的春天

雷切尔·卡森 (Rachel Carson) 用她 1962 年的著作“寂静的春天” (Silent Spring) 向美国发出警告。卡森写到滴滴涕的恐怖, 滴滴涕是许多美国农场使用的一种流行的杀虫剂。滴滴涕严重破坏了该国的鸟类种群。当被鸟类摄入时, 农药被证明是有毒的, 因为它导致薄的蛋壳在孵化前不能充分支撑它们。当一只鸟没有从秋季迁徙中返回时, 卡森写下了令人信服的春天, 以及多米诺骨牌对生态系统的影响如何导致春天, 当青蛙没有呱呱叫, 蟋蟀没有唱歌, 所有的大自然都沉默了。

卡森的工作产生了强大的影响。寂静的春天成为 20 世纪 60 年代新社会运动的集结点。许多参与反文化, 反战运动和当时各种民权运动的学生都接受了环保意识的呼唤。根据环境工程师和卡森学者 H. Patricia Hynes 的说法, “寂静的春天改变了世界上的力量平衡。没有人能够将污染作为进展的必要底线如此轻易地或不加批判地出售。”

Primary Source: Photograph

Rachel Carson's book *Silent Spring* is seen as the catalyst for the modern environmental movement.

主要来源：照片

雷切尔卡森的书“寂静的春天”被视为现代环境运动的催化剂。

卡森在环境运动中最直接的遗产是禁止在美国使用滴滴涕的运动, 以及禁止或限制其在全世界使用的相关努力。1967 年成立的环境保护基金是反对滴滴涕运动的第一个重要里程碑。该组织提出了针对政府的诉讼, 以“建立公民享有清洁环境的

government to “establish a citizen’s right to a clean environment”, and their arguments against DDT largely mirrored Carson’s. The urgency of banning DDT was reinforced by a dangerous fall in the population of Bald Eagles, the national bird. For many, it seemed a matter of national pride not to let the eagle go extinct. By 1972, the Environmental Defense Fund and other activist groups had succeeded in securing a phase-out of DDT use in the United States, except in emergency cases.

The creation of the **Environmental Protection Agency (EPA)** by the Nixon Administration in 1970 addressed another concern that Carson had written about. Until then, the Department of Agriculture was responsible both for regulating pesticides and promoting the concerns of the agriculture industry. Carson saw this as a conflict of interest, since the agency was primarily concerned with the success of the nation’s farms, not the effects those farms were having on wildlife. Fifteen years after its creation, one journalist described the EPA as “the extended shadow of Silent Spring.”

PRESIDENT JOHNSON

While Rachel Carson came from the world of science, America’s other great environmentalist of the 1960s came from the world of government. Many historians consider Lyndon Johnson the greatest environmental president the nation has ever had. In fact, protection of the environment was an important part of Johnson’s overall Great Society program. One of the most vocal supporters of environmental protection during the 1960s was President Johnson’s wife, **Lady Bird Johnson**. Remembered for declaring that “where flowers bloom, so does hope,” she was instrumental in the passage of the Highway Beautification Act and was a tireless campaigner for her husband’s environmental programs.

In describing his vision for environmental protection to Congress, Johnson said, “The air we breathe, our water, our soil and wildlife, are being blighted by poisons and chemicals which are the by-products of technology and industry. The society that receives the rewards of technology, must, as a cooperating whole, take responsibility for [their] control... We must not only protect the countryside and save it from destruction, we must restore what has been destroyed and salvage the beauty and charm of our cities. Our conservation must be not just the classic conservation of protection [against] development, but a creative conservation of restoration and innovation.” In keeping with the Johnson tradition, numerous bills were passed by Congress during his tenure including the **Clean Air Act** which set standards for factory and power plant emissions. He also signed the **Clean Water Act**, Wilderness Act, Endangered Species Preservation Act, National Trails System Act, Wild and Scenic Rivers Act, Land and Water Conservation Fund Act,

权利”,他们反对滴滴涕的论点在很大程度上反映了卡森的观点。禁止滴滴涕的紧迫性因国家鸟类秃鹰的人口危险下降而得到加强。对于许多人来说,让老鹰灭绝似乎是一种民族自豪感。到1972年,除紧急情况外,环境保护基金和其他活动家团体已成功地在美国逐步淘汰滴滴涕的使用。

尼克松政府于1970年创立了环境保护局(EPA),解决了卡森所写的另一个问题。在此之前,农业部负责管理农药和促进农业的关注。卡森认为这是一个利益冲突,因为该机构主要关注的是国家农场的成功,而不是农场对野生动物的影响。创建十五年后,一位记者将EPA描述为“寂静的春天的延伸阴影”。

约翰逊总统

虽然雷切尔卡森来自科学界,但美国20世纪60年代的另一位伟大的环保主义者来自政府世界。许多历史学家认为林登约翰逊是这个国家有史以来最伟大的环境总统。事实上,保护环境是约翰逊整体伟大社会计划的重要组成部分。20世纪60年代最具声望的环保支持者之一是约翰逊总统的妻子伯德约翰逊夫人。记得因为“鲜花盛开,希望如此”,她在公路美化法案的通过中发挥了重要作用,并且是她丈夫环境项目的不知疲倦的活动家。

在向国会描述他对环境保护的愿景时,约翰逊说:“我们呼吸的空气,我们的水,我们的土壤和野生动物,正被技术和工业的副产品毒药和化学品所污染。获得技术回报的社会,作为一个合作的整体,必须对自己的控制负责.....我们不仅要保护农村,不要让它免遭破坏,我们必须恢复被摧毁的东西,挽救美丽和魅力。我们的城市。我们的保护不仅仅是保护[反对]发展的经典保护,而是创造性地保护恢复和创新。”为了与约翰逊传统保持一致,国会在其任期内通过了许多法案,其中包括制定标准的清洁空气法案。用于工厂和电厂排放。他还签署了“清洁水法”,“荒野法”,“濒危物种保护法”,“国家步道系统法”,“野生和风景河流法”,“水土保持基金法”,“固体废物处置

Solid Waste Disposal Act, Motor Vehicle Air Pollution Control Act, and Aircraft Noise Abatement Act, among others.

A GROWING MOVEMENT

A major milestone in the Environmental Movement was the establishment of **Earth Day**, which was first observed in San Francisco and other cities on March 21, 1970, the first day of spring. It was created to give awareness to environmental issues. On March 21, 1971, United Nations Secretary-General U Thant spoke of a spaceship Earth on Earth Day, hereby referring to the ecosystem services the earth supplies to us, and hence our obligation to protect it.

Concern for the environment proved to be international as well. The United Nations held its first major conference on international environmental issues, the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, also known as the Stockholm Conference, in 1972. It marked a turning point in the development of international environmental politics. The formation of the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species (CITES) in 1975 is further evidence that people in many nations were concerned about conservation. It is worthwhile to note that this global cooperation coincided with a détente with the Soviet Union and President Nixon's visit to China. Luckily for the world, a thawing in Cold War tensions came at the right time for environmental cooperation.



Meanwhile, back home, young Americans were beginning to learn about conservation in school as science classes adapted to pressing social issues. Elementary curriculum began including a nationwide awareness campaign attempted to raise consciousness and a cute

法”，“机动车空气污染控制法”和“飞机噪声消减法”。行为，等等。

不断发展的运动

环境运动的一个重要里程碑是建立地球日，这是1970年3月21日春天的第一天在旧金山和其他城市首次观测到的。它旨在提高对环境问题的认识。1971年3月21日，联合国秘书长吴丹在地球日谈到地球太空船，特此提到地球为我们提供的生态系统服务，因此我们有义务保护它。

对环境的关注也证明是国际化的。联合国于1972年举行了第一次国际环境问题重要会议，即联合国人类环境会议，也称为斯德哥尔摩会议。它标志着国际环境政治发展的转折点。1975年“濒危野生动植物种国际贸易公约”（CITES）的成立进一步证明许多国家的人民都在关注保护问题。值得注意的是，这次全球合作恰逢苏联和尼克松总统访华的缓和。对世界来说幸运的是，冷战时期的紧张局势恰逢环保合作。

Primary Source: Illustration

Woodsy Owl provided young Americans in the 1970s with a gentle reminder not to pollute. Programs like this brought environmental consciousness into the mainstream.

主要来源：插图

Woodsy Owl 在 20 世纪 70 年代为年轻的美国人提供了一个温和的提醒，不要污染。这样的计划将环境责任感带入了主流。

与此同时，回到家乡，年轻的美国人开始学习学校的保护，因为科学课程适应了紧迫的社会问题。小学课程开始包括一场旨在提高意识的全国性宣传活动，以及由 Forrest Service 创建的一个

character created by the Forrest Service named **Woodsy Owl** advised youngsters to “Give a hoot—don't pollute!” Thousands felt their heartstrings tugged as they viewed television advertisements depicting mountains of trash culminating with a pensive Native American shedding a single, mournful tear.

THE CHAMPIONS OF CONSERVATION

While the government has been involved in passing environmental protection legislation since the 1960s and government funding for scientific research in this area is significant, it is largely the work of non-profit organizations that has maintained public interest in environmental concerns.

Greenpeace focuses its campaigning on worldwide issues, such as global warming, deforestation, overfishing, commercial whaling, and anti-nuclear issues. Using direct action, lobbying, and research to achieve its goals, Greenpeace has been described as the most visible environmental organization in the world. Greenpeace has also been a source of controversy. For example, Greenpeace activists have at times interfered with Japanese whale hunts by sailing their boats in between whaling ships and the whales themselves, putting themselves in harm's way.

Although flashy, Greenpeace is not the largest environmental organization in the world. That distinction belongs to the **World Wildlife Fund (WWF)**. WWF is involved in many projects. Recognizing the importance of economic incentives, the WWF raises money to pay governments in developing countries to protect their natural resources. For example, a small nation in Africa might receive debt forgiveness if they create a new national park.

Other major groups include the Nature Conservancy, which raises money to purchase land to protect it from development, John Muir's Sierra Club, and the National Wildlife Fund.

CLIMATE CHANGE

With major legislation in place to deal with pressing concerns such as burning rivers, pesticides, and protecting endangered species, the focus of the environmental movement shifted around the world to a potentially more destructive, albeit long term problem: **greenhouse gas emissions**. Since the dawn of the industrial revolution, humans had been adding large amounts of greenhouse gasses to the atmosphere, especially carbon, in the form of burning coal, oil, gasoline, and natural gas. The effect has been a slow, but increasing quick **warming of the overall atmosphere**. To be sure, the numbers seem small. However,

名为 Woodsy Owl 的可爱角色, 建议年轻人“发出声音 - 不要污染!”数千人感到他们的心弦在看电视广告描绘山脉时感到非常紧张垃圾最终与沉思的美国原住民一起流下了一个悲伤的泪水。

保护冠军

虽然自 20 世纪 60 年代以来政府一直参与通过环境保护立法, 政府对该领域的科学研究资金很重要, 但非营利组织的工作主要是维护公众对环境问题的关注。

绿色和平组织的活动主要集中在全球变暖, 森林砍伐, 过度捕捞, 商业捕鲸和反核问题等全球性问题上。绿色和平通过直接行动, 游说和研究来实现其目标, 被描述为世界上最明显的环境组织。绿色和平组织也引起了争议。例如, 绿色和平组织活动分子有时会通过在捕鲸船和鲸鱼之间航行他们的船来干扰日本捕鲸活动, 从而使自己处于危险之中。

虽然华而不实, 但绿色和平组织并不是世界上最大的环保组织。这种区别属于世界自然基金会 (WWF)。世界自然基金会参与了许多项目。世界自然基金会认识到经济激励措施的重要性, 筹集资金支付发展中国家政府保护其自然资源的费用。例如, 非洲的一个小国如果建立一个新的国家公园, 可能会获得债务减免。

其他主要群体包括大自然保护协会, 该协会筹集资金购买土地以保护其免受发展, John Muir 的塞拉俱乐部和国家野生动物基金会。

气候变化

随着主要立法处理诸如燃烧河流, 杀虫剂和保护濒危物种等紧迫问题, 环境运动的焦点转移到了世界各地, 可能是一个更具破坏性的长期问题: 温室气体排放。自工业革命开始以来, 人类一直在向大气中添加大量温室气体, 特别是碳, 以燃煤, 石油, 汽油和天然气的形式。效果缓慢, 但整体气氛的快速升温。可以肯定的是, 数字似乎很小。然而, 在未来几十年中, 世界平均温度只有一两度的增长可能会产生巨大的影响。随着两

4 CAN WE SAVE THE EARTH?



just a degree or two increase in the world's average temperature could have massive effects in the coming decades. As ice near the poles melts, sea levels will rise, threatening low elevation islands and cities. Some of America's major ports such as New York and New Orleans are at risk. Some island nations in the Pacific and Indian Oceans may disappear altogether.

Recognizing the seriousness of the problem, and the magnitude of the solutions that would have to be put into place to slow, stop, or reverse the warming trend, global leaders met in 1992 in Rio de Janeiro and signed the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC). The UNFCCC was not a treaty in and of itself, but rather an agreement about how future agreements would be negotiated and structured. The first major agreement about limiting greenhouse gas emissions came five years later in Kyoto, Japan.

The **Kyoto Protocol** sets emissions targets for developed countries which are binding under international law. The Kyoto Protocol has had two commitment periods, the first of which lasted from 2008-2012. The second one runs from 2013-2020. While the Kyoto Protocol has been ratified by all the other major industrial nations of the world, the United States and Canada have not yet signed on. All the major participants in the negotiations, participated in the first Kyoto commitment period by passing laws that reduced emissions in their nations in order to meet their goals. 37 countries and the European Union have agreed to second-round emissions reduction targets. These countries include Australia, all members of the European Union, Belarus, Croatia, Iceland, Kazakhstan, Norway, Switzerland, and Ukraine. Japan, New Zealand, and Russia have participated in Kyoto's first-round but have not taken on new targets in the second commitment period.

A follow-up treaty to set emissions targets for the periods beginning in 2020 was signed in Paris, France, and is creatively known as the **Paris Agreement**. Both the Kyoto Protocol and Paris Agreement face the same problems and criticism.

Some argue the treaties do not go far enough to curb greenhouse emissions. Niue, the Cook Islands, and Nauru added notes to this effect when signing the Kyoto Protocol. They are among the island nations most threatened by climate change. Some economists see the economic impacts of meeting of the emissions targets as outweighing the environmental benefits. In contrast, others believing the standards are inequitable will do little to curb greenhouse gas emissions. One such critic said the Kyoto Protocol was doing "too little, too fast," in that it asks for excessively costly short-term reductions in emissions, without determining what should be done over longer timeframes.

极附近的冰融化，海平面将上升，威胁到低海拔岛屿和城市。美国的一些主要港口，如纽约和新奥尔良都处于危险之中。太平洋和印度洋的一些岛国可能会完全消失。

认识到问题的严重性，以及为缓和，制止或逆转变暖趋势而必须采取的解决方案的重要性，全球领导人于1992年在里约热内卢举行会议并签署了“联合国气候框架公约”变化（UNFCCC）。“联合国气候变化框架公约”本身并不是一项条约，而是就如何协商和组织未来协议达成协议。关于限制温室气体排放的第一个主要协议是五年后在日本京都召开的。

“京都议定书”为发达国家制定了具有国际法约束力的排放目标。“京都议定书”有两个承诺期，第一个承诺期从2008年到2012年。第二个是2013-2020。虽然“京都议定书”已得到世界上所有其他主要工业国家的批准，但美国和加拿大尚未签署。谈判的所有主要参与者都参加了第一个京都承诺期，通过了减少其国家排放量的法律，以实现其目标。37个国家和欧盟已同意第二轮减排目标。这些国家包括澳大利亚，欧盟的所有成员国，白俄罗斯，克罗地亚，冰岛，哈萨克斯坦，挪威，瑞士和乌克兰。日本，新西兰和俄罗斯参加了京都的第一轮比赛，但在第二个承诺期内没有采取新的目标。

在法国巴黎签署了一项制定2020年开始时期排放目标的后续条约，并被创造性地称为“巴黎协定”。“京都议定书”和“巴黎协定”都面临同样的问题和批评。

一些人认为这些条约不足以遏制温室气体排放。纽约，库克群岛和瑙鲁在签署“京都议定书”时补充说明了这一点。他们是受气候变化威胁最严重的岛国之一。一些经济学家认为，达到排放目标的经济影响超过了环境效益。相反，其他人认为标准不公平，对于抑制温室气体排放几乎没有作用。其中一位评论家表示，“京都议定书”的做法“太少，太快”，因为它要求在短期内减少过高的排放量，而不确定在较长时间内应该做些什么。

Some have heavily criticized the agreements for only setting emission reductions for rich countries, while not setting such commitments for the fast-growing emerging economies. Many critics in the United States fall into this group. They see the agreements as inherently unfair since the United States would have to put into place costly measures to reduce emissions whereas China and India do not. The growing economies, on the other hand, point out that the United States and the Europeans polluted for well over 100 years as they became rich, and for them it seems unfair that just when they are emerging as world powers the United States would want to put on the breaks by implementing environmental regulations. In the end, participation in international environmental treaties has become a political issue in the United States

CLIMATE CHANGE DENIAL

When it appeared the George W. Bush Administration was trying to suppress scientific reporting on climate change in 2006, the progressive-leaning Union of Concerned Scientists surveyed 1,600 climate scientists, asking them about the state of federal climate research. Of those who responded, nearly three in four believed that their research had been subjected to new administrative requirements, and editing to change their conclusions, or pressure not to use terms such as “global warming.” Republican politicians, citing the altered reports, argued that there was no unified opinion among members of the scientific community that humans were damaging the climate. This is simply false. Around the world there is a general consensus that global warming is real, caused by human activity, and likely to increase in the coming century and have significant impacts on our way of life.

A closer look at the growth of the resistance to climate science by historians found that the campaign to undermine public trust in climate science is supported by industrial interests opposed to the regulation of carbon emissions. **Climate change denial** has been associated with the fossil fuel industry and conservative think tanks who support business interests. More than 90% of papers skeptical of climate change originate from right-wing think tanks. The total annual income of these climate change counter-movement-organizations is roughly \$900 million, a treasure capable of paying for enough bogus science to perpetuate climate skepticism for many years to come.

Climate change denial groups have been successful in the United States in that they have convinced the Republican Party to champion their cause. Republican Senator Jim Inhofe, who had previously called climate change “the greatest hoax ever perpetrated against the American people,” claimed to have debunked the alleged hoax in February 2015 when he brought a snowball to the Senate chamber and tossed it across the floor claiming that climate change could not be real

一些人严厉批评了仅为富国设定减排量的协议，而没有为快速增长的新兴经济体设定此类承诺。美国的许多评论家都属于这一群体。他们认为这些协议本质上是不公平的，因为美国必须采取昂贵的措施来减少排放，而中国和印度则不然。另一方面，不断增长的经济体指出，美国和欧洲人在他们变得富裕的时候已经被污染了 100 多年，而对于他们来说，当他们作为世界大国出现时美国想要的时候似乎是不公平的。通过实施环境法规来实现休息。最后，参与国际环境条约已成为美国的一个政治问题

气候变化拒绝

当乔治·W·布什政府在 2006 年试图压制关于气候变化的科学报道时，进步倾向的关注科学家联盟调查了 1600 名气候科学家，向他们询问联邦气候研究的状况。在回复的人中，近四分之三的人认为他们的研究受到了新的行政要求，编辑改变了他们的结论，或者没有使用诸如“全球变暖”这样的术语的压力。共和党政客引用改变后的报告，认为科学界成员之间没有统一的意见认为人类正在破坏气候。这简直是假的。围绕这个词，人们普遍认为全球变暖是真实的，由人类活动引起，并可能在下个世纪增加，并对我们的生活方式产生重大影响。

仔细研究历史学家对气候科学抗性的增长，发现破坏公众对气候科学的信任的运动得到了反对碳排放监管的工业利益的支持。气候变化否认与化石燃料行业和支持商业利益的保守智库有关。超过 90% 的对气候变化持怀疑态度的论文来自右翼智库。这些气候变化反运动组织的年收入总额约为 9 亿美元，这是一种能够支付足够的虚假科学的宝藏，可以在未来许多年内使气候持怀疑态度长期存在。

气候变化否认团体在美国取得了成功，因为他们说服共和党支持他们的事业。共和党参议员吉姆·因霍夫此前曾称气候变化是“对美国人民犯下的最大恶作剧”，他声称在 2015 年 2 月他向参议院的一个小组带来一个雪球并将其扔到地板上时声称已经揭穿所谓的恶作剧声称如果气候变化仍在下雪，气候变化就不可能真实。他于 2017 年由

if it was still snowing. He was succeeded in 2017 by John Barrasso, who similarly said, “The climate is constantly changing. The role human activity plays is not known.” The rest of the world is shocked and terrified that conservatives in the United States have been fooled into promoting the interests of industry over the facts of science.



John Barrasso 继任，他同样说：“气候在不断变化。人类活动所扮演的角色尚不清楚。”世界其他国家感到震惊和恐惧的是，美国的保守派被愚弄，以促进工业界对科学事实的兴趣。

Primary Source: Photograph

Senator Jim Inhofe holds a snowball during his climate change denial statements in the Senate chamber in 2015.

主要来源：照片

参议员 Jim Inhofe 在 2015 年参议院会议室的气候变化否认声明中举行了一场雪球运动。

Countering this rejection of science were the activities of many environmentalists, including **Al Gore**, Clinton’s vice president and Bush’s opponent in the disputed 2000 election. In 2006, a documentary film, **An Inconvenient Truth**, represented his attempts to educate people about the realities and dangers of global warming, and won the 2007 Academy Award for Best Documentary. Though some of what Gore said was in error, the film’s main thrust is in keeping with the weight of scientific evidence. In 2007, as a result of these efforts to “disseminate greater knowledge about man-made climate change,” Gore shared the Nobel Peace Prize with the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change.

TRUMP’S WAR ON THE ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENT

The Trump Administration has championed industry over climate regulation. In December 2017, a New York Times analysis of EPA enforcement data found that the Trump Administration had adopted a far more lenient approach to enforcing federal pollution laws than the Obama and Bush administrations.

反对这种拒绝科学的行为是许多环保主义者的活动，其中包括克林顿副总统戈尔和布什在有争议的 2000 年大选中的反对者。2006 年，一部纪录片“难以忽视的真相”代表了他试图教育人们了解全球变暖的现实和危险，并获得了 2007 年奥斯卡最佳纪录片奖。虽然戈尔所说的一些错误，但电影的主要推动力与科学证据的重要性相符。2007 年，由于这些努力“传播有关人为气候变化的更多知识”，戈尔与政府间气候变化专门委员会分享了诺贝尔和平奖。

特朗普对环境运动的战争

特朗普政府一直在倡导气候监管行业。2017 年 12 月，“纽约时报”对 EPA 执法数据的分析发现，特朗普政府采取了比奥巴马和布什政府更宽松的执法联邦污染法律的方法。

4 CAN WE SAVE THE EARTH?



The Trump Administration brought fewer cases against polluters, sought a lower total of civil penalties and made fewer requests of companies to retrofit facilities to curb pollution. In 2018, the Trump Administration referred the lowest number of pollution cases for criminal prosecution in 30 years.

Moments after Trump's inauguration, the White House removed all references to climate change on its website, with the sole exception of mentioning Trump's intention to eliminate the Obama administration's climate change policies. By April, the EPA had removed climate change material on its website, including detailed climate data and scientific information, putting them firmly in the climate change denial camp. Anticipating political interference that could result in loss of government data on climate, scientists had already sourced links and copied the data into independent servers.

As part of their pro-business position, Trump's administration invalidated the Stream Protection Rule, a regulation intended to prevent coal mining debris from being dumped into nearby streams, and rolled back regulations which limited dumping by power plants of toxic wastewater containing metals like arsenic and mercury into public waterways. In March 2017, Trump issued an executive order reversing multiple Obama Administration policies meant to tackle climate change. Trump said he was "putting an end to the war on coal", removing "job-killing regulations" and "restrictions on American energy."

Under Trump, the EPA rejected a ban on the toxic pesticide chlorpyrifos, which the EPA's own agency staff had recommended banning due to extensive research showing adverse health effects on children. In August 2018, a federal court ordered the EPA to ban the pesticide, because EPA heads had ignored conclusions of its own scientists.

In June 2017, Trump announced U.S. withdrawal from the Paris Agreement, a 2015 climate change accord reached by 200 nations to cut greenhouse gas emissions, defying broad global backing for the plan.[331]

The administration suspended a number of large government-funded research programs, such as a study on the public health effects of mountaintop removal coal-mining, and one intended to make offshore drilling safer, as well as funding for a program that distributed grants for research the effects of chemical exposure on children.

特朗普政府减少了针对污染者的案件，寻求减少民事处罚的总数，并减少了公司改造设施以遏制污染的要求。在 2018 年，特朗普政府将 30 年来最低数量的污染案件提交刑事起诉。

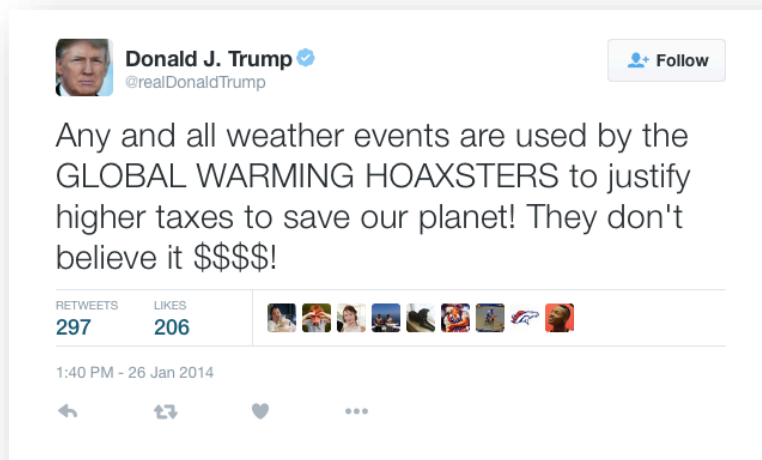
在特朗普就职后不久，白宫在其网站上删除了所有关于气候变化的提法，唯一的例外是提及特朗普打算取消奥巴马政府的气候变化政策。到 4 月份，美国环保署已在其网站上删除了气候变化材料，包括详细的气候数据和科学信息，将它们牢牢地置于气候变化否认阵营中。预计可能导致政府气候数据丢失的政治干预，科学家已经采购链接并将数据复制到独立的服务器中。

作为其亲商业立场的一部分，特朗普政府使流保护规则无效，该规则旨在防止煤矿废弃物被倾倒入附近的溪流中，并推出了限制发电厂倾倒含有砷等金属的有毒废水的法规。汞进入公共水道。2017 年 3 月，特朗普发布了一项行政命令，旨在扭转多项奥巴马政府旨在应对气候变化的政策。特朗普表示，他“正在结束对煤炭的战争”，取消了“扼杀工作条例”和“对美国能源的限制”。

在特朗普的领导下，美国环保署拒绝了有毒农药毒死蜱的禁令，美国环保署自己的机构工作人员建议禁毒，因为广泛的研究显示对儿童健康有害。2018 年 8 月，联邦法院下令美国环保署禁止使用杀虫剂，因为美国环保署负责人忽略了自己科学家的结论。

2017 年 6 月，特朗普宣布退出“巴黎协定”，这是一项由 200 个国家达成的 2015 年气候变化协议，旨在减少温室气体排放，无视全球对该计划的广泛支持。[331]

政府暂停了一系列由政府资助的大型研究项目，例如关于山顶清除煤矿的公共卫生影响的研究，以及旨在使海上钻井更安全的研究项目，以及为分发研究资金的计划提供的资金化学品暴露对儿童的影响。



Primary Source: Tweet

Although innovative in his use of Twitter to communicate directly with the nation, President Trump has demonstrated a willingness to promote climate skepticism (among other conspiracy theories) and has actively supported business interests over environmental stewardship.

主要来源：鸣叫

虽然特朗普总统在使用 Twitter 与国家直接沟通方面具有创新性，但他表示愿意促进气候怀疑主义（以及其他阴谋论），并积极支持商业利益而不是环境管理。

Trump sharply reduced the size of two national monuments in Utah, making it the largest reduction of public land protections in American history. Shortly afterwards, Interior Secretary Zinke advocated for downsizing four additional national monuments.

Despite all of his efforts to pretend nothing is wrong, Trump has not been able to make climate change go away. The day after Thanksgiving 2018, the administration released the Fourth National Climate Assessment (NCA4), a long-awaited study conducted by numerous federal agencies that found “the evidence of human-caused climate change is overwhelming and continues to strengthen, that the impacts of climate change are intensifying across the country, and that climate-related threats to Americans’ physical, social, and economic well-being are rising.” Two days earlier, Trump had repeated his many previous assertions that a current cold weather spell calls global warming science into question, a notion that has been repeatedly debunked by climate scientists. Despite the report of the scientists in the government, one Trump official still stated, “We don’t care. In our view, this is made-up hysteria anyway.” He noted that the Administration did not alter the report’s findings but rather chose to release it the day after Thanksgiving “on a day when nobody cares, and hope it gets swept away by the next day’s news.”

CONCLUSION

Some might look at the present Trump Administration and think of it as an abnormality in a decades-long effort to implement regulations that will protect the environment for our future. Others might see it as a more ominous sign that the forces who stand to lose from that regulation are winning a campaign to influence public opinion. Mother

特朗普大幅减少了犹他州两座国家古迹的规模，使其成为美国历史上公共土地保护的最大减少。不久之后，内政部长Zinke主张缩小四个国家纪念碑的规模。

尽管他努力假装没有任何错误，但特朗普还是无法让气候变化消失。在 2018 年感恩节后的第二天，政府发布了第四次全国气候评估（NCA4），这是一项期待已久的研究，由众多联邦机构进行，研究发现“人为引起的气候变化的证据势不可挡，并且继续加强，全国各地的气候变化正在加剧，与气候相关的对美国人的身体，社会和经济福祉的威胁正在上升。”两天前，特朗普重复了他之前的许多断言，即目前的寒冷天气将全球变暖称为科学受到质疑，这一概念已被气候科学家多次揭穿。尽管政府科学家的报告，一名特朗普官员仍然说，“我们不在乎。在我们看来，无论如何这都是歇斯底里。”他指出政府没有改变报告的结果，而是选择在感恩节后的第二天发布它，在没有人关心的一天，并希望它被一扫而空。第二天的新闻。”

结论

有些人可能会关注现在的特朗普政府，并将其视为长达数十年的努力中的一个异常，这些努力是为了保护我们未来的环境而实施的法规。其他人可能会认为这是一个更不祥的迹象，表明那些在法规上失败的势力正在赢得一场影响公众舆论的

4 CAN WE SAVE THE EARTH?

**WAS THE SOCIAL
REVOLUTION
ACTUALLY
REVOLUTIONARY?**

Nature does not have a bank account and cannot pay for phony research, but coal mining companies do, after all.

Despite what some may say, we understand the impact humans have had and are having on the environment, and we have seen that government regulation can make a difference. The saving of the Bald Eagle by banning DDT and passing the Endangered Species Act are obvious proof of this. However, can we tackle the much larger problem of dealing with human-induced climate change?

As the Americans who are going to deal with the problems of climate change in the coming decades, it is perhaps much more important for you to ponder this question than it is for the leaders from previous generations.

What do you think? Can we save the Earth?

运动。大自然母亲没有银行账户，也无法支付虚假研究，但毕竟煤炭开采公司也是如此。

尽管有些人可能会说，我们了解人类对环境的影响，并且我们已经看到政府监管可以带来改变。通过禁止滴滴涕和通过濒危物种法案来拯救白头鹰就是明显的证据。但是，我们能否解决处理人为气候变化的更大问题？

作为即将在未来几十年内处理气候变化问题的美国人，对于你来说，思考这个问题或许比前几代领导人更重要。

你怎么看？我们能拯救地球吗？

SUMMARY

Americans have been concerned with preserving the environment since the Progressive Era when President Theodore Roosevelt launched the National Park Service and John Muir founded the Sierra Club.

During the Great Depression FDR implemented the CCC and dealt with the Dust Bowl and during the 1950s people worked to stop construction of a dam that would have partially filled in the Grand Canyon.

The modern environmental movement started when Rachel Carson wrote *Silent Spring* and helped Americans become aware of the dangers of the pesticide DDT. Her work led to the creation of the Environmental Protection Agency.

President Johnson and his wife Lady Bird Johnson both cared about the environment and the Clean Air and Clean Water Acts were part of Johnson's Great Society.

During the 1960s and 1970s the environmental movement grew. Earth Day was started and new non-governmental organizations were founded to fight for conservation.

In modern times, climate change is the most pressing concern. International agreements such as the Kyoto Protocol and Paris Agreement have implemented goals for carbon emission reduction. The United States has not participated in these treaties.

Some people reject the overwhelming science that supports human-induced climate change. These climate skeptics were originally funded by business groups who will lose money if carbon emissions are reduced. Republican politicians, including President Trump, promote the ideas of climate skeptics and work to block environmental regulation. Most Democrats, like former Vice President Al Gore, advocate for regulations to limit climate change.

摘要

自从西奥多·罗斯福总统发起国家公园管理局和约翰·缪尔创立塞拉俱乐部以来，美国人一直关注保护环境。

在大萧条期间，FDR 实施了 CCC 并处理了 Dust Bowl，并且在 20 世纪 50 年代，人们一直在努力停止建造一座可能部分填满大峡谷的大坝。

现代环境运动始于雷切尔·卡森撰写“寂静的春天”并帮助美国人意识到杀虫剂滴滴涕的危害。她的工作促成了环境保护局的成立。

约翰逊总统和他的妻子伯德·约翰逊夫人都关心环境，清洁空气和清洁水法案是约翰逊大社会的一部分。

在 20 世纪 60 年代和 70 年代，环境运动得到了发展。地球日开始，新的非政府组织成立，以争取保护。

在现代，气候变化是最紧迫的问题。诸如《京都议定书》和《巴黎协定》等国际协议已经实现了减少碳排放的目标。美国尚未参加这些条约。

有些人拒绝支持人类引起的气候变化的压倒性科学。这些气候怀疑论者最初是由企业集团资助的，如果减少碳排放量，这些企业将蒙受损失。包括特朗普总统在内的共和党政客宣传气候怀疑论者的思想，并努力阻止环境监管。像前副总统戈尔一样，大多数民主党人都主张制定法规来限制气候变化。



PEOPLE AND GROUPS

Rachel Carson: Scientist who wrote *Silent Spring* about the dangers of pesticides and launched the modern environmental movement.

Lady Bird Johnson: First lady and wife of President Lyndon Johnson. She promoted education and environmental legislation. She is famous for declaring “where flowers bloom, so does hope.”

Woodsy Owl: Cartoon character created in the 1970s to encourage children not to litter.

Greenpeace: Environmental organization that is famous for direct action campaigns such as interfering with whaling ships.

World Wildlife Fund (WWF): Largest non-profit environmental protection organization in the world.

Al Gore: Former Vice President who has dedicated himself to fighting to protect the environment. He wrote *An Inconvenient Truth*.



SCIENCE

DDT: Pesticide that can cause fatal problems in animals, especially birds, after it has been washed into rivers and lakes. It was the subject of Rachel Carson’s book *Silent Spring* and was banned shortly after the book’s publication.

Greenhouse Gas: Chemical that prevents solar energy from leaving the atmosphere and consequently leads to a gradual warming of the overall temperature of the planet. Carbon dioxide is the most famous.

Global Warming: The slow processes of increasing the Earth’s average temperature. It is due to human activity and could lead to major changes in weather, sea level, and other natural processes.

Climate Skepticism: The belief that global warming is not happening or that it will not result in significant changes. It is an idea first promoted by businesses that will suffer if limits are placed on greenhouse gas emissions.



GOVERNMENT AGENCIES

Environmental Protection Agency (EPA): Government agency responsible for enforcing laws designed to protect the environment.



LAWS & TREATIES

Clean Air Act: Law passed in the 1960s that regulates air pollution.

Clean Water Act: Law passed in the 1960s that regulates water pollution.

Kyoto Protocol: International agreement signed in 1997 that established a framework for future greenhouse gas emissions reduction treaties.

Paris Agreement: Follow-up treaty to the Kyoto Protocol that sets greenhouse gas emissions targets beginning in 2020.



EVENTS

Cuyahoga River Fires: Fires that took place when oil and other flammable pollutants in the major river in Cleveland ignited. They occurred multiple times, the largest in 1952. In 1969, it was featured on the cover of *Time* Magazine and helped focus national attention on the problem of pollution.

Earth Day: March 21. First observed in 1971, it is a day to focus on the environment.



BOOKS

***Silent Spring*:** Book written by Rachel Carson about the dangers of pesticides. The book helped launch the modern environmental movement.

***An Inconvenient Truth*:** Book by former Vice President Al Gore about climate change.

5

F I F T H Q U E S T I O N CAN MEN AND WOMEN BE EQUAL?

**WAS THE SOCIAL
REVOLUTION
ACTUALLY
REVOLUTIONARY?**

INTRODUCTION

A shift toward more equality between men and women has been underway since the nation's founding. Sometimes progress has leapt forward, and sometimes seems to have come to a near standstill. The 1960s and 1970s were one of these periods of rapid change for women. In the 1800s and early 1900s, the women's movements focused primarily on overturning legal obstacles to gender equality, such as voting rights and property rights. In contrast, the second wave of feminism in the 1960 and 1970s, inspired and galvanized by the Civil Rights Movement of the same era, broadened the debate of women's rights to encompass a wider range of issues, including sexuality, family, the workplace, reproductive rights, and legal and traditional inequalities.

We could look back over the shift toward more equality between men and women in American history and reasonably predict that the change will continue and that women and men will someday be treated equally in law, politics, work, sports, and society at large. But we must be careful not to assume that the past is destiny.

What do you think? Can men and women be equal?

介绍

自该国成立以来，人们正在朝着更加平等的方向转变。有时候进步已经跃升，有时似乎已经接近停顿。20 世纪 60 年代和 70 年代是女性快速变化的时期之一。在 19 世纪和 20 世纪初，妇女运动主要侧重于推翻性别平等的法律障碍，例如投票权和财产权。相比之下，1960 年代和 1970 年代的第二次女权主义浪潮受到同一时代民权运动的启发和激励，扩大了对妇女权利的争论，包括更广泛的问题，包括性，家庭，工作场所，生殖权利，法律和传统的平等。

我们可以回顾一下美国历史上男女之间更加平等的转变，并合理地预测这种变化将会持续下去，并且有朝一日，女性和男性将在法律，政治，工作，体育和整个社会中得到平等对待。但我们必须小心，不要以为过去就是命运。

你怎么看？男女可以平等吗？

A LONG HISTORY OF WOMEN'S RIGHTS

In this question, we are focusing on the women's rights movement in the 1960s and 1970s, but there is a danger that this might give the impression that women were not interested in gaining equality before this time. In fact, women have been working to earn equal rights for America's entire history.

When the Declaration of Independence was being drafted, for example, **Abigail Adams**, the wife of John Adams the great agitator for independence, wrote and asked that the Founding Fathers "**remember the ladies.**" Alas, her request fell on deaf ears, and political and economic power remained firmly in the hands of men. In the early 1800s, women organized around religious, abolitionist and temperance movements and at the **Seneca Falls Convention** in 1848, formally launched the women's suffrage movement. When the Civil War ended in 1865, women thought that they might be included in the 15th Amendment. To their dismay, supporters of suffrage for African Americans left women out, fearing that too few men would support the amendment if they were included. It was not until 1920, with the ratification of the **19th Amendment** that women finally won the right to vote.

Women were not only concerned with voting. The **Cult of Domesticity** – the idea that women belonged at home with children while men worked – emerged along with the Industrial Revolution in the early 1800s. The myth of the happy housewife persisted and was glorified in television sitcoms in the 1950s. But, just as social reform movements made 19th Century women more aware of their lack of power and encouraged them to form the first women's rights movement, the civil rights movements of the 1960s inspired many white and middle-class women to create their own organized movement for greater rights. Unlike the counterculture or the anti-war movements that were dominated by young people, many of the feminist activists were older, married women who found the traditional roles of mother and housewife unfulfilling.

It was a group of women writers who ignited the movement. In 1963, **Betty Friedan** published **The Feminine Mystique** in which she contested the post-World War II belief that it was women's destiny to marry and bear children. The perfect nuclear family image depicted and strongly marketed at the time, she wrote, did not reflect happiness and was rather degrading for women. Friedan's book was a best-seller and began to raise the consciousness of many women who agreed that homemaking in the suburbs sapped them of their individualism and left them unsatisfied.

妇女权利的长期历史

在这个问题上，我们关注的是 20 世纪 60 年代和 70 年代的妇女权利运动，但这种情况有可能给人的印象是，妇女在此之前并不想获得平等。事实上，女性一直在努力争取美国整个历史的平等权利。

例如，正在起草独立宣言时，约翰亚当斯的妻子阿比盖尔亚当斯是伟大的独立鼓动者，他写道并要求开国元勋“记住女士们。”唉，她的要求被置若罔闻，政治上经济实力仍然牢牢掌握在人们手中。在 19 世纪早期，妇女围绕宗教、废奴主义和节制运动组织起来，并在 1848 年的塞内卡瀑布公约中正式启动了妇女选举权运动。当内战在 1865 年结束时，女性认为她们可能被列入第 15 修正案。令她们感到沮丧的是，非裔美国人的选举权支持者将女性排除在外，担心如果包括这些修正案，那么很少有人会支持该修正案。直到 1920 年，随着第 19 修正案的批准，妇女终于赢得了投票权。

妇女不仅关心投票。在 19 世纪早期，随着工业革命，出现了“家庭崇拜 - 女性在家中与孩子一起工作”的观点。20 世纪 50 年代，幸福的家庭主妇的神话坚持并在电视情景喜剧中得到了荣耀。但是，正如社会改革运动使 19 世纪的妇女更加意识到自己缺乏权力并鼓励她们组建第一个妇女权利运动一样，20 世纪 60 年代的民权运动激励了许多白人和中产阶级妇女创造自己的有组织运动。为了更大的权利。与年轻人主导的反文化或反战运动不同，许多女权主义活动家是年纪较大的已婚妇女，她们发现母亲和家庭主妇的传统角色无法实现。

这是一群女性作家点燃了这一运动。1963 年，贝蒂·弗里丹出版了“女性的神秘”，她在其中质疑二战后的信仰，即女性结婚和生育的命运。她写道，当时描绘和强烈营销的完美核心家庭形象并没有反映出幸福，而且对女性来说相当有辱人格。弗里丹的书是畅销书，并开始提高许多女性的意识，她们认为郊区的家庭作业削弱了它们的个人主义并使她们不满意。

5 CAN MEN AND WOMEN BE EQUAL?

WAS THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION ACTUALLY REVOLUTIONARY?

It was at this time that the word **sexism** entered the American vocabulary, as women became categorized as a target group for discrimination. Single and married women adopted the title Ms for both married and unmarried women as an alternative to Miss or Mrs to avoid changing their identities based upon their relationships with men. In 1972, **Gloria Steinem** founded a feminist magazine of that name.

正是在这个时候，性别歧视这个词进入了美国词汇，因为女性被归类为歧视的目标群体。单身和已婚妇女为已婚和未婚妇女采用了称号女士作为小姐或夫人的替代方案，以避免根据她们与男性的关系改变自己的身份。1972年，Gloria Steinem 创立了这个名字的女权主义杂志。



Primary Source: Photograph

Betty Friedan ignited the modern feminist movement with the publication of her book *The Feminine Mystique*

主要来源：照片

贝蒂弗里丹通过出版“女性的神秘”一书，点燃了现代女权主义运动

Authors such as the feminist **Germaine Greer** impelled many women to confront social, political, and economic barriers. In 1960, women comprised less than 40% of the nation's undergraduate college classes, and far fewer women were candidates for advanced degrees. Despite voting for four decades, there were only 19 women serving in Congress in 1961. For every dollar that was earned by an American male, each working American female earned 59¢. By raising a collective consciousness, these women writers helped launch a movement. Historians have since called this period of change **second wave feminism**.

女权主义者杰曼·格里尔（Germaine Greer）等作家促使许多女性面临社会，政治和经济障碍。1960年，女性在全国大学本科课程中所占比例不到40%，而高等学位的女性候选人则少得多。尽管投票了四十年，但1961年只有19名女性在国会任职。对于一名美国男性所赚的每一美元，每位在职美国女性的收入为59澳分。通过提高集体意识，这些女作家帮助发起了一场运动。历史学家此后称这一变革时期的第二波女权主义。

5 CAN MEN AND WOMEN BE EQUAL?



THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964

Feminist activists demanded equal pay for equal work and pressured the government to support and enforce legislation that prohibited gender discrimination. While the **Equal Pay Act of 1964** had promised women that they would earn the same pay as men for the same work, the first major legislation that protected women in all of public life was the **Civil Rights Act of 1964**. The Civil Rights Act is usually remembered as the law that ended Jim Crow segregation in the South, but it also protects women from the same discrimination. Ironically, protection for women had been included at the suggestion of a conservative Virginia congressman in an attempt to prevent the act's passage. He believed that while White men might accept that African Americans needed and deserved protection from discrimination, the idea that women deserved equality with men would be far too radical for any of his male colleagues to contemplate. However, this strategy backfired and the measure was signed into law, granting protection to both ethnic minorities and women.

In 1966, two years after the Civil Rights Act's passage, 28 women, including the author Betty Friedan, formed the **National Organization for Women (NOW)**. They wanted to preserve their newly won rights and NOW served as the de facto leader of the new feminist movement. Friedan, the organization's first president proclaimed that NOW's goal would be to make possible women's participation in all aspects of American life and to gain for them all the rights enjoyed by men. Among the specific goals was the passage of an Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution that would guarantee the protections women had won in the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Through the 1960s, 1970s and beyond, NOW set the agenda for the women's movement by organizing protests, lobbying for legislative action and fighting in court.

EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT

In 1963, a government commission released a detailed report describing discrimination against women in every aspect of American life and outlining plans to achieve equality. Specific recommendations for women in the workplace included fair hiring practices, paid **maternity leave**, and affordable childcare. The Equal Pay Act that Congress passed a year later made progress on some of these fronts, but the law provided no way of enforcing equal pay for men and women performing equal work. In addition, it did not cover domestic workers, agricultural workers, executives, administrators, or professionals.

What activists really wanted, was an amendment to the Constitution that would guarantee gender equality. An **Equal Rights Amendment**

1964 年的公民权利法案

女权主义活动家要求同工同酬，并迫使政府支持和执行禁止性别歧视的立法。虽然 1964 年的“同工同酬法”向妇女承诺，她们将为同样的工作获得与男子相同的工资，但是在 1964 年的“民权法案”中，保护妇女在所有公共生活中的第一项主要立法是“民权法案”。作为结束吉姆·克劳在南方的种族隔离的法律，人们记得，但它也保护妇女免受同样的歧视。具有讽刺意味的是，保守的弗吉尼亚州议员提议保护女性，以阻止该行为的通过。他认为，虽然白人可能会接受非洲裔美国人的需要并且应该得到保护而不受歧视，但女性应该与男性平等的想法对于他的任何男性同事来说都过于激进。然而，这一战略适得其反，该措施已签署成为法律，为少数民族和妇女提供保护。

1966 年，民权法案通过两年后，包括作家贝蒂·弗里丹在内的 28 名妇女成立了全国妇女组织（NOW）。他们希望保留他们新获得的权利，并且现在是新女权主义运动的事实上的领导者。该组织的第一任总统弗里丹宣称，现在的目标是让女性参与美国生活的各个方面，并为她们获得男性享有的所有权利。具体目标之一是通过宪法的平等权利修正案，以保证妇女在 1964 年民权法案中获得的保护。在 20 世纪 60 年代，70 年代及以后，现在通过组织抗议活动确定了妇女运动的议程。游说立法行动和在法庭上作战。

平等权利修正

1963 年，一个政府委员会发布了一份详细的报告，描述了在美国生活的各个方面对妇女的歧视，并概述了实现平等的计划。对工作场所中妇女的具体建议包括公平招聘做法，带薪产假和负担得起的儿童保育。一年后国会通过的“同工同酬法”在其中一些方面取得了进展，但法律没有规定对同等工作的男女实行同工同酬。此外，它不包括家庭工人，农业工人，管理人员，管理人员或专业人员。

什么活动家真正想要的是宪法修正案，以保证性别平等。平等权利修正案（ERA）并不是一个

5 CAN MEN AND WOMEN BE EQUAL?

WAS THE SOCIAL
REVOLUTION
ACTUALLY
REVOLUTIONARY?

(ERA) was not a new idea. In fact, **Alice Paul**, who had worked so hard to pass the 19th Amendment and win suffrage for women as leader of the National Women's Party, had first introduced it to Congress in 1923. Paul continued to work for passage of the ERA until her death in 1977.

Changing the Constitution is not easy, which is a good thing since it promotes stability in government and helps make sure bad ideas stay out. First, Congress must pass the amendment with a two-thirds majority in both the House and Senate. Then, it must be ratified by three-fourths of the state legislatures. Since such majorities in both Congress and of the states must approve an amendment, there is very little chance that a proposal supported by just one political party or region of the country would ever be ratified. NOW and the other women's rights organizations began a hard push for the ERA in 1970.

Leaders such as Gloria Steinem addressed Congress and provided argument after argument in support of the ERA. The House approved the measure in 1970, and the Senate did likewise in 1972. Supporters seemed to have momentum and public opinion polls showed strong support. By 1973, 30 of the necessary 38 states ratified the amendment.



Then the tide turned. A highly organized, determined opposition emerged that suggested that ratification of the ERA would lead to the complete unraveling of traditional American society. The leader of the STOP ERA campaign was a career woman named **Phyllis Schlafly**. Schlafly frustrated activists like Friedan, Steinem and Paul by glorifying the traditional roles of American women. She heckled feminists by

新想法。事实上，曾经努力通过第 19 修正案并赢得女性选举产生全国妇女党领袖的爱丽丝保罗于 1923 年首次将其引入国会。保罗继续为 ERA 的通过工作直到她去世在 1977 年。

改变宪法并不容易，这是一件好事，因为它可以促进政府的稳定，并有助于确保糟糕的想法不受影响。首先，国会必须以众议院和参议院三分之二多数通过修正案。然后，它必须得到四分之三的州立法机构的批准。由于国会和各州的多数都必须批准修正案，因此只有一个政党或地区支持的提案才能获得批准。现在和其他妇女权利组织在 1970 年开始努力推动电子逆向拍卖。

Gloria Steinem 等领导人在国会发表讲话，并在支持 ERA 后提出论据。众议院在 1970 年批准了这项措施，参议院在 1972 年同样做了。支持者似乎有势头，民意调查显示强有力的支持。到 1973 年，必要的 38 个州中有 30 个批准了该修正案。

Primary Source: Photograph

Phyllis Schlafly at a rally in opposition to the Equal Rights Amendment. Her highly organized campaign stalled support for the amendment and it was never ratified.

主要来源：照片

Phyllis Schlafly 在反对平等权利修正案的集会上。她高度组织的运动停止了对修正案的支持，但从未批准过。

然后潮涨了。出现了一种高度组织化，坚定的反对意见，这表明批准 ERA 将导致美国传统社会的彻底解体。STOP ERA 活动的领导者是一位名叫 Phyllis Schlafly 的职业女性。Schlafly 通过赞美美国女性的传统角色，挫败了像 Friedan, Steinem 和 Paul 这样的活动家。她通

5 CAN MEN AND WOMEN BE EQUAL?



opening her speaking engagements with quips such as, “I’d like to thank my husband for letting me be here tonight.” Schlafly argued that the ERA would bring undesirable changes to American women.

In the end, the fight over the Equal Rights Amendment did not pit women against men. Instead, it pitted women against each other fighting about how much they wanted the genders to be equal, and how much they believed men and women were and should be different. Schlafly pointed out that protective laws like sexual assault and alimony would be swept away. The tendency of courts to award custody of children to mothers in divorce cases would be eliminated. The all-male military draft would become immediately unconstitutional. Those opposed to the ERA even suggested that single-sex restrooms might be banished by future courts. While many women were in favor of equality when they saw obvious ways in which men were favored in society, they were less inclined to support it when they thought about the ways laws advantaged them.

STOP ERA campaigned to prevent more state legislatures from ratifying the amendment. Advocates baked apple pies for the Illinois legislature while they debated the amendment. They hung “Don’t draft me” signs on baby girls at protest marches. The strategy worked. After 1973, the number of ratifying states slowed to a trickle. By 1982, only 35 states had voted in favor of the ERA, three states shy of the necessary total.

Despite early gains by the feminist movement, Schlafly’s campaign and the general rise in social conservatism in the 1970s and 1980s led Americans of both genders to turn away from a constitutional guarantee of gender equality. Feminist groups continue to believe that the ERA campaign in the 1970s was a tragically lost opportunity to advance women’s rights and some still yearn to make it reality. When Hillary Clinton ran for president in 2016, she championed a renewed push for passage of the ERA. The idea of amending the Constitution to guarantee gender equality is a century old and perhaps someday the ERA will become law. But for now, while the 15th Amendment guarantees equality between races, nowhere in the Constitution can a guarantee of equality for women be found.

RADICAL FEMINISM

Second wave feminism was initiated by thoughtful writers and propelled forward by activists who focused on basic economic inequality and legal rights. More radical feminists, like their colleagues in other movements, were dissatisfied with merely redressing these issues and devised their

过打开她的演讲来打击女权主义者，例如，“我要感谢我的丈夫让我今晚来到这里。”Schlafly认为，ERA 会给美国女性带来不可取的变化。

最后，争取平等权利修正案的斗争并没有让女性对抗男性。相反，它让女性互相争斗，争论他们希望性别平等多少，以及他们认为男人和女人有多少和应该是不同的。施拉弗指出，性侵犯和赡养费等保护性法律将被扫除。将取消法院在离婚案件中授予母亲监护权的倾向。全男性军事草案将立即违宪。那些反对电子逆向拍卖的人甚至认为，未来的法院可能会放弃单性别洗手间。虽然许多女性在看到男性在社会中受到青睐的明显方式时赞成平等，但当他们想到法律有利于他们的方式时，他们更不倾向于支持平等。

STOP ERA 旨在阻止更多州立法机构批准该修正案。在辩论修正案时，辩护律师为伊利诺伊州立法机构烘焙了苹果馅饼。他们在抗议游行中向女婴们贴上“不要起草我”的标语。该战略奏效了。1973 年以后，批准国的数量减缓到了涓涓细流。到 1982 年，只有 35 个州投票赞成成了电子逆向拍卖，有三个州不满足必要的总数。

尽管女权主义运动早期取得了成功，但是在 20 世纪 70 年代和 80 年代，施莱夫的竞选活动和社会保守主义的普遍崛起使得两性的美国人都摆脱了对性别平等的宪法保障。女权主义团体继续认为，20 世纪 70 年代的电子逆向拍卖运动是一个悲惨的失去提升妇女权利的机会，有些人仍然渴望实现这一目标。当希拉里克林顿在 2016 年竞选总统时，她再次推动了 ERA 的通过。修改宪法以保障性别平等的想法已有一个世纪的历史，也许有一天 ERA 将成为法律。但就目前而言，虽然第 15 修正案保证了种族之间的平等，但宪法中没有任何地方可以保证妇女的平等。

激进女性主义

第二波女权主义是由有思想的作家发起的，并由专注于基本经济不平等和法律权利的活动家推动。更激进的女权主义者，就像其他运动中的同事一样，对仅仅纠正这些问题并设计了自

5 CAN MEN AND WOMEN BE EQUAL?



own brand of consciousness-raising events and symbolic attacks on oppression.

The most famous of these was an event staged in September 1968, by New York Radical Women. Protesting stereotypical notions of femininity and rejecting traditional gender expectations, the group demonstrated at the **Miss America Pageant** in Atlantic City, New Jersey, to bring attention to society's exploitation of women, which they believed was on display at the pageant. The protestors crowned a sheep Miss America and then tossed instruments of what they believed was women's oppression, including high-heeled shoes, curlers, girdles, and bras, into a "freedom trash can." News accounts famously, and incorrectly, described the protest as a "**bra burning**." In fact, no one burned any bras.

Despite the flashy nature of such protests, real change for women came through hard-won legislation and legal battles.

BIRTH CONTROL

For thousands of years, the impact of sex had been different for men and women. For women, sex could result in pregnancy and motherhood. This biological fact was part of what defined the roles of men and women in American society. There were times when women were allowed to work outside the home, but the possibility of motherhood presented restrictions. For example, in the early 1900s, women could serve as school teachers, but they would lose their jobs if they were married. Society believed that a married woman belonged at home taking care of her husband and children.

In the early 1900s, one woman believed the status quo needed to change. **Margaret Sanger** was a pioneer in the struggle for a woman's right to **birth control**. She famously said that, "no woman can call herself free who does not own and control her body. No woman can call herself free until she can choose consciously whether she will or will not be a mother." In an era when it was illegal to discuss the topic, she was arrested or charged with lawlessness many times for both her publications and her New York City clinics. Additionally, organized religions such as the Roman Catholic Church stood firm on their principles that artificial contraceptives were sinful. Despite Sanger's effort, and the fact that women won the right to vote in 1919, birth control in any form, remained illegal in most states, even for married couples.

In the 1950s, philanthropist Katherine McCormick provided the funding for biologists to develop a **birth control pill**, a drug that women could take that would prevent pregnancy. The U.S. Food and Drug

己的意识提升事件和对压迫的象征性攻击感到不满。

其中最著名的是 1968 年 9 月由纽约激进女性举办的活动。该组织在新泽西州大西洋城的美国小姐选美大会上展示了对女性气质的陈规定型观念的拒绝，并拒绝传统的性别期望，以引起人们对社会对女性的剥削的关注，他们认为这些对女性的盛会正在展出。抗议者为美国小姐加冕，然后将他们认为是女性压迫的工具，包括高跟鞋，卷发器，腰带和胸罩，扔进了“自由垃圾桶”。新闻报道引人注目，并且错误地描述了抗议活动。作为一个“胸罩燃烧。”事实上，没有人烧伤任何胸罩。

尽管这种抗议活动具有华丽的性质，但女性的真正变化来自于来之不易的立法和法律斗争。

计划生育

几千年来，男性和女性对性的影响各不相同。对于女性来说，性行为可能导致怀孕和生育。这种生物学事实是定义男性和女性在美国社会中的作用的一部分。有些时候允许妇女在家外工作，但母亲的可能性受到限制。例如，在 20 世纪初期，女性可以担任学校教师，但如果她们结婚就会失去工作。社会认为，已婚妇女属于家庭照顾她的丈夫和孩子。

在 20 世纪初，一位女性认为现状需要改变。玛格丽特桑格是争取妇女生育权的斗争的先驱。她著名地说，“没有女人可以称自己是自由的，不拥有和控制自己的身体。在她能够有意识地选择是否愿意成为母亲之前，任何女性都不能自由。”在一个讨论这个话题是非法的时代，她的出版物和她的出版物多次被逮捕或被指控无法无天。约克市诊所。此外，罗马天主教会等有组织的宗教坚持其人造避孕药有罪的原则。尽管桑格的努力，以及妇女在 1919 年赢得投票权的事实，任何形式的生育控制在大多数州仍然是非法的，即使是已婚夫妇。

在 20 世纪 50 年代，慈善家凯瑟琳麦考密克为生物学家提供了资金，用于开发避孕药，这是一种妇女可以服用的可以预防怀孕的药物。美

5 CAN MEN AND WOMEN BE EQUAL?



Administration approved the birth control pill for general use in 1960. For the first time, women could control the possibility of pregnancy on their own without relying on their partners. Within five years of the pill's approval, some six million women were using it.

Despite the pill's obvious popularity, as a form of contraception it remained illegal in many states. In a landmark decision, **Griswold v. Connecticut** in 1965, the Supreme Court ruled such laws unconstitutional. Setting a precedent, the Court determined that a fundamental right to privacy exists between the lines of the Constitution. Laws prohibiting contraceptive choice violated this sacred right. The ban of prohibitive laws was extended to unmarried couples in **Eisenstadt v. Baird** in 1972, and a federal judge imparted the right to purchase contraceptives to unmarried minors in 1974.

Equality, many feminists of the 1960s and 1970s believed, extended beyond the workplace, but to the bedroom as well and women's rights movements heralded the availability of birth control as a method of granting women liberation. After all, if women were going to have the same rights as men in the workplace, they should be able to enjoy sex without fear of pregnancy just as much as men.

The new contraceptive technology had a major impact on American life. Being able to avoid pregnancy meant that women could be sexually active and remain unmarried. In earlier times, sex usually led to pregnancy and then quickly to marriage. Birth control therefore, indirectly prolonging the age at which many women first married. This allowed women to invest in education and become more career-oriented, and after the pill was legalized, there was a sharp increase in college attendance and graduation rates for women.

Birth control in general, and the pill in particular were seen as excellent, inexpensive ways to combat poverty. Women could finish school, earn college degrees, and work before having children. A new mother at age 26 with a degree and a few years of savings already put away is in a much better position financially than a new mother at age 19, who has only finished high school. As a result, the pill was endorsed by many government officials, including President Johnson, and was distributed by doctors who could see the benefits it had for their patients.

The pill was not without its detractors. In fact, it became a controversial subject as Americans struggled with their thoughts on sexual morality, controlling population growth, and women's control of their reproductive rights. Never before had sexual activity been so separated from reproduction. For a heterosexual couple using the pill, intercourse

国食品和药物管理局于 1960 年批准了一般用途的避孕药。这是妇女第一次可以自己控制怀孕的可能性，而不依赖于她们的伴侣。在药丸批准后的五年内，约有 600 万女性正在使用它。

尽管避孕药明显受欢迎，但作为避孕方法，它在许多州仍然是非法的。在 1965 年格里斯沃尔德诉康涅狄格州的一项具有里程碑意义的决定中，最高法院裁定此类法律违宪。法院确立了先例，确定了宪法之间存在的基本隐私权。禁止避孕选择的法律侵犯了这一神圣权利。1972 年，*Eisenstadt v. Baird* 对未婚夫妇的禁令进行了禁令，一名联邦法官于 1974 年向未婚成年人颁发了购买避孕药具的权利。

平等，20 世纪 60 年代和 70 年代的许多女权主义者认为，超越了工作场所，但也延伸到了卧室，妇女权利运动预示着将节育作为一种给予妇女解放的方法。毕竟，如果女性在工作场所享有与男性相同的权利，她们应该能够像男性一样享受性生活，而不必担心怀孕。

新的避孕技术对美国人的生活产生了重大影响。能够避免怀孕意味着女性可以性活跃并且未婚。在早些时候，性生活通常会导致怀孕，然后很快就会结婚。因此，节育，间接延长了许多妇女第一次结婚的年龄。这使得妇女能够投资于教育并变得更加以职业为导向，在避孕药合法化之后，女性的大学入学率和毕业率急剧上升。

一般来说，节育，特别是避孕药被视为消除贫困的优秀廉价方法。女性可以完成学业，获得大学学位，并在生孩子之前工作。一位 26 岁的新妈妈，拥有学位和几年的储蓄已经被收起，在经济上比在 19 岁时刚刚读完高中的新妈妈好得多。因此，这种避孕药得到了包括约翰逊总统在内的许多政府官员的认可，并由医生分发，他们可以看到它对患者的好处。

避孕药并非没有批评者。事实上，随着美国人对性道德，控制人口增长和妇女对其生殖权利的控制的思想进行斗争，它成为一个有争议的话题。从来没有将性活动与生殖分开。对于使用避孕药的异性恋夫妻而言，性交纯粹是爱的

5 CAN MEN AND WOMEN BE EQUAL?



became purely an expression of love, a means of physical pleasure, or both. While this was true of previous contraceptives, their relatively high failure rates and their less widespread use failed to have the social impact of the pill.

The spread of oral contraceptive use led many religious figures and institutions to debate the proper role of sex in society. The Roman Catholic Church in particular reiterated its teaching that artificial contraception distorts nature and the purpose of sex. Opponents of the pill, and the sexual freedom it provided to women, cited the increase in children born to unmarried mothers, sexually transmitted diseases, teen pregnancy, and divorce rates as evidence that the decline in traditional gender roles, brought about in part by the availability of birth control, was bad for America.

Despite opposition, the use of the oral contraceptive pill continues to be widespread. As of 2010, 80% of sexually active women had used the pill at some point in their lives. Today, women have other options for birth control that do not involve their partners, including implants and patches, but the pill remains the most popular, and its effect on society is undeniable.

ABORTION

No topic related to the feminist movement has aroused such passion and controversy as much as the right to an **abortion**, a medical procedure that ends a pregnancy. In the 1960s, there was no federal law regulating abortions, and many states had banned the practice entirely, except when the life of the mother was endangered. Women's groups argued that illegality led many women to seek black market abortions by unlicensed physicians or to perform the procedure on themselves. As a result, several states such as California and New York began to legalize abortions. With no definitive ruling from the federal government, women's groups sought the opinion of the Supreme Court.

The battle began in Texas, which outlawed any type of abortion unless a doctor determined that the mother's life was in danger. A woman challenged the law banning abortion. As the case slowly made its way up from the lower courts to the Supreme Court, she was referred to in court documents only as Jane Roe in order to protect her privacy. Defending the law was the Dallas District Attorney, Henry Wade. Thus, the case became known as *Roe v. Wade*.

In 1973, the Supreme Court invalidated the Texas law by a 7-2 vote. The majority of the justices maintained that although the Constitution never mentions abortion, a woman's right to abortion is implied by the Constitution's guarantee of privacy. Because of the **Roe v. Wade**

表达, 是身体愉悦的一种表达, 或两者兼而有之。虽然以前的避孕药具有这种情况, 但它们相对较高的失败率和较低的使用率未能产生避孕药的社会影响。

口服避孕药的使用扩散导致许多宗教人士和机构辩论性在社会中的适当作用。罗马天主教会特别重申其教导, 人工避孕会扭曲自然和性的目的。避孕药的反对者及其为女性提供的性自由, 引用了未婚母亲所生子女, 性传播疾病, 少女怀孕和离婚率的增加, 这表明传统性别角色的下降部分是由于节育的可用性对美国不利。

尽管有人反对, 但口服避孕药的使用仍然很普遍。截至 2010 年, 80% 的性活跃女性在生命中的某个阶段使用过避孕药。今天, 女性有其他不涉及其伴侣的避孕选择, 包括植入物和补丁, 但药丸仍然是最受欢迎的, 它对社会的影响是不可否认的。

流产

没有任何与女权主义运动相关的话题引起了如此激情和争议, 就像堕胎权, 一种结束怀孕的医疗程序一样。在 20 世纪 60 年代, 没有联邦法律规范堕胎, 许多州完全禁止这种做法, 除非母亲的生命受到威胁。妇女团体认为, 非法行为导致许多妇女无牌医生寻求黑市堕胎或自行执行手术。结果, 加利福尼亚州和纽约州等几个州开始将堕胎合法化。由于没有联邦政府的明确裁决, 妇女团体寻求最高法院的意见。

这场战斗始于德克萨斯州, 除非医生确定母亲的生命处于危险之中, 否则禁止任何类型的堕胎。一名妇女质疑禁止堕胎的法律。随着案件逐渐从下级法院上升到最高法院, 她在法庭文件中仅被称为 Jane Roe, 以保护她的隐私。达拉斯地区检察官亨利·韦德捍卫了这项法律。因此, 案件被称为 *Roe v. Wade*。

1973 年, 最高法院以 7 比 2 的投票使德克萨斯州法律无效。大多数法官都坚持认为, 虽然宪法从未提及堕胎, 但宪法保障隐私是女性堕胎的权利。由于 *Roe v. Wade* 的决定, 任何州都不

5 CAN MEN AND WOMEN BE EQUAL?

decision, no state could restrict abortions during the first three months, or trimester, of a pregnancy. States were permitted to adopt restrictive laws in accordance with respecting the mother's health during the second trimester. The practice could be banned outright during the third trimester. Any state law that conflicted with this ruling was automatically overturned.



能限制怀孕前三个月或三个月的堕胎。允许各国在第二个三个月期间根据母亲的健康状况采用限制性法律。在第三个三个月期间，可以直接禁止这种做法。任何与这项裁决相冲突的州法律都会自动被推翻。

Primary Source: Photograph

A pro-life rally. One of the signs directly references the day the Roe v. Wade decision was handed down by the Supreme Court.

主要来源：照片

亲生命的集会。其中一个标志直接引用了最高法院颁布的 Roe v. Wade 裁决的那一天。

Women's groups were ecstatic, but immediately an opposition emerged. The Roman Catholic Church had long criticized abortion as a form of infanticide and many fundamentalist Protestant ministers joined the outcry. The **National Right to Life Committee** formed with the explicit goal of reversing Roe v. Wade.

女性团体欣喜若狂，但立即出现反对意见。罗马天主教会长期以来一直批评堕胎是一种杀婴形式，许多原教旨主义的新教徒也加入了这场抗议。成立的国家生命权委员会的明确目标是扭转罗伊诉韦德案。

The question of abortion is fundamentally thorny because it involves basic beliefs about life, and often those beliefs are based on religion. Those who believe life begins at conception feel that the unborn child deserves the same legal protections as an adult. Ending such a life is equivalent to murder to those who subscribe to this belief. They believe that the government has a responsibility to protect all people, including those who have not yet been born. Opponents of abortion use the label **pro-life** to define their cause.

堕胎问题从根本上讲是棘手的，因为它涉及对生命的基本信念，而且这些信仰通常都是基于宗教的。那些认为生命始于受孕的人会觉得未出生的孩子应该得到与成年人相同的法律保护。结束这样的生活相当于谋杀那些赞同这种信仰的人。他们认为政府有责任保护所有人，包括那些尚未出生的人。堕胎的反对者使用标签的生命来定义他们的原因。

Others argue that life begins at birth, and that laws restricting abortion interfere with the right of a woman to decide what is in her own best interests. They believe that the government has no business telling women what to do with their bodies. Some argue that opponents of abortion are trying to impose their religious beliefs on others. Supporters of Roe v. Wade identify themselves as **pro-choice**.

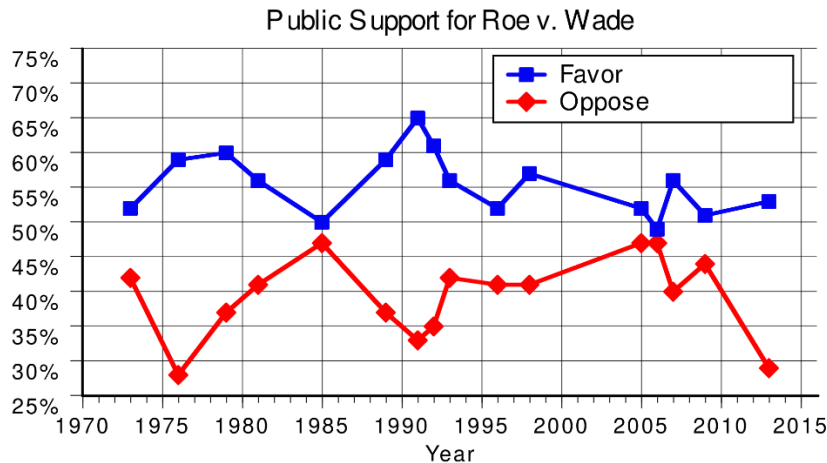
其他人认为生命从出生开始，限制堕胎的法律会干扰妇女决定什么符合她自己的最佳利益的权利。他们认为政府没有业务告诉女性如何处理自己的身体。一些人认为反对堕胎的人试图将他们的宗教信仰强加给别人。Roe v. Wade 的支持者认为自己是支持选择。

Since 1973, the battle has raged. Pro-life groups began to lobby their senators and representatives to propose a **Right-to-Life Amendment** to

自 1973 年以来，这场战斗肆虐。亲生活小组开始游说参议员和代表，提出宪法规定的生命权

5 CAN MEN AND WOMEN BE EQUAL?

the Constitution. Although introduced in Congress, the measure has never received the necessary support. Pro-choice groups such as the **National Abortion Rights Action League** fear that a slow erosion of abortion rights has taken place since *Roe v. Wade* as states pass laws that make it harder to gain access to an abortion.



The **Hyde Amendment** of 1976 prohibits the use of federal Medicaid funds for abortions. The idea behind the law was that because Medicaid is funded by taxes, people who believe abortion is wrong should not be forced to pay for it, even in a roundabout way.

Since the Supreme Court ruled that women have a fundamental right to abortion, that right has been limited by a long string of laws and court cases. For example, in the 1992 case *Planned Parenthood v. Casey*, the Supreme Court ruled that states have the right to impose waiting periods and parental notification requirements so girls under the age of 18 cannot have an abortion without their parent's knowledge. In 2014, the Texas legislature passed a law that set new guidelines for operating abortion clinics. The law was so strict that half of all clinics could not meet the new standards closed. In some areas, abortion was legal, but women had to travel hundreds of miles to find a doctor willing and able to carry out the procedure. The Supreme Court ruled the law unconstitutional in *Whole Woman's Health v. Hellerstedt* in 2016. The Court upheld this ruling in 2019 when it blocked implementation of a similar law in Louisiana. However, it will take many years to open new clinics to replace those that had to close. Pro-life advocates may have lost in court, but won in practical terms.

Planned Parenthood is an organization that provides women with healthcare and advice about contraception, cancer screening and many

修正案。虽然在国会提出，但该措施从未得到必要的支持。国家堕胎权利行动联盟等亲选组织担心，自从罗伊诉韦德案通过法律使堕胎难以获得堕胎以来，堕胎权的缓慢侵蚀已经发生。

Secondary Source: Chart

Support for the *Roe v. Wade* decision (and legalized abortion by extension) has wavered over time, but has remained positive since the decision was made.

次要来源：图表

随着时间的推移，对 *Roe v. Wade* 决定（以及延期合法化堕胎）的支持已经动摇，但自决定以来一直保持积极态度。

1976 年的海德修正案禁止使用联邦医疗补助资金进行堕胎。法律背后的理念是，由于医疗补助由税收资助，相信堕胎错误的人不应该被迫为此付出代价，即使是以迂回的方式。

由于最高法院裁定妇女拥有堕胎的基本权利，因此这项权利受到一系列法律和法庭案件的限制。例如，在 1992 年的 *Planned Parenthood v. Casey* 一案中，最高法院裁定各州有权强制等待期和父母通知要求，因此未满 18 岁的女孩在父母不知情的情况下不能进行堕胎。2014 年，德克萨斯州立法机构通过了一项法律，为堕胎诊所设立了新的指导方针。法律非常严格，一半的诊所都无法满足新的标准。在某些地区，堕胎是合法的，但妇女必须旅行数百英里才能找到愿意并能够执行手术的医生。最高法院在 2016 年的全女性健康诉 *Hellerstedt* 案中裁定该法律违宪。法院在 2019 年阻止在路易斯安那州实施类似法律时维持了这一裁决。然而，开设新的诊所需要很多年才能取代那些不得不关闭的诊所。亲生活的拥护者可能已经在法庭上失败，但实际上赢了。

Planned Parenthood 是一个为女性提供有关避孕，癌症筛查和许多其他问题的医疗保健和建

5 CAN MEN AND WOMEN BE EQUAL?



other issues. However, since they pride themselves on providing safe, inexpensive abortions, protesters regularly picket outside their offices. Several Planned Parenthood sites have even been bombed and doctors who perform abortions murdered by anti-abortion extremists.

While the fight goes on in state capitals and in protest marches, the real fate of *Roe v. Wade* continues to lie with the Supreme Court. Although every ruling since 1973 upheld the fundamental decision that women have a right to abortion, the composition of the Court changes with every retirement. Activists on each side demand a **litmus test** for any justice named to the federal courts. Republicans have tended to appoint pro-life judges, and Democrats have selected pro-choice nominees. If Republican presidents were someday able to appoint enough conservative justices to significantly alter the balance of the Court, opponents of *Roe v. Wade* might have a chance of succeeding. For now, the battle remains as fierce as ever.

DIVORCE

For most of America's history, it was difficult for couples to divorce. Marriage was an institution that was dominated by organized religions, and they were loath to grant divorces. Even well into the 1900s, divorces were granted only in cases of abuse or infidelity. Many Americans believed this was good for society. However, in the 1970s things began to change.

In 1967, California passed the nation's first **no-fault divorce** law. With this change, couples could divorce for any reason, or no reason at all. Within a few years, many other states followed California's lead and passed no-fault divorce laws of their own. The impact was dramatic. In the 1960s, there were 9.2 divorces per 1,000 married women. Just 20 years later in 1980, that number had more than doubled to 22.6 divorces per 1,000 married women. Less than 20% of marriages in 1950 ended in divorce, but roughly 50% of all couples who married in 1970 eventually divorced.

Before the advent of no-fault divorce, social pressure and the authority of religious leaders convinced many couples to stay together, even when relationships had frayed. Sometimes it was challenging to prove that a spouse had been unfaithful and people were trapped in broken marriages. A change in the law gave legitimacy to divorce and began to erode the moral authority of churches. Eventually, many churches bent to the times. For example, the United Methodist Church, the largest mainline Protestant denomination in America announced in 1976 that they would be accommodating of divorced and remarried congregants.

议的组织。然而，由于他们以提供安全，廉价的堕胎而自豪，抗议者经常在办公室外进行纠察。几个计划生育地点甚至遭到轰炸，并且堕胎的医生被反堕胎极端分子谋杀。

虽然战斗在州首府和抗议游行中继续进行，但 *Roe v. Wade* 的真正命运仍然在于最高法院。虽然自 1973 年以来的每一项裁决都维持了妇女有权获得堕胎的基本决定，但法院的组成随着每次退休而改变。每一方的活动家都要求对联邦法院的任何司法官进行试金石测试。共和党人倾向于任命支持终身的法官，而民主党则选择了支持选举的候选人。如果共和党总统有一天能够任命足够的保守派大法官来大幅改变法院的平衡，那么罗伊诉韦德的反对者可能有机会获胜。就目前而言，战斗仍然如此激烈。

离婚

在美国的大部分历史中，夫妻离婚很困难。婚姻是一个由有组织的宗教主导的机构，他们不愿意给予离婚。即使到了 20 世纪初，只有在虐待或不忠的情况下才能获得离婚。许多美国人认为这对社会有益。然而，在 20 世纪 70 年代，事情开始发生变化。

1967 年，加利福尼亚州通过了美国第一部无过错离婚法。随着这种变化，夫妻可以出于任何原因离婚，或者根本没有理由离婚。在短短几年内，许多其他州都跟随加州的领导，并通过了自己的无过错离婚法。影响是戏剧性的。在 20 世纪 60 年代，每 1,000 名已婚妇女中有 9.2 人离婚。仅仅 20 年后的 1980 年，这个数字增加了一倍多，达到每 1000 名已婚女性 22.6 个离婚。1950 年不到 20% 的婚姻以离婚告终，但 1970 年结婚的夫妻中约有 50% 最终离婚。

在无过错离婚出现之前，社会压力和宗教领袖的权威使许多夫妻相信，即使在人际关系磨损的情况下也是如此。有时候证明配偶不忠，人们被困在破碎的婚姻中是有挑战性的。法律的变化赋予了离婚合法性，并开始侵蚀教会的道德权威。最终，许多教会都倾向于时代。例如，美国最大的主教新教教派联合卫理公会于 1976 年宣布他们将接纳离婚和再婚的会众。

5 CAN MEN AND WOMEN BE EQUAL?



As the rate of divorce grew, Americans began to worry about the effect divorce was having on children. On one hand, single parents usually have less time to spend with their children because they are working and are often more stressed since they have to bear the entire responsibility of raising children. On the other hand, it is perhaps equally stressful for children to be raised in homes filled with conflict.

In the long term, as marriage has lost its importance in the minds of young people, more and more have chosen to live together without being married. Now about 40% of all American children will live in a home with unmarried parents. Since these relationships are less stable, the vast majority of children born to unmarried couples see their parents separate by the time they turn 15.

Since the 1980s, divorce rates have come down somewhat, but they are still far higher than they were before no-fault divorce laws were enacted.

Another major change that happened to divorce law in the 1970s related to the disposition of property. In many states, head and master laws gave husbands final say over all property. Men could make financial decisions without consulting their wives. This meant that in cases of divorce, husbands could take property and savings and leave their ex-wives with nothing. In 1981, the Supreme Court ruled such laws unconstitutional in the case **Kirchberg v. Feenstra**. Citing the Fourteenth Amendment's guarantee of equal protection under the law, they ruled that head of master laws unfairly favored men over women.

Although the rise in divorce rates since the passage of no-fault laws in the 1970s has resulted in social problems that were rare beforehand, the ability of women to obtain a divorce and protection of property has allowed women to escape abusive and unhappy marriages.

TITLE IX

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 was a major step forward in protecting women from discrimination, but it was written to protect people from discrimination in public places such as stores and bus stations. Many activists wanted a law specifically designed to protect the rights of female students, and so **Title IX** was enacted as a follow-up to the Civil Rights Act. While Title IX is best known for its impact on high school and collegiate athletics, the original statute made no explicit mention of sports. However, coverage of sports was implied.

随着离婚率的增加，美国人开始担心离婚对孩子的影响。一方面，单身父母通常没有多少时间陪伴孩子，因为他们在工作，而且往往更加紧张，因为他们必须承担抚养孩子的全部责任。另一方面，在充满冲突的家庭中抚养孩子也许同样有压力。

从长远来看，由于婚姻在年轻人心中失去了重要性，越来越多的人选择不结婚而共同生活。现在，大约 40% 的美国孩子将住在未婚父母的家中。由于这些关系不太稳定，未婚夫妇所生的绝大多数孩子在 15 岁时就会看到父母分开。

自 20 世纪 80 年代以来，离婚率有所下降，但仍远高于无过错离婚法颁布之前的离婚率。

20 世纪 70 年代，与财产处置有关的另一项重大变化就是离婚法。在许多州，主法和主法律赋予丈夫对所有财产的最终决定权。男人可以在不咨询妻子的情况下做出财务决策。这意味着在离婚的情况下，丈夫可以获得财产和储蓄，并且不会给前妻留下任何东西。1981 年，最高法院在 *Kirchberg v. Feenstra* 案中裁定此类法律违宪。根据法律规定，第十四修正案保障平等保护，他们裁定掌握法律的主管不公平地偏爱男性而不是女性。

尽管自 20 世纪 70 年代无过错法律通过以来离婚率的上升导致了事先罕见的社会问题，但妇女离婚和保护财产的能力使妇女能够逃避虐待和不幸的婚姻。

第九标题

1964 年的“民权法案”是保护妇女免受歧视的重要一步，但它的目的是保护人们免受商店和公交车站等公共场所的歧视。许多活动家想要一部专门用于保护女学生权利的法律，因此第九条被作为“民权法案”的后续行动颁布。虽然 Title IX 以其对高中和大学体育的影响而闻名，但最初的法规没有明确提及体育。然而，隐含了对体育的报道。

5 CAN MEN AND WOMEN BE EQUAL?



The impact of the law on female athletics has been enormous. One study, completed in 2006, pointed to a large increase in the number of women participating in athletics at both the high school and college level. For every one girl involved in high school sports before Title IX was enacted, there are nine now, and the number of women in college sports had increased by more than 450%. A 2008 study of intercollegiate athletics showed that women's collegiate sports has grown to 9,101 teams, or 8.65 per school.

Some critics of the law contend that Title IX has resulted in the dismantling of men's sports programs. For example, though interest in the sport of wrestling has consistently increased at the high school level since 1990, scores of colleges have dropped their wrestling programs during that same period. In order to offer equal opportunities, some schools have chosen to reduce the options for men rather than increase them for women. Men's sports such as golf, tennis, rowing, track, swimming, as well as wrestling have all been abandoned by schools trying to comply with Title IX.

Most of these sports are money losers for colleges. That is, the cost of equipment and coaches exceeds what the sports earn in ticket sales. Athletic directors are forced to make hard choices when money is short and although many would love to offer every sport for both male and female students, the law's requirements make cutting legacy men's programs a necessity. Critics of Title IX believe this is unfair. There are currently 1.3 million more boys participating in high school sports than girls. Since colleges are forced to offer equal opportunities, some of those boys will simply have no teams to play for.

Despite such arguments, women's athletic programs are still far from equal to men's programs. The Women's Sports Foundation reported in a 2007 study of NCAA institutions that men's athletics receive the lion's share of athletic department budgets for operating expenses, recruiting, scholarships, and coaches' salaries.

Title IX applies to all educational programs and all aspects of a school, not only to athletics. One of the important other areas the law has affected, is the way schools have dealt with sexual harassment against female students. The Supreme Court ruled that when school administrators fail to protect students from harassment, they are denying girls equal access to education. As a result, the law has been used multiple times to force school leaders to address claims of sexual abuse and harassment and to institute programs to protect female students.

法律对女子田径运动的影响是巨大的。2006 年完成的一项研究表明，在高中和大学阶段参加体育运动的女性人数大幅增加。在 Title IX 颁布之前，每一个参与高中体育运动的女孩，现在有九个，大学体育女性的人数增加了 450% 以上。2008 年一项关于校际体育运动的研究表明，女子大学体育运动已发展到 9,101 支队伍，即每所学校 8.65 支队伍。

一些批评法律的人认为，第九条导致了男子体育项目的解体。例如，尽管自 1990 年以来对摔跤运动的兴趣在高中水平上一直在增加，但在同一时期，数十所大学已经放弃了摔跤项目。为了提供平等的机会，一些学校选择减少男性的选择，而不是为女性增加。高尔夫，网球，划船，赛道，游泳以及摔跤等男子运动都被试图遵守 Title IX 的学校所遗弃。

大多数这些运动都是大学的输家。也就是说，设备和教练的成本超过了体育运动在门票销售中的收入。当钱很短时，运动总监被迫做出艰难的选择，虽然很多人愿意为男女学生提供各种运动，但法律的要求使得遗留男性项目变得必不可少。Title IX 的批评者认为这是不公平的。目前，参加高中体育运动的男孩比女孩多 130 万。由于大学被迫提供平等的机会，其中一些男孩根本就没有球队可以参赛。

尽管存在这样的争论，女性的体育项目仍远远不等于男性项目。女子体育基金会在 2007 年对 NCAA 机构进行的一项研究报告说，男子田径运动员在运动费用，招聘，奖学金和教练员工资方面的运动部门预算中占绝大部分。

第九条适用于所有教育课程和学校的所有方面，不仅适用于田径运动。法律影响的另一个重要领域是学校处理针对女学生的性骚扰的方式。最高法院裁定，当学校管理者未能保护学生免受骚扰时，他们否认女孩有平等的受教育机会。因此，该法律被多次使用，迫使学校领导处理性虐待和性骚扰的指控，并制定保护女学生的计划。

5 CAN MEN AND WOMEN BE EQUAL?

**WAS THE SOCIAL
REVOLUTION
ACTUALLY
REVOLUTIONARY?**



Primary Source: Photograph

Hillary Clinton speaking during the presidential campaign of 2016. Clinton was a former first lady, senator and secretary of state. She was the first woman to win the nomination of either the Democratic or Republican Party, but lost her general election bid to Donald Trump.

主要来源：照片

希拉里克林顿在 2016 年总统竞选期间发表讲话。克林顿是前第一夫人，参议员和国务卿。她是第一位获得民主党或共和党提名的女性，但却失去了对唐纳德特朗普的大选。

In 2006, for example, a federal court found that there was sufficient evidence that the University of Colorado acted with “deliberate indifference” toward students Lisa Simpson and Anne Gilmore, who were sexually assaulted by student football players. The university settled the case, promising to change its policies and pay \$2.5 million in damages. In 2008, Arizona State University was the subject of a lawsuit that alleged violations of rights guaranteed by Title IX. In that case, the university expelled a football player for multiple instances of severe sexual harassment, but readmitted him and he went on to rape a student in her dorm room. Despite its claim that it bore no responsibility, the school settled the lawsuit, agreeing to revise and improve its official response to sexual misconduct and to pay the plaintiff \$850,000 in damages and fees.

例如，在 2006 年，联邦法院发现有足够的证据表明，科罗拉多大学对学生 Lisa Simpson 和 Anne Gilmore 采取“故意冷漠”行动，后者遭到学生足球运动员的性侵犯。该大学解决了此案，承诺改变其政策并支付 250 万美元的赔偿金。2008 年，亚利桑那州立大学成为诉讼的对象，指控违反第九条所保障的权利。在那种情况下，大学开除了一名足球运动员，因多次发生严重的性骚扰事件，但他重新接纳了他，并继续在她的宿舍里强奸一名学生。尽管学校声称它不承担任何责任，但学校解决了诉讼，同意修改和改进其对性行为不端的官方回应，并向原告支付 850,000 美元的赔偿金和费用。

Between 2010 and 2016, the Department of Education under President Obama announced that transgender students are also protected from discrimination under Title IX. It instructed public schools to treat transgender students consistent with their gender identity in academic life. A student who identifies as a transgender boy, for instance, is allowed entry to a boys-only class, and a student who identifies as a transgender girl is allowed entry to a girls-only class. This change in policy, is currently in flux. In February 2017, the Departments of Justice and Education under the Trump Administration withdrew the guidance on gender identity issued by the Obama administration and in 2018, the Department of Education announced that Title IX did not allow transgender students to use the bathroom of their gender identities. This is an issue that seems likely to be destined for the Supreme Court sometime in the coming years.

2010 年至 2016 年期间，奥巴马总统领导下的教育部宣布，跨性别学生也受到保护，不受第九条规定的歧视。它指示公立学校在学术生活中对待跨性别学生的性别认同。例如，识别为变性男孩的学生被允许进入仅限男孩的班级，并且识别为变性女孩的学生被允许进入仅限女孩的班级。政策的这种变化目前正在变化。2017 年 2 月，特朗普政府下属的司法和教育部门撤回了奥巴马政府颁布的性别认同指南，并在 2018 年，教育部宣布，第九条不允许跨性别学生使用他们性别认同的浴室。这个问题似乎可能会在未来几年的某个时候送到最高法院。

5 CAN MEN AND WOMEN BE EQUAL?

THE GLASS CEILING

In 1978, American writer Marilyn Loden described an invisible barrier that limited the ability of women to raise in organizations to high positions of power. This was nothing new. Women were keenly aware that men dominated leadership positions in politics, business, education and the military. In her speech, Loden coined the term the **glass ceiling** to describe this reality.



Despite major changes over the past few decades, the glass ceiling has persisted. As of 2014, only 5% of major companies were led by female CEOs. This trend persists in lower ranks as well. Far more men serve as directors and managers in American companies. In general in the workforce, women are at a disadvantage. In 2018 women earned 78¢ for every \$1.00 earned by men. In identical jobs, women earned 98¢ for every \$1.00 earned by men. Part of the reason for this is the penalty people pay for gaps in work. For both men and women, not working for periods of time, even for a few months, usually means starting again at a lower pay scale. However, since women are much more likely to have gaps in their working life to take care of children or aging parents, they disproportionately pay this penalty.

In politics, women are still underrepresented as well. Although **Hillary Clinton** won the democratic primary in 2016 and became the first woman to head a major party ticket, she lost to Donald Trump in the general election. Unlike many of the world's other advanced nations, the United States has never had a female president. In Congress in 2018, 23% of senators are women and in the House of Representatives, only 19% are women. On the Supreme Court, there are currently three women out of nine. For 192 year, a Supreme Court that was made up

玻璃天花板

1978 年，美国作家玛丽莲·洛登（Marilyn Loden）描述了一种无形的障碍，限制了女性在组织中获得高权力的能力。这不是什么新鲜事。女性敏锐地意识到男性在政治，商业，教育和军队中占据领导地位。在她的演讲中，洛登创造了玻璃天花板这个词来描述这个现实。

Primary Source: Photograph

From left to right: Sandra Day O'Connor, Sonia Sotomayor, Ruth Bader Ginsburg, and Elena Kagan, the four women to serve as justices on the Supreme Court.

主要来源：照片

从左到右：Sandra Day O'Connor，Sonia Sotomayor，Ruth Bader Ginsburg 和 Elena Kagan，四位女性担任最高法院法官。

尽管过去几十年发生了重大变化，但玻璃天花板仍然存在。截至 2014 年，只有 5% 的大公司由女性 CEO 领导。这种趋势在较低级别中仍然存在。更多的男性担任美国公司的董事和经理。一般而言，在劳动力队伍中，女性处于劣势。在 2018 年，女性每赚 1.00 美元就赚了 78 美分。在相同的工作中，女性每赚 1.00 美元就能获得 98 美分。造成这种情况的部分原因是人们为工作差距付出了代价。对于男性和女性而言，即使是几个月也不工作一段时间，通常意味着再次以较低的薪酬水平重新开始工作。然而，由于女性在工作生活中更有可能在照顾孩子或年迈的父母方面存在差距，因此她们不成比例地支付这笔罚款。

在政治方面，女性的代表性仍然不足。虽然希拉里克林顿在 2016 年赢得了民主小学，并成为第一位领导主要政党票的女性，但她在 대선 中输给了唐纳德特朗普。与世界上许多其他发达国家不同，美国从未有过女总统。在 2018 年的国会中，23% 的参议员是女性，在众议院中，只有 19% 是女性。在最高法院，目前有九名妇女中有三名。192 年来，一个完全由男性组成的最高法院在美

5 CAN MEN AND WOMEN BE EQUAL?



exclusively of men made the most important judicial decisions in America. Finally in 1981, **Sandra Day O'Connor** was appointed by President Reagan. Since then, three other women have served on the Court.

WOMEN IN THE ARMED FORCES

The role that women have played in the armed forces has changed over America's history, most rapidly in the past few decades. For most of America's history, combat was a role reserved for men. There were a few notable exceptions. The first female American soldier was Deborah Sampson of Massachusetts who enlisted as a Continental Army under the name of Robert Shurtliff. She served for three years in the Revolutionary War and was wounded twice, and cut a musket ball out of her own thigh so no doctor would find out she was a woman. In another case of hidden identity, Sarah Rosetta Wakeman enlisted under the alias Lyons Wakeman in the Civil War. These women, brave as they might have been, did not significantly change the role women played in the armed forces. Generally, women served as cooks, cleaners and nurses who followed the armies, but did not see combat.

Perhaps the first time that a woman openly advocated for the chance to go into combat, was in 1898 at the cusp of the Spanish-American War. Annie Oakley, the hero of Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show wrote a letter to President McKinley in which she offered "the government the services of a company of 50 'lady sharpshooters' who would provide their own arms and ammunition should war break out with Spain." The Spanish-American War did occur, but Oakley's offer was not accepted.

Women began taking on roles traditionally held by men for the first time during World War I. The first American women enlisted into the regular armed forces were 13,000 women admitted into active duty in the Navy and Marines, and a much smaller number admitted into the Coast Guard. The Yeoman recruits and women Marines primarily served in clerical positions, but they received the same benefits as men, including identical pay, and were considered veterans after the war.

In 1941, women again found that opportunities were opening up that had been closed before. There were 350,000 American women who served during World War II in the army and navy, as well as countless women who served in civilian capacities replacing men who were in uniform. During the war, women served in separate, female-only units, but in 1948, President Truman signed the Women's Armed Services Act, allowing women to serve in the armed forces in fully integrated units during peacetime.

国做出了最重要的司法裁决。最后在 1981 年，Sandra Day O'Connor 被里根总统任命。从那时起，另外三名妇女在法院任职。

武装部队中的女性

在过去几十年中，妇女在武装部队中所扮演的角色在美国历史上发生了巨大变化。在美国的大部分历史中，战斗是为男性保留的角色。有一些值得注意的例外。第一位美国女兵是马萨诸塞州的德博拉·桑普森，他以罗伯特·肖特利夫的名义入选大陆军。她在革命战争中服役了三年，受了两次伤，并从她自己的大腿上切下一个步枪球，所以没有医生会发现她是一个女人。在另一个隐藏身份的案例中，Sarah Rosetta Wakeman 在内战中以别名 Lyons Wakeman 入伍。这些女性虽然勇敢，却没有显著改变妇女在武装部队中的作用。一般来说，女性担任跟随军队的厨师，清洁工和护士，但没有看到战斗。

也许是第一次公开提倡有机会参战的女性，这是在 1898 年的西班牙 - 美国战争的风口浪尖上。布法罗比尔狂野西部秀的英雄安妮奥克利给麦金莱总统写了一封信，其中她向政府提供了一个由 50 名'女神射手组成的公司的服务'，如果战争与西班牙爆发，他们将提供自己的武器和弹药。"西班牙 - 美国战争确实发生过，但奥克利的提议并未被接受。

在第一次世界大战期间，妇女第一次开始担任传统上由男子担任的角色。第一批参加正规武装部队的美国妇女是 13,000 名在海军和海军陆战队中执勤的妇女，而少数人入海岸守护。Yeoman 新兵和女海军陆战队员主要担任文职职务，但他们获得与男子相同的福利，包括相同的工资，并且在战后被认为是退伍军人。

1941 年，妇女再次发现之前已经关闭的机会正在开放。在第二次世界大战期间，有 35 万美国妇女在军队和海军中服役，还有无数妇女以文职身份服役，取代穿制服的男子。在战争期间，妇女分别在女性单独的单位服役，但在 1948 年，杜鲁门总统签署了"妇女武装服务法"，允许妇女在和平时期在武装部队中服务于完全一体化的部队。

5 CAN MEN AND WOMEN BE EQUAL?

**WAS THE SOCIAL
REVOLUTION
ACTUALLY
REVOLUTIONARY?**

Women again served in Korea and Vietnam, but as before, they were only allowed to play supporting roles. Women were nurses, clerks, telephone operators and sometimes transport pilots, but were never assigned to jobs in which combat was an expectation, and they had few opportunities to advance into the upper ranks.

That began to change in the 1970s. In 1976, the United States Air Force Academy, United States Coast Guard Academy, United States Military Academy at West Point and the United States Naval Academy became coeducational and women were able to join the same pathway as their male peers toward becoming officers. In 1996, women won admission to the Virginia Military Institute when the Supreme Court declared in *United States v. Virginia* that the school could not discriminate against women if it wanted to maintain its status as a premier military academy with direct connections to the army. Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg, wrote in the court's opinion that VMI could not deny "to women, simply because they are women, full citizenship stature—equal opportunity to aspire, achieve, participate in and contribute to society."



女性再次在韩国和越南服役，但和以前一样，她们只被允许担任配角。妇女是护士，文员，电话接线员，有时是运输飞行员，但从未被分配到战斗期望的工作岗位，而且他们很少有机会晋升到高级职位。

这在 20 世纪 70 年代开始发生变化。1976 年，美国空军学院，美国海岸警卫队学院，美国西点军校和美国海军学院成为男女同校，女性能够加入与男性同龄人一样的道路，成为军官。1996 年，当最高法院在美国弗吉尼亚州宣布，如果学校想要保持其作为与军队直接联系的首要军事学院的地位，学校就不能歧视妇女，从而赢得了弗吉尼亚军事学院的入学。Ruth Bader Ginsburg 大法官在法庭上认为，VMI 不能否认“女性，仅仅因为她们是女性，完全公民身份 - 平等机会，渴望，实现，参与和贡献社会”。

Primary Source: Photograph

Female pilots in the Air Force behind the F-15 fighter jets that they fly. As of 2015, women are permitted in all roles within the armed forces.

主要来源：照片

空军的女飞行员在 F-15 战斗机后面飞行。截至 2015 年，允许妇女担任武装部队的所有职务。

Prohibitions against women in combat also began to crumble. The 1991 Persian Gulf War proved to be the pivotal time for the role of women in the armed forces. Over 40,000 women served in almost every role the armed forces had to offer. However, while many came under fire, they were not permitted to participate in deliberate ground engagements. Despite this, there are many reports of women engaging enemy forces during the conflict.

During the Iraq War and the Afghanistan War of the 2000s, more than two hundred thousand women served, of which 152 lost their lives.

在战斗中禁止妇女也开始崩溃。事实证明，1991 年波斯湾战争是妇女在武装部队中发挥作用的关键时期。武装部队几乎每一个角色都有 40,000 多名妇女担任。然而，虽然许多人遭到抨击，但他们不被允许参加故意的地面活动。尽管如此，有许多关于妇女在冲突期间与敌军交战的报道。

在伊拉克战争和 2000 年代的阿富汗战争期间，有超过 20 万名妇女在服役，其中 152 人丧生。最

5 CAN MEN AND WOMEN BE EQUAL?



Finally, women had the opportunity to demonstrate their patriotism, valor and abilities and in 2008, Ann Dunwoody became the first female four-star general in the Army. In 2012, Janet Wolfenbarger became the first female four-star general in the Air Force and Michelle Howard began her assignment as the Navy's first female, and first African American female, four-star admiral in 2014.

In December 2015, Defense Secretary Ash Carter stated that beginning in 2016 all combat jobs would open to women. Thus, 241 years after the outbreak of the American Revolution, women had finally gained full access to the armed forces.

It is hard to make the argument that new wave feminism was responsible for changing the role of women in the military since this was an evolution rather than a revolution. Additionally, full inclusion did not occur until decades after the protests of the 1960s and 1970, so it is a stretch to claim some direct cause and effect relationship between new wave feminism and gender parity in the armed forces. However, it is significant to note that the 1970s marked the turning point in which women began to take on combat and leadership positions. It might not have been the work of the feminist activists themselves that caused this change, but the evidence does show that changing attitudes in society were reflected in military policy.

CONCLUSION

New wave feminism radically changed the face of American culture, leading to major shifts in public acceptance of birth control, the availability of abortion, divorce law, and widespread integration of women into sports activities, the military and the workplace.

The advocates of women's rights in the 1970s did not gain all that they had hoped for. They tried and failed to add the Equal Rights Amendment to the United States Constitution. But, like the many feminists who worked in the centuries before them and persisted in the face of disappointments, they have pressed on. Due to their continued efforts, it is no longer inconceivable that a woman might lead a major corporation, play professional sports or be elected president.

Since the history of inequality between genders in America is long and continues to evolve, the end of this chapter remains unwritten.

What do you think? Can men and women ever be equal?

后, 女性有机会展示自己的爱国主义, 勇气和能力。2008 年, 安·邓伍德成为陆军第一位女性四星将军。2012 年, 珍妮特·沃尔芬巴格成为空军第一位女性四星女演员, 米歇尔·霍华德于 2014 年开始担任海军第一位女性, 第一位非裔美国女性, 四星海军上将。

2015 年 12 月, 国防部长阿什卡特表示, 从 2016 年开始, 所有战斗工作都将向女性开放。因此, 在美国革命爆发 241 年后, 妇女终于获得了武装部队的充分准入。

很难说新浪潮女权主义是改变妇女在军队中的作用的论点, 因为这是一场进化而不是一场革命。此外, 在 20 世纪 60 年代和 1970 年的抗议活动之后数十年才发生完全包容, 因此在新一波女权主义与武装部队中的性别平等之间产生一些直接的因果关系是一个延伸。然而, 值得注意的是, 20 世纪 70 年代标志着女性开始担任战斗和领导职位的转折点。可能不是女权主义活动家自己造成这种变化的工作, 但证据确实表明, 改变社会态度反映在军事政策上。

结论

新浪潮女权主义彻底改变了美国文化的面貌, 导致公众接受节育, 堕胎, 离婚法以及妇女广泛融入体育活动, 军队和工作场所的重大转变。

20 世纪 70 年代妇女权利的倡导者没有获得他们所希望的一切。他们尝试并未能将“平等权利修正案”添加到美国宪法中。但是, 就像许多女权主义者在他们面前的几个世纪中工作并坚持面对失望一样, 他们已经坚持下去了。由于他们的不断努力, 女性可能领导一家大公司, 参加职业体育或当选总统已不再是不可思议的。

由于美国性别之间的不平等历史很长并且在不断发展, 因此本章的结尾仍然是不成文的。

你怎么看? 男人和女人能够平等吗?

5 CAN MEN AND WOMEN BE EQUAL?



SUMMARY

Women have been fighting for equal rights since before the United States existed. In the early 1800s, women met at the Seneca Falls Convention and started working for the right to vote. However, at the same time the industrial revolution gave rise to the Cult of Domesticity, which established different roles for men and women in society. Women were supposed to stay at home to cook, clean, and care for children. Women finally won the right to vote in 1920 with the passage of the 19th Amendment.

In the 1960s, Second Wave Feminism started with the publication of Betty Friedan's book *The Feminine Mystique*. She criticized the Cult of Domesticity and challenged the idea that women should be happy as homemakers and mothers.

Laws such as the Civil Rights Act and Equal Pay Act gave women more rights. The National Organization for Women (NOW) started working to pass a constitutional amendment to guarantee women equal rights. The Equal Rights Act (ERA) was never ratified because Phyllis Schlafly organized a movement to stop it. She argued that equal rights would hurt women.

Some radical feminists demonstrated by burning bras or protesting at the Miss America Pageant.

A major change for women in the 1950s was the legalization of birth control. This helped contribute to the sexual revolution of the counterculture and made sex outside of marriage much more common.

The legalization of abortion with the *Roe v. Wade* Supreme Court ruling in 1973 was another major turning point for women. Abortion is still controversial and pro-life and pro-choice organizations and politicians continue to fight about it.

In the 1960s and 1970s, divorce laws changed so that women could divorce and maintain control of property and child custody. This greatly increased the rates of divorce since women could escape bad relationships and not have to leave their children or be cast into poverty.

Title IX guaranteed equal opportunities for girls in schools that received federal funding. This led to an increase in school sports for girls.

The glass ceiling is an imaginary boundary women cannot pass in government and politics. So far, no woman has ever been president,

摘要

自美国存在以来，妇女一直在争取平等权利。在 19 世纪早期，妇女在塞内卡瀑布大会上相遇，并开始为投票权工作。然而，与此同时，工业革命引发了“家庭崇拜”，它为社会中的男女建立了不同的角色。妇女应该留在家做饭，清洁和照顾孩子。随着第 19 修正案的通过，妇女最终在 1920 年赢得了投票权。

在 20 世纪 60 年代，第二波女权主义开始于贝蒂弗里丹的书《女性的神秘》。她批评了“家庭崇拜”，并质疑女性应该像家庭主妇和母亲一样快乐的想法。

诸如“民权法”和“平等薪酬法”等法律赋予妇女更多权利。全国妇女组织（NOW）开始致力于通过一项宪法修正案，以保障妇女的平等权利。“平等权利法案”（ERA）从未得到批准，因为 Phyllis Schlafly 组织了一场阻止它的运动。她认为平等权利会伤害女性。

一些激进的女权主义者通过燃烧胸罩或抗议美国小姐选美大赛来证明。

20 世纪 50 年代妇女的一个重大变化是节育合法化。这有助于反文化的性革命，并使婚外性行为更加普遍。

与 *Roe v. Wade* 最高法院于 1973 年作出的裁决合法化堕胎是妇女的另一个重要转折点。堕胎仍然存在争议，支持生命和支持选择的组织和政治家继续为之奋斗。

在 1960 年代和 1970 年代，离婚法发生了变化，以便妇女可以离婚并保持对财产和子女监护权的控制。由于妇女可以摆脱不良关系，而不必离开子女或陷入贫困，这大大提高了离婚率。

第九条保证了获得联邦资助的学校女生的平等机会。这导致女孩的学校体育活动增加。

玻璃天花板是女性无法通过政府和政治的想象界限。到目前为止，没有一位女性担任过总统，只

5 CAN MEN AND WOMEN BE EQUAL?

WAS THE SOCIAL
REVOLUTION
ACTUALLY
REVOLUTIONARY?

only four have been on the Supreme Court, and few have ever been company CEOs.

有四位女性担任过最高法院，而且很少有公司担任公司首席执行官。

Women can now serve in any role in the armed forces, but this is a recent change. The role women played in the 1991 Persian Gulf War helped break down these barriers.

妇女现在可以担任武装部队的任何角色，但这是最近的变化。妇女在 1991 年波斯湾战争中所扮演的角色有助于打破这些障碍。



KEY IDEAS

Cult of Domesticity: Idea popularized in the early 1800s with the onset of the Industrial Revolution that certain tasks and issues were appropriate for women. These did not include work outside the home or politics. This has also been called the Women's Sphere.

Sexism: Prejudice or discrimination against a person because of his or her gender. It was a word that first became common during the feminist movement of the 1970s.

Pro-Life: Being opposed to abortion.

Pro-Choice: Being in favor of legalized abortion.

Litmus Test: A position that a candidate must take in order to receive support from a group of voters. A candidate's position on abortion is often a make-or-break factor in American politics.

Glass Ceiling: Idea that women can be promoted in business, the military, or politics but can never rise to the highest levels. The phrase was first coined in 1978.



LAWS & POLICIES

19th Amendment: Constitutional amendment ratified in 1920 granting women the right to vote.

Equal Pay Act of 1964: Law passed in 1964 which promised women the same pay men received for the same work.

Civil Rights Act of 1964: Law passed in 1964 that was designed to provide equal rights for African Americans (and all races) in public places. It also included protection for women.

Maternity Leave: Paid time off from work for women in order to care for newborn children.

Equal Rights Amendment (ERA): Constitutional amendment that would guarantee equal treatment under the law for women. It was passed by Congress and multiple states in the 1970s, but never ratified by enough states to become law.

Right-to-Life Amendment: Proposed constitutional amendment that would make abortion illegal. The proposal has not passed in Congress.

Hyde Amendment: 1976 law that prohibits the use of tax money to pay for abortion. This means that Medicaid cannot cover abortions.

No-Fault Divorce: A law that allows couples to file for divorce without giving a reason. First passed in 1967, these laws make divorce much easier to obtain and consequently, more common.

Title IX: Addition to the 1964 Civil Rights Act that guaranteed equal access for girls. One major consequence has been the funding of girls athletics in high schools and colleges.



PEOPLE AND GROUPS

Abigail Adams: Wife of the second president. She is remembered as an early champion for women's rights.

Betty Friedan: Feminist in the 1960s who wrote *The Feminine Mystique* criticizing the traditional role of women. Her book launched the feminist movement of the 1970s. She founded NOW.

Gloria Steinem: Feminist who founded *Ms Magazine* in 1972.

Germaine Greer: Australian professor who wrote about the traditional role of women in society. Instead of celebrating motherhood and femininity, she portrayed these roles as traps women were forced into.

National Organization for Women (NOW): Organization founded by Betty Friedan to promote women's rights.

Alice Paul: Advocate for women's suffrage in the early 1900s. She founded the National Women's Party and used more aggressive tactics to publicize the movement. In her later life she promoted the Equal Rights Amendment.

Phyllis Schlafly: Women who worked against ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment. She argued that the law would result in undesirable changes for women.

Margaret Sanger: Champion of birth control in the early 1900s.

National Right to Life Committee: Organization dedicated to reversing the Roe v. Wade decision and making abortion illegal.

National Abortion Rights Action League: Organization dedicated to making sure abortion remains legal.

Planned Parenthood: Organization that provides healthcare services to women including abortions. They are often the focus of anti-abortion protests.

Hillary Clinton: Former senator, secretary of state and first lady who ran for president in 2008 and 2016. She lost the primary in 2008 and the general election in 2016, but was the first woman to be nominated for president by one of the two major political parties.

Sandra Day O'Connor: First woman to serve on the Supreme Court.



EVENTS

Seneca Falls Convention: The first major meeting of women's rights advocates in America, which occurred in New York in 1848.

Second Wave Feminism: A time period in the 1970s when women were actively promoting their rights. The time period included the Roe v. Wade case, legalization of birth control, as

well as failed push to pass the Equal Rights Amendment.

Miss America Pageant: Beauty contest that become the target of feminist protesters in the 1970s who argued that it, and other contests like it, promoted the objectification of women. They crowned a sheep in protest.

Bra Burning: Form of protest popularized by feminists in the 1960s and 1970s who wanted to demonstrate their rejection of traditional gender rules.



COURT CASES

Griswold v. Connecticut: 1965 Supreme Court case legalizing birth control.

Eisenstadt v. Baird: 1972 Supreme Court case that made it legal for unmarried minors to purchase birth control.

Roe v. Wade: 1973 Supreme Court case that legalized abortion in the first trimester of a pregnancy, and permitted some restrictions on abortions in the second and third trimesters. It remains one of the most controversial Supreme Court decisions.

Kirchberg v. Feenstra: 1981 Supreme Court case that outlawed masterly laws which had granted all joint property to husbands in divorce.



SCIENCE

Birth Control: Any form of contraception. The term was coined by Margaret Sanger.

Birth Control Pill: Oral form of contraception first approved by the Food and Drug Administration in 1960. The widespread availability of this form of contraception helped fuel the sexual revolution in the 1960s.

Abortion: Medical procedure to end a pregnancy by choice.



LETTERS & BOOKS

"Remember the Ladies!": Quote from one of Abigail Adams' letters to John Adams during the debate over the Declaration of Independence in which she urged him to consider women's rights in the establishment of the nation.

The Feminine Mystique: Book by Betty Friedan critical of the role of women in society. The book helped spark the feminist movement of the 1970s.

6

S I X T H Q U E S T I O N WHY DID AMERICA TURN AWAY FROM LIBERALISM?

**WAS THE SOCIAL
REVOLUTION
ACTUALLY
REVOLUTIONARY?**

INTRODUCTION

In 1980, confidence in the American economy and government hit rock bottom. Looking for a change and the promise of a better future, voters turned to Ronald Reagan for answers. Reagan was a good communicator. He was funny and offered an optimistic vision for America. However, his election was a result of more than just his engaging personality and outlook.

Reagan was the first president who was supported by what became known as the New Right, a group of people who had very different beliefs about America and its government. Their message was clear. Government had become too big. Taxes were high and needed to be cut to stimulate growth and investment. Government programs that had been part of the New Deal and Great Society needed to be trimmed down to size. Hippies, women's rights advocates, teenagers engaged in premarital sex, lewd music and abortion rights supporters were ruining America's moral character. Military spending needed to be increased to fix the degenerating state of the American war machine. The United States was still the largest superpower in the world with the best system of government and it was time to go back to the days when America was respected in the world and Americans showed some respect for themselves.

These sentiments were felt by many in 1980. But what gave them the power to override older ideas? The New Deal and Great Society had been enormously popular. Programs like Social Security, Medicare and Welfare were all popular. People had been enthusiastic about the Civil Rights Movement and had wanted change during the 1960s and 1970s. Why did they turn their back on those feelings?

Could it have been the economy? Perhaps it was that reformers had tried to make too many changes too quickly. Or, perhaps Reagan and his supporters were simply better leaders and did a better job of selling their point of view in the marketplace of ideas.

What do you think? Why did America turn away from liberalism?

介绍

1980 年，对美国经济和政府的信心跌至谷底。为了寻求改变和更美好未来的希望，选民们向罗纳德里根寻求答案。里根是一个很好的沟通者。他很有趣，为美国提供了乐观的愿景。然而，他的当选不仅仅是因为他的个性和前景。

里根是第一位得到新右派支持的总统，新右派是一群对美国及其政府有着截然不同信仰的人。他们的信息很明确。政府变得太大了。税收很高，需要削减以刺激增长和投资。已经成为新政和伟大社会一部分的政府计划需要削减到规模。嬉皮士，妇女权利倡导者，从事婚前性行为的青少年，猥亵音乐和堕胎权利支持者正在破坏美国的道德品质。需要增加军费来修复美国战争机器的退化状态。美国仍然是拥有最佳政府体系的世界上最大的超级大国，现在是时候回到美国在世界上受到尊重的日子，美国人对自身表现出一定的尊重。

1980 年，许多人都感受到了这些情绪。但是，是什么让他们有能力推翻旧观念？新政和伟大的社会非常受欢迎。社会保障，医疗保险和福利等计划都很受欢迎。人们对民权运动充满热情，并希望在 20 世纪 60 年代和 70 年代期间做出改变。他们为什么拒绝这些感情？

可能是经济吗？也许改革者试图过快地做出太多改变。或者，也许里根和他的支持者只是更好的领导者，并且更好地在思想市场上出售他们的观点。

你怎么看？美国为何偏离自由主义？

6 WHY DID AMERICA TURN AWAY FROM LIBERALISM?



THE NEW RIGHT

To understand the move from liberalism to conservatism it is important to understand what these two terms mean and the other names people use to describe them.

When looking at the world, and government especially, some people see problems and think that everyone should join together to use their collective power to make change. These people are **liberals**, and in their view, the best way to join together is through the power of government. For example, President Lyndon B. Johnson decided that poverty was a problem Americans could solve. To do this, he increased taxes and then used the money for programs like college loans and welfare. By paying taxes, everyone contributed to working toward a solution that no one could have solved individually. Because these ideas require the government to be involved in people's lives and to take more of Americans' money, the liberal approach is called **big government**. In the past century, Democrats have been the liberal party. Another way to describe them is to say that they are on the **left**. Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal and Barack Obama's stimulus are two other examples of liberal, big government, left wing solutions in action.

An entirely different approach is conservatism. **Conservatives** think that people know best what to do with their money and that they will make good choices about saving and spending because the money is their own. When government takes their money in taxes, politicians and bureaucrats have less incentive to spend wisely because the money is not really theirs. Conservatives fear that America's wealth is wasted by big government schemes. They want fewer taxes and less regulation of business. Big government takes away their freedom by taking away the fruits of their labor. Why should a person work hard, they ask, if politicians are going to force them to give away their profits in high taxes? For this reason, conservatives believe in **small government**, and are on the **right** politically. Republicans have been the conservative party in the past century. Some examples were presidents Harding, Coolidge and Hoover in the 1920s, as well as Ronald Reagan, George H. W. Bush and his son George W. Bush.

Liberals tend to embrace change in society. Social movements like the Civil Rights Movements, the women's movements, campaigns to fight poverty, and so on are often supported by liberals. Conservatives usually prefer less change, especially when government is involved in forcing people to accept change such as in the case of affirmative action or Title IX.

新的权利

要理解从自由主义到保守主义的转变，重要的是要理解这两个术语的含义以及人们用来描述它们的名称。

在看世界，尤其是政府时，有些人会看到问题，并认为每个人都应该联合起来利用集体力量做出改变。这些人是自由主义者，在他们看来，联合起来的最佳方式是通过政府的力量。例如，林登·约翰逊总统认为贫困是美国人可以解决的问题。为此，他增加税收，然后将钱用于大学贷款和福利等计划。通过纳税，每个人都致力于寻求一个没有人可以单独解决的解决方案。因为这些想法要求政府参与人们的生活并吸收更多美国人的钱，所以自由主义的方法被称为大政府。在过去的一个世纪里，民主党一直是自由党。描述它们的另一种方式是说它们在左边。富兰克林·罗斯福的新政和巴拉克·奥巴马的刺激计划是自由主义，大政府，左翼解决方案的另外两个例子。

一种完全不同的方法是保守主义。保守派认为人们最清楚如何处理他们的钱，他们会在储蓄和消费方面做出很好的选择，因为钱是他们自己的。当政府将他们的钱纳入税收时，政治家和官僚们明智地花钱的动力就会减少，因为这些钱实际上不是他们的。保守派担心大政府计划会浪费美国的财富。他们希望减少税收，减少对业务的监管。大政府通过剥夺他们的劳动成果来剥夺他们的自由。他们问道，为什么一个人要努力工作，政客们是否会强迫他们以高税率放弃他们的利润？出于这个原因，保守派相信小政府，并且在政治上是正确的。共和党人在过去一个世纪里一直是保守党。一些例子是20世纪20年代的总统哈丁，柯立芝和胡佛，以及罗纳德里根，乔治H.W.布什和他的儿子乔治W.布什。

自由主义者倾向于接受社会变革。民权运动，妇女运动，消除贫困运动等社会运动往往得到自由主义者的支持。保守派通常更喜欢改变，特别是当政府参与迫使人们接受改变时，例如肯定行动或第九条。

6 WHY DID AMERICA TURN AWAY FROM LIBERALISM?



When Franklin D. Roosevelt won the presidency and initiated the New Deal in 1932, American as a whole embraced liberalism. They wanted change and wanted government to make that change happen. Since then, Democrats had been in the White House for 22 years, and Republicans for only 16. And those Republicans – Eisenhower, Nixon and Ford – were not particularly conservative.

But in the 1960s and 1970s liberals seemed to have gone too far. Americans were getting fed up with high taxes. Some people were frightened by how fast the world around them was changing. As the Silent Majority had shown in 1968, most Americans did not like the excesses on the left. Hippies, peace marchers, strikers, and bra burners seemed like troublemakers more than problem solvers.

The first Republican to forcefully advocate for a shift back to conservative government was Senator **Barry Goldwater**. He based his 1964 presidential campaign on the premise that the New Deal should be reversed. He declared that big government was the greatest threat to American liberty. Social spending and welfare, he said, needed to be cut to reduce the tax burden on individuals and families. Government regulations were inhibiting economic growth and personal freedoms. Of course, 1964 was only a year after John F. Kennedy had been assassinated. Lyndon Johnson was riding a wave of popularity and had just initiated his War on Poverty. Americans were still excited about change in 1964 and Johnson won the election easily. Goldwater was too soon.

When foreign competition made inroads against American corporations in the 1970s, some people began to believe Goldwater had been right. Leaders of big business began wielded their financial resources to support politicians in the **New Right**.

THE HERITAGE FOUNDATION

Launched in 1973 with a contribution from Joseph Coors of Coors Brewing Company and support from a variety of corporations and conservative foundations, the **Heritage Foundation** sought to counteract what conservatives believed to be Richard Nixon's acceptance of a liberal consensus on too many issues. In producing its policy position papers and political recommendations to Republican candidates and politicians, it helped contribute to a change in the way Americans thought about conservatism. Adding to the chorus of new conservative thinkers was **William Buckley** who edited *National Review*, a magazine that championed conservative ideas.

Part of their work was to glorify what it deemed to be traditional values, seemingly threatened by the expansion of political and

当富兰克林·罗斯福在 1932 年赢得总统职位并发起新政时，整个美国人都接受了自由主义。他们想要改变，并希望政府实现这一改变。从那以后，民主党人在白宫待了 22 年，共和党人只有 16 岁。而那些共和党人 - 艾森豪威尔，尼克松和福特 - 并不是特别保守。

但在 20 世纪 60 年代和 70 年代，自由主义者似乎走得太远了。美国人厌倦了高税收。有些人对周围世界变化的速度感到害怕。正如沉默的多数人在 1968 年所表现的那样，大多数美国人不喜欢左派的过激行为。嬉皮士，和平游行，罢工者和胸罩燃烧器似乎比解决问题的麻烦更多。

第一位强烈主张转回保守派政府的共和党人是参议员巴里·戈德沃特。他以 1964 年总统竞选为基础，以新政应该扭转为前提。他宣称大政府是对美国自由的最大威胁。他说，社会支出和福利需要削减，以减轻个人和家庭的税负。政府法规阻碍了经济增长和个人自由。当然，1964 年仅在约翰·肯尼迪被暗杀一年之后。林登·约翰逊 (Lyndon Johnson) 正在掀起一股热潮，刚刚开始了他的贫困战争。1964 年美国人对变革感到兴奋，约翰逊很容易赢得大选。戈德沃特太早了。

当外国竞争在 20 世纪 70 年代侵袭美国公司时，一些人开始相信戈德沃特是对的。大企业的领导者开始运用他们的财政资源来支持新右派的政治家。

遗产基金会

遗产基金会成立于 1973 年，由 Coors Brewing Company 的 Joseph Coors 和各种公司及保守基金会提供支持，旨在抵消保守派认为理查德·尼克松在太多问题上接受自由共识的情况。在向共和党候选人和政治家提出政策立场文件和政治建议时，它有助于改变美国人对保守主义的看法。威廉·巴克利 (William Buckley) 编辑了“国家评论” (National Review)，这是一本支持保守主义思想的杂志。

他们的部分工作是美化它所认为的传统价值观，似乎受到政治和个人自由扩张的威胁。对他们工作的

6 WHY DID AMERICA TURN AWAY FROM LIBERALISM?

personal freedoms. A criticism of their work is that they sanitized the negative aspects of the past. By ignoring problems like Jim Crow racism, they were able to make people more nostalgic for the good old days of the 1920s and 1950s when government was small, life was pure and simple, and business was booming.

When Ronald Reagan was elected in 1980, his administration looked favorably on the recommendations made by the Heritage Foundation and recruited several of its thinkers to serve in the White House. The Foundation continues to advocate for conservative ideas today.



批评是他们消除了过去的消极方面。通过忽视吉姆·克劳种族主义等问题，他们能够让人们对 20 世纪 20 年代和 50 年代的美好时光更加怀旧，当时政府规模小，生活纯朴简单，生意兴隆。

当罗纳德里根于 1980 年当选时，他的政府对传统基金会提出的建议表示赞赏，并招募了几位思想家在白宫任职。基金会今天继续倡导保守主义思想。

Primary Source: Photograph

William Buckley and President Ronald Reagan in the Oval Office of the White House. Buckley was a strong advocate for conservative ideas and as one of the Right's intellectuals and editor of the magazine *National Review*, helped define what it mean to be a conservative in the 1980s.

主要来源：照片

威廉巴克利和总统罗纳德里根在白宫椭圆形办公室。巴克利是保守派思想的坚定拥护者，并且作为右翼知识分子和“国家评论”杂志编辑之一，帮助定义了 20 世纪 80 年代保守派的意义。

THE RELIGIOUS RIGHT

In the 1970s, the conservative movement was joined by another powerful force in American society, the **religious right**. Religious leaders had long been involved in politics. Most notably, fundamentalists had worked to keep the teachings of Charles Darwin out of public schools. The Scopes Trial of 1925 sensationalized their efforts, and now they flexed their political muscle again.

The Christian Right had many faces. Fundamentalists such as Jerry Falwell believed in a literal interpretation of the Bible the same way that William Jennings Bryan had. Pentacostalists such as Pat Robertson claimed the Holy Spirit communicated directly with people on a regular basis.

Despite theological divisions, all evangelical leaders agreed that America was experiencing a moral decline. They preached that homosexuality was a crime against God, and that a woman's place was in the home in support of her family. They criticized what they believed was a **liberal media** such as newspapers, television

宗教权利

在 20 世纪 70 年代，保守主义运动加入了美国社会中另一股强大的力量 - 宗教权利。宗教领袖长期以来一直参与政治。最值得注意的是，原教旨主义者一直致力于将查尔斯达尔文的教义从公立学校中剔除。1925 年的范围审判使他们的努力耸人听闻，现在他们再次展现了他们的政治力量。

基督教右派有许多面孔。像杰里·福尔韦尔这样的原教旨主义者相信威廉·詹宁斯·布莱恩所拥有的对圣经的字面解释。Pat Robertson 等 Pentacostalists 声称圣灵定期与人们直接沟通。

尽管神学上有分歧，但所有福音派领袖都认为美国正在经历道德上的衰落。他们鼓吹同性恋是对上帝的罪行，并且一个女人的位置在家中以支持她的家庭。他们批评他们认为是报纸，电视公司和唱片工作室等自由媒体，通过美化吸毒，婚前性行为 and 激

6 WHY DID AMERICA TURN AWAY FROM LIBERALISM?

companies and recording studios for corrupting America's youth by glorifying drug use, premarital sex, and radicalism. They chided the courts for taking religion out of the public schools and supported private Christian academies and homeschooling as alternatives.

Many Catholic Americans agreed with the sentiments of the New Right. A reforming spirit had also swept through the Catholic Church during the 1960s and reached its high water mark at a convention called **Vatican II**. At that meeting of the world's Catholic leaders, Latin was dropped as a requirement for the mass. Lay people were given a greater role in Church services. Support was given for outreach to other Christian denominations and Jewish synagogues. Conservatives worried that Catholic traditions that had been around for centuries were being swept away by liberals who did not care about biblical truths or morality.

进主义来腐蚀美国的年轻人。他们指责法院将宗教从公立学校带走，并支持私立基督教学院和家庭学校作为替代方案。



但在 20 世纪 60 年代和 70 年代，自由主义者似乎走得太远了。美国人厌倦了高税收。有些人对周围世界变化的速度感到害怕。正如沉默的多数人在 1968 年所表现的那样，大多数美国人不喜欢左派的过激行为。嬉皮士，和平游行，罢工者和胸罩燃烧器似乎比解决问题的麻烦更多。



Primary Source: Voter's Guide

This voter's guide from the 2012 election was produced by South Dakota Right to Life, and anti-abortion group, and mailed to registered voters. It is a good example of how organizations have sought to activate values voters to go to the polls on election day with specific moral concerns in mind.

主要来源：选民指南

这份来自 2012 年大选的选民指南由南达科他州生命权和反堕胎组织制作，并邮寄给登记选民。这是一个很好的例子，说明组织如何激活价值观选民在选举日参加投票，并考虑到特定的道德问题。

U.S. President	
 <p>Barack Obama (D-I) • "I am pro-choice. I believe in <i>Roe v. Wade</i>." • "With one more vacancy on the court, we could be looking at a majority hostile to a woman's right to choose for the first time since <i>Roe v. Wade</i>, and that is what is at stake in this election."</p> <p>• "Three days into office he nullified the pro-life 'Mexico City Policy,' which banned federal funding of abortions through foreign aid." • "The White House issued a statement attacking the No Taxpayer Funding for Abortion Act (H.R. 3): 'If the President is presented with H.R. 3, his senior advisors would recommend that he veto the bill.'" • "On March 23, 2010, he signed the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act (ObamaCare) into law, which will provide funding for health plans that pay for abortion on demand, and will lead to the rationing of lifesaving medical treatments." • "The Obama Administration issued a 'final rule' mandating that religious schools and hospitals provide health insurance that covers certain drugs or procedures, even if it violates their religious and moral convictions."</p>	 <p>Mitt Romney (R) • "I support the reversal of <i>Roe v. Wade</i> because it is bad law and bad medicine." • "I will support efforts to prohibit federal funding for any organization like Planned Parenthood, which primarily performs abortions or offers abortion-related services."</p> <p>• "I support the Hyde Amendment, which broadly bars the use of federal funds for abortions." • "Obamacare will violate that crucial first principle of medicine: 'do no harm.'" • "... on day one I will eliminate the Obama Administration rule that compels religious institutions to violate the tenets of their own faith. Such rules don't belong in the America that I believe in." • "On pro-life issues, Mitt Romney and Barack Obama provide a stark contrast. As the country's most pro-abortion president, Barack Obama has pursued a radical pro-abortion agenda. It is now time for pro-life Americans to unite behind Mitt Romney. For the sake of unborn children, the disabled, and the elderly, we must win." —National Right to Life President Carol Tobias</p>

U.S. Rep.	
 <p>Matt Varilek (D) • "I believe that in early stages of pregnancy this painful decision should remain with a woman and her family." • "First read: His rhetoric seems similar to Sandlin's. If elected, he would likely be in the pocket of the abortion industry just as much as she was."</p>	 <p>Kristi Noem (R-I) • "I am, and always have been, pro-life. From the miracle of conception to a dignified death, life is precious and should be protected. The federal government has no business forcing taxpayers to pay for abortions. I'll maintain a 100% pro-life voting record."</p>

New Right leaders were highly organized and understood the potential of mass telecommunications. Although they were conservative, they were not old fashioned. **Pat Robertson** formed the Christian Broadcasting Network to send his message. Like the traveling preachers of the Second Great Awakening in the early 1800s, the Praise the Lord Club led by Jim Bakker transmitted faith healing and

第一位强烈主张转回保守派政府的共和党人是参议员巴里戈德华特。他以 1964 年总统竞选为基础，以新政应该扭转为前提。他宣称大政府是对美国自由的最大威胁。他说，社会支出和福利需要削减，以减轻个人和家庭的税负。政府法规阻碍了经济增

raucous religious revival to the largest viewing audience of any daily program in the world. They built massive databases containing the names and addresses of potential financial contributors and regularly solicited funds. In 1979, **Jerry Falwell** formed the **Moral Majority**. This group and hundreds of others raised money to defeat liberal senators, representatives, and governors. They sought to control school boards on the local level to advance their conservative agenda. Ronald Reagan freely accepted contributions from the New Right on his way to the Presidency in 1980. The voters who followed the lead of Robertson and Falwell and based their decisions on election day on which candidate best represented their beliefs about morality came to be known as **values voters**. For them, a candidate's views on social issues were more important than his or her economic or foreign policy ideas.

THE REAGAN COALITION

Ronald Reagan was able to put together a new coalition of voters, many of whom had never supported a republican for president.

Working Americans were frightened by unemployment rates nearing double digits. Inflation was pushing the middle class into tax brackets previously reserved for the affluent classes. Simply having more dollars did not make them richer since inflation also was decreasing the buying power of those dollars. Reagan promised to reduce their level of misery with sound fiscal policy and a tax cut.

Southerners disgruntled by affirmative action and busing found friendly ears in the Reagan campaign and he effectively continued the Nixon Southern Strategy and courted White Southerners.

For decades, Catholics had been the targets of discrimination but were protected by democratic mayors and New Dealers. Ultimately, their place in the Democratic Party was cemented when John F. Kennedy, the nation's first (and so far only) Catholic president was elected in 1960. However, in 1980, many Catholics started voting Republican when Reagan promised to oppose abortion and promote family values.

Although the women's movement was in full swing in the 1970s and it would seem odd for women to support a conservative for president, Reagan also won their support. Reagan believed the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution was sufficient protection for women against discrimination. Once in office as governor of California, he had taken a mostly neutral position, neither supporting nor working against the ERA. This middle position did not appear to hurt him at

长和个人自由。当然，1964 年仅在约翰·肯尼迪被暗杀一年之后。林登·约翰逊 (Lyndon Johnson) 正在掀起一股热潮，刚刚开始了他的贫困战争。1964 年美国人对变革感到兴奋，约翰逊很容易赢得大选。戈德沃特太早了。

里根联盟

罗纳德里根能够组建一个新的选民联盟，其中许多人从未支持过共和党总统。

失业率接近两位数，工作美国人感到害怕。通货膨胀正在推动中产阶级进入以前为富裕阶层保留的税级。由于通货膨胀也降低了这些美元的购买力，仅仅拥有更多的美元并没有使它们变得更富裕。里根承诺通过健全的财政政策和减税来降低他们的痛苦程度。

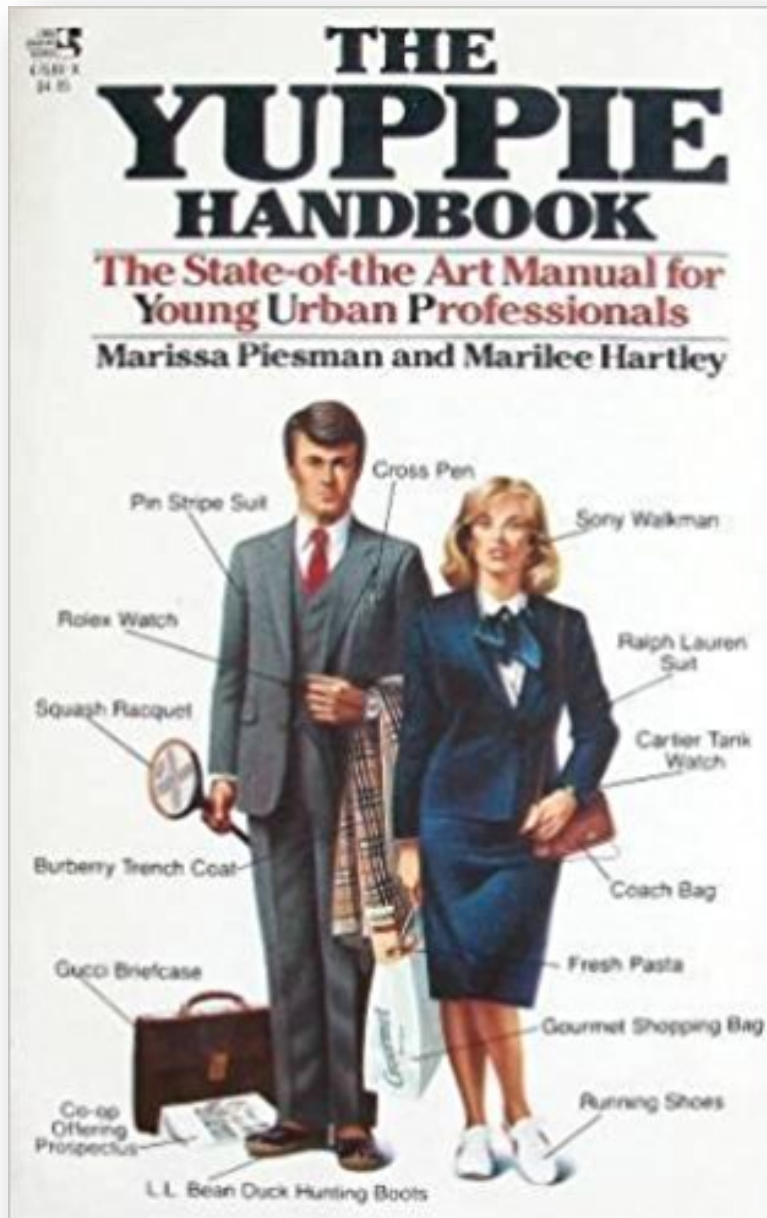
南方人在肯定行动中不满，并且在里根战役中找到了友好的耳朵，他有效地延续了尼克松南方战略并向白南方人求爱。

几十年来，天主教徒一直是歧视的目标，但受到民主市长和新经销商的保护。最终，他们在民主党中的地位得到了巩固，当时约翰·肯尼迪是美国第一位（也是迄今为止唯一的）天主教总统，他于 1960 年当选。然而，在 1980 年，当里根承诺反对堕胎和促进时，许多天主教徒开始投票给共和党人。家庭价值观。

虽然女性运动在 20 世纪 70 年代如火如荼，但女性支持保守派总统似乎很奇怪，但里根也赢得了他们的支持。里根认为，宪法第十四修正案足以保护妇女不受歧视。一旦担任加利福尼亚州州长，他就采取了大多中立的立场，既不支持也不反对 ERA。这个中间位置似乎并没有在民意调查中伤害到他。1980 年，他吸引了大量女性选票，1984 年，他对

the polls. He attracted a significant number of votes from women in 1980, and in 1984, he polled 56% of the women's vote compared to 44% for the Democratic ticket of Walter Mondale and Geraldine Ferraro, the first female candidate for vice president from a major party.

女性投票率的 56%进行了调查，相比之下，民主党的沃尔特·蒙代尔和杰拉拉丁·费拉罗的票数为 44%，这是第一位来自主要政党的副总统候选人。。



Primary Source: Book Cover

It's hard to know whether or not this book was meant to be taken seriously or as satire. In either case, it gives us the historians a good description of the Yuppie of the 1980s. These members of the Baby Boomer Generation had grown up, started families, and started voting for Republicans.

主要来源：书籍封面

很难知道这本书是否应该被认真对待或作为讽刺作品。在任何一种情况下，它都为历史学家提供了对 20 世纪 80 年代雅皮士的一个很好的描述。婴儿潮一代的这些成员已经长大，开始了家庭，并开始为共和党人投票。

City dwellers concerned with rising crime looked to Reagan for comfort as he portrayed himself as the **law and order candidate**.

关注犯罪率上升的城市居民向里根寻求安慰，因为他将自己描述为法律和秩序候选人。跨越人口统计

6 WHY DID AMERICA TURN AWAY FROM LIBERALISM?



Americans across demographic lines were warmed by his promises for a stronger America domestically and overseas.

Perhaps most surprising of all, some former members of the counterculture who were now young adults with careers and growing families supported Reagan. The 1960s and 1970s had been the era of the hippie, but *Newsweek* magazine declared 1984 the “year of the Yuppie.” **Yuppies**, whose name derived from young, urban professionals, were akin to hippies in being young people whose interests, values, and lifestyle influenced American culture, economy, and politics, just as the hippies had done. Unlike hippies, however, yuppies were materialistic and obsessed with image, comfort, and economic prosperity. Although liberal on some social issues, economically they were conservative.

By taking traditional republican voters and adding these former democratic groups, Reagan formed a potent new coalition. The so-called **Reagan Democrats** crumbled the old alignment. Jimmy Carter, his opponent in the 1980 election, never stood a chance.

Voter turnout reflected this new conservative swing, which not only swept Reagan into the White House but created a Republican majority in the Senate. Only 52 percent of eligible voters went to the polls in 1980, the lowest turnout for a presidential election since 1948. Those who did cast a ballot were older, whiter, and wealthier than those who did not. Strong support among White voters, those over forty-five years of age, and voters with incomes over \$50,000 proved crucial for Reagan’s victory. Since 1980, Republicans have relied on this same coalition.

REAGANOMICS

Reagan’s primary goal upon taking office was to stimulate the sagging economy while simultaneously cutting both government programs and taxes. In an easy-to-remember phrase, he said during his first inaugural address, “**government is not the solution to our problem; government is the problem.**”

His economic policies, called **Reaganomics** by the press, were based on a theory called **supply-side economics**, about which many economists were skeptical. Influenced by economist Arthur Laffer of the University of Southern California, Reagan cut income taxes for those at the top of the economic ladder, which they expected to motivate the rich to invest in businesses, factories, and the stock market in anticipation of high returns. According to Laffer’s argument, this would eventually translate into more jobs further down the socioeconomic ladder. Economic growth would also increase the total

的美国人对他在国内和海外强势美国的承诺感到温暖。

也许最令人惊讶的是，一些反文化的前成员现在是年轻的成年人，有着事业和成长的家庭，他们支持里根。20世纪60年代和70年代一直是嬉皮士的时代，但“新闻周刊”杂志宣称1984年为“雅皮舞年”。Yuppies，其名字来自年轻的城市专业人士，类似于嬉皮士，是年轻人的利益，价值观和生活方式影响了美国的文化，经济和政治，正如嬉皮士所做的那样。然而，与嬉皮士不同，雅皮士是物质主义的，对形象，舒适和经济繁荣着迷。虽然在一些社会问题是自由派，但在经济上它们是保守的

通过接受传统的共和党选民并加入这些前民主团体，里根组成了一个强大的新联盟。所谓的里根民主党人破坏了旧的路线。1980年大选中他的对手吉米卡特从来没有机会。

选民投票率反映了这种新的保守主义倾向，不仅使里根进入白宫，而且在参议院中创造了共和党多数席位。1980年，只有52%的合格选民参加投票，这是自1948年以来总统选举中投票率最低的投票。那些投票的人比那些没投票的人更老，更白，更富有。白人选民，四十五岁以上的选民和收入超过五万美元的选民的强烈支持，对里根的胜利至关重要。自1980年以来，共和党人一直依赖同样的联盟。

里根经济学

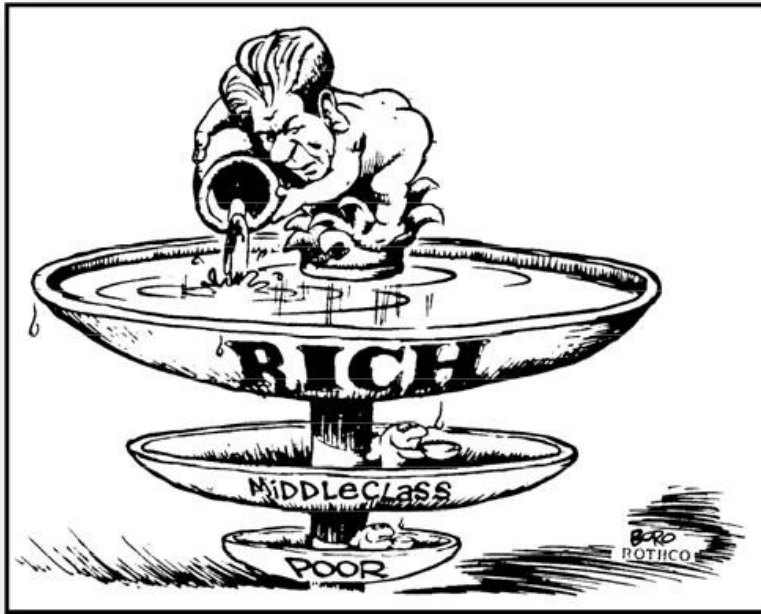
里根上任的首要目标是刺激经济下滑，同时削减政府计划和税收。在一个容易记住的短语中，他在第一次就职演说中说，“政府不是我们问题的解决方案，政府就是问题所在。”

他的经济政策，被媒体称为 Reaganomics，是基于一种称为供给方经济学的理论，许多经济学家对此持怀疑态度。受南加州大学经济学家亚瑟·拉弗（Arthur Laffer）的影响，里根为那些处于经济阶梯顶端的人降低了所得税，他们预计这将激励富人投资于企业，工厂和股票市场，以期获得高回报。根据拉弗的观点，这最终将转化为社会经济阶梯下更多的就业机会。即使税率较低，经济增长也会增加税收总额。换句话说，涓滴经济学的支持者承诺

6 WHY DID AMERICA TURN AWAY FROM LIBERALISM?

WAS THE SOCIAL
REVOLUTION
ACTUALLY
REVOLUTIONARY?

tax revenue, even at a lower tax rate. In other words, proponents of **trickledown economics** promised to cut taxes and balance the budget at the same time. Reaganomics also included the deregulation of industry to encourage growth and higher interest rates to control inflation, which were already underway when Reagan took office.



在同一时间减税和平衡预算。Reaganomics 还包括放松对工业的放松管制以鼓励增长和提高利率以控制通货膨胀，这在里根就职时已经开始实施。

Primary Source: Editorial Cartoon

This cartoon criticizes Ronald Reagan's economic policies by emphasizing the idea that tax breaks for the rich will not trickle down to the middle and lower classes as he had promised.

主要来源：编辑漫画

这部动画片批评了罗纳德里根的经济政策，强调了对富人的税收减免不会像他所承诺的那样渗透到中下阶层的想法。

Many politicians, including Republicans, were wary of Reagan's economic program. Even his eventual vice president, George H. W. Bush, had referred to it as **voodoo economics** when competing with him for the Republican presidential nomination. When Reagan proposed a 30% cut in taxes to be phased in over his first term in office, Congress balked. Opponents argued that the tax cuts would benefit the rich and not the poor, who needed help the most. In response, Reagan presented his plan directly to the people.

Often called **The Great Communicator**, he was noted for his ability, honed through years as an actor and spokesperson, to convey a mixture of folksy wisdom, empathy, and concern while taking humorous digs at his opponents. Indeed, listening to Reagan speak often felt like hearing a favorite uncle recall stories about the good old days before big government, expensive social programs, and greedy politicians destroyed the country. Americans found this rhetorical style extremely compelling. Public support for Reagan's plans, combined with a surge in the president's popularity after he survived an assassination attempt in March 1981, gave Reagan the support he needed to enact his conservative agenda into law. On July 29, 1981,

许多政治家，包括共和党人，都对里根的经济计划持谨慎态度。甚至他最终的副总统乔治·H·W·布什也在与他争夺共和党总统候选人提名时将其称为伏都教经济学。当里根提议在他上任的第一个任期内分阶段减税 30% 时，国会拒绝了。反对者认为，减税将使富人而不是穷人受益，他们最需要帮助。作为回应，里根直接向人民提出了他的计划。

他通常被称为“伟大的传播者”，因其能力而闻名，多年来作为演员和发言人磨练，传达了一种民间智慧，同理心和关注的混合体，同时对对手进行幽默的挖掘。事实上，听里根说话经常感觉就像听到一个最喜欢的叔叔回忆起关于大政府，昂贵的社会计划和贪婪的政客摧毁了这个国家的美好时光的故事。美国人发现这种修辞风格非常引人注目。公众对里根计划的支持，加上总统在 1981 年 3 月暗杀企图后幸存下来的人气激增，给里根提供了他将保守议程纳入法律所需的支持。1981 年 7 月 29 日，

6 WHY DID AMERICA TURN AWAY FROM LIBERALISM?



Congress passed the **Economic Recovery Tax Act**, which phased in a 25% overall reduction in taxes over three years.

SPENDING

Reagan was successful at cutting taxes, but he failed to reduce government spending. Although he had long warned about the dangers of big government, he created a new cabinet-level agency, the Department of Veterans Affairs, and the number of federal employees increased during his time in office. He allocated a smaller share of the federal budget to antipoverty programs like Aid to Families with Dependent Children (welfare), food stamps, rent subsidies, job training programs, and Medicaid, but Social Security and Medicare entitlements, which benefited his supporters, were left largely untouched. Indeed, in 1983, Reagan agreed to a compromise with Democrats in Congress on an injection of funds to save Social Security, which included a payroll tax increase.

DEREGULATION

Reagan was less flexible when it came to **deregulating** industry and weakening the power of labor unions. Banks and savings and loan associations were deregulated. Pollution control was enforced less strictly by the Environmental Protection Agency, and restrictions on logging and drilling for oil on public lands were relaxed. Proponents of the environmental movement were incensed and the position of the two parties in terms of environmental protection was further entrenched.

Believing the free market was self-regulating, the Reagan administration had little use for labor unions, and in 1981 the president **fired twelve thousand federal air traffic controllers** who had gone on strike to secure better working conditions. His action effectively destroyed the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization and ushered in a new era of labor relations in which, following his example, employers simply replaced striking workers. The weakening of unions contributed to the leveling off of wages for the average American family during the 1980s.

THE CULTURE WARS

The social and religious conservatives who supported Reagan felt emboldened during the 1980s and pressed their agenda. The resulting **culture wars**, have been raging since.

Perhaps no one has articulated this view quite as well as **Pat Buchanan**, a speechwriter for Nixon and later presidential candidate.

国会通过了“经济复苏税法”，该法案在三年内逐步减税 25%。

开支

里根在削减税收方面取得了成功，但他未能减少政府支出。虽然他长期以来一直警告大政府的危险，但他创建了一个新的内阁级机构，退伍军人事务部，并且在他任职期间联邦雇员人数增加了。他将联邦预算的较小份额分配给反贫困计划，如援助受扶养儿童家庭（福利），食品券，租金补贴，职业培训计划和医疗补助计划，但社会保障和医疗保险福利使他的支持者受益，基本上没有动过。实际上，在 1983 年，里根同意与国会民主党就注入资金以节省社会保障达成妥协，其中包括增加工资税。

放松管制

在放松对工业的管制和削弱工会的力量方面，里根的灵活性较低。银行，储蓄和贷款协会解除管制。环境保护局严格执行污染控制，放宽了对公共土地上采伐和勘探石油的限制。环保运动的支持者受到激怒，双方在环境保护方面的地位进一步巩固。

相信自由市场是自我调节的，里根政府几乎没有使用工会，并且在 1981 年，总统解雇了 1.2 万名联邦空中交通管制员，他们已经罢工以确保更好的工作条件。他的行动有效地摧毁了专业空中交通管制组织，开创了劳动关系的新时代，在他的榜样中，雇主只是取代了罢工工人。工会的弱化促成了 1980 年代美国普通家庭的工资水平。

文化战争

支持里根的社会和宗教保守派在 20 世纪 80 年代感到胆大妄为，并提出了他们的议程。由此产生的文化战争一直在肆虐。

也许没有人能像尼克松及其后的总统候选人的演讲撰稿人帕特·布坎南那样清楚地阐述这一观点。

6 WHY DID AMERICA TURN AWAY FROM LIBERALISM?

WAS THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION ACTUALLY REVOLUTIONARY?

In 1992, he told the Republican National Convention that, “There is a religious war going on in our country for the soul of America. It is a cultural war, as critical to the kind of nation we will one day be as was the Cold War itself.” In addition to criticizing environmentalists and feminism, he portrayed public morality as a defining issue. “The agenda [Bill] Clinton and [Hillary] Clinton would impose on America – abortion on demand, a litmus test for the Supreme Court, homosexual rights, discrimination against religious schools, women in combat units – that’s change, all right. But it is not the kind of change America wants. It is not the kind of change America needs. And it is not the kind of change we can tolerate in a nation that we still call God’s country.” Buchanan’s speech encapsulates the conservative view that preserving traditional values was synonymous with preserving America’s greatness.



1992 年，他告诉共和党全国代表大会，“我们国家正在为美国的灵魂发动宗教战争。这是一场文化战争，对于我们将有一天会像冷战本身一样至关重要。”除了批评环保主义者和女权主义之外，他还将公共道德描述为一个决定性的问题。“议案[比尔]克林顿和[希拉里]克林顿会对美国施加压力 - 按要求堕胎，对最高法院进行石蕊试验，同性恋权利，对宗教学校的歧视，战斗部队中的妇女 - 这一切都是好的。但这不是美国想要的改变。这不是美国需要的变化。在一个我们仍然称之为上帝国家的国家，这并不是我们能够容忍的那种变化。”布坎南的讲话体现了保守的观点，即保留传统价值观是同样的，是保护美国的伟大。

Primary Source: Photograph

Bands like Motley Crue were the focus of social conservatives such as Pat Buchanan who feared they were harming America’s children with both their lyrics and their lifestyle.

主要来源：照片

像 Motley Crue 这样的乐队是社交保守派的焦点，比如 Pat Buchanan，他们害怕他们用歌词和生活方式伤害美国的孩子。

President Reagan was never a great social warrior the way Buchanan might have hoped, but during his presidency, concern over a decline in the country’s moral values welled up on both sides of the political aisle. One battlefield of the conflict was the entertainment industry. In 1985, anxiety over the messages in popular music led to the founding of the Parents Music Resource Center (PMRC), a bipartisan group formed by the wives of prominent Washington politicians including Susan Baker, the wife of Reagan’s treasury secretary and Tipper Gore, the wife of then-senator Al Gore, who later became vice president under Bill Clinton. The goal of the PMRC was to limit the ability of children to listen to music with sexual or violent content. Its

里根总统从未像布坎南所希望的那样成为伟大的社会战士，但在他担任总统期间，对该国道德价值下降的担忧在政治通道的两边涌现。冲突的一个战场是娱乐业。1985 年，对流行音乐信息的焦虑导致了父母音乐资源中心（PMRC）的成立，这是一个由华盛顿著名政治家的妻子组成的两党组织，其中包括里根财政部长和蒂珀戈尔的妻子苏珊贝克，当时参议员戈尔的妻子，后来成为比尔克林顿的副总统。PMRC 的目标是限制儿童用性或暴力内容听音乐的能力。它的策略是说服唱片业采用音乐和唱

6 WHY DID AMERICA TURN AWAY FROM LIBERALISM?



strategy was to convince the recording industry to adopt a voluntary rating system for music and recordings, similar to the Motion Picture Association of America's system for movies.

The organization also produced a list of particularly offensive recordings known as the filthy fifteen. By August 1985, nearly twenty record companies had agreed to put **labels on their recordings indicating explicit lyrics**, but the Senate took up the issue anyway. While many parents and a number of witnesses advocated labeling records, most of the music industry rejected them as censorship. Twisted Sister's Dee Snider and folk musician John Denver both advised Congress against the restrictions. In the end, the recording industry suggested a voluntary generic label, which is still in use today.

JUDICIARY

Presidents have a great deal of power to influence the courts because they have the authority to appoint new federal judges, including members of the Supreme Court. Ronald Reagan generally advanced conservatism with his appointments. In his eight years as president, he was able to choose three Supreme Court justices, including the appointment of **William Rehnquist** as Chief Justice. By applying the 10th Amendment, which reserves powers to the states that are not explicitly granted in the Constitution, he led to the Court in striking down laws that, in his interpretation of the Constitution, were examples of the government taking too much control away from the states.

Reagan also appointed **Antonin Scalia**, a strong advocate for a conservative interpretation of the Constitution. Scalia served for 30 years served as the anchor of the right wing of the Court. However, Reagan was not entirely opposed to making change. He appointed Sandra Day O'Connor, the first woman to the Supreme Court. O'Connor was a moderate who sometimes served as the Court's swing vote. Like O'Connor, Reagan's fourth appointment to the Court, **Anthony Kennedy** was often the deciding vote between the Court's four conservative and four liberal justices. When Kennedy retired in 2018, Republican President Trump nominated a conservative, Brett Kavanaugh to replace him, again shifting the Court to the right.

CONCLUSION

A liberal approach to governing and solving society's problems prevailed in America from the days of the New Deal in the 1930s through the 1970s. By comparison, modern America is quite conservative. In the past few decades, fundamentalist Christians have exercised a powerful influence on elected officials, especially

片的自愿评级系统，类似于美国电影协会的电影系统。

该组织还制作了一份特别令人反感的录音清单，称为肮脏的十五。到 1985 年 8 月，将近二十家唱片公司同意在他们的唱片上贴上标签，表明明确的歌词，但参议院无论如何都会讨论这个问题。虽然许多家长和一些证人主张标签记录，但大多数音乐界拒绝将其视为审查制度。Twisted Sister 的 Dee Snider 和民间音乐家 John Denver 都向国会提出反对这些限制的建议。最后，唱片业提出了一个自愿的通用标签，至今仍在使用。

司法

总统有很大的权力影响法院，因为他们有权任命新的联邦法官，包括最高法院的成员。罗纳德里根（Ronald Reagan）的任命通常会提升保守主义。在担任总统的八年中，他能够选出三名最高法院大法官，包括任命 William Rehnquist 为首席大法官。通过适用第 10 修正案，该修正案保留了宪法中未明确授予的国家的权力，他导致法院打击法律，在他对宪法的解释中，是政府过分控制的例子。美国。

里根还任命安东尼·斯卡利亚（Antonin Scalia），他是对宪法进行保守解释的强烈倡导者。斯卡利亚服务了 30 年，担任法院右翼的主力。但是，里根并不完全反对改变。他任命 Sandra Day O'Connor，她是最高法院的第一位女性。奥康纳是一个温和的人，有时候担任法院的摇摆投票。就像奥康纳，里根第四次被任命为法院一样，安东尼·肯尼迪经常是法院四位保守派和四位自由派大法官之间的决定性投票。当肯尼迪于 2018 年退休时，共和党总统特朗普提名保守派布雷特·卡瓦诺取代他，再次将法院移至右翼。

结论

从 20 世纪 30 年代到 70 年代的新政时代，美国普遍存在一种管理和解决社会问题的自由主义方法。相比之下，现代美国相当保守。在过去的几十年里，原教旨主义基督徒对民选官员，尤其是共和党人，施加了强大的影响。获得堕胎的机会有限。最

6 WHY DID AMERICA TURN AWAY FROM LIBERALISM?

**WAS THE SOCIAL
REVOLUTION
ACTUALLY
REVOLUTIONARY?**

Republicans. Access to abortion has been limited. The Supreme Court dismantled major portions of the Voting Rights Act and a succession of Republican presidents have kept taxes low. Ronald Reagan's election in 1980 marked the point when Americans turned away from liberalism and embraced this more conservative outlook. But why did this happen?

Perhaps people blamed the struggling economy of the 1970s on liberals and decided to try conservative ideas instead. Maybe taxes had gotten too high. Perhaps it was because some liberals went too far and had tried to change society too radically with the counterculture, new wave feminism, and Great Society. Perhaps teenagers smoking marijuana were getting too high! Perhaps it was simply a matter of America correcting itself by moving to the right like a pendulum on a clock swinging back toward the center after decades of liberal leadership.

What do you think? Why did America turn away from liberalism?

高法院摒弃了“选举权法”的主要部分，一连串的共和党总统将税收降低了。罗纳德里根 1980 年的当选标志着美国人摆脱自由主义并接受这种更为保守的观点。但为什么会这样呢？

也许人们把 20 世纪 70 年代苦苦挣扎的经济归咎于自由派，并决定尝试保守的想法。也许税收太高了。也许是因为一些自由主义者走得太远，并试图通过反文化，新潮女权主义和伟大社会来彻底改变社会。也许吸食大麻的青少年变得太高了！也许这只是美国的一个问题，就是在几十年的自由主义领导下，像钟摆钟摆回到中心那样向右移动。

你怎么看？美国为何偏离自由主义？

6 WHY DID AMERICA TURN AWAY FROM LIBERALISM?



SUMMARY

The Great Society programs were examples of the liberal idea that government should do a lot to fix problems in society. Also during the 1960s, the counterculture was challenging traditional social norms. In the 1970s, Americans turned away from these liberal extremes and embraced ideas that are more conservative. This was the Conservative Revolution.

The first champions of conservative ideas were academics and Senator Barry Goldwater who lost his campaign for president in 1964. They started the New Right. In 1980, Ronald Reagan won the presidency. He was a champion of conservative ideas about taxes, government spending, and social norms.

Reagan was supported by traditional Republican voters as well as some former Democrats who were upset about high crime, the poor economy, and the counterculture.

Reagan promoted trickle-down economics. He wanted tax breaks for the wealthy and businesses. He believed this would create economic growth because businesses would have more to spend to hire workers and that eventually everyone would benefit. Reagan also cut government spending and regulation.

In the 1980s, culture wars raged. Social conservatives tried to censor music and promoted conservative candidates in elections.

Reagan nominated conservatives to the Supreme Court.

摘要

伟大的社会计划是政府应该做很多事情以解决社会问题的自由主义观点的例子。同样在 20 世纪 60 年代，反主流文化正在挑战传统的社会规范。在 20 世纪 70 年代，美国人偏离了这些自由主义的极端，并接受了更为保守的观点。这是保守主义革命。

保守派思想的首批拥护者是学者和参议员巴里·戈德沃特（Barry Goldwater），他们在 1964 年竞选总统失败。他们创立了新权利。1980 年，里根（Ronald Reagan）赢得总统职位。他是关于税收，政府支出和社会规范的保守思想的拥护者。

里根得到了传统共和党选民和一些前民主党人的支持，他们对高犯罪率，经济不景气和反传统文化感到不满。

里根推动了涓滴经济学。他希望为富人和企业减税。他认为这将创造经济增长，因为企业可以花更多的钱来雇佣工人，最终每个人都会受益。里根还削减了政府支出和监管。

在 20 世纪 80 年代，文化战争肆虐。社会保守派试图在选举中审查音乐并促进保守派候选人。

里根向最高法院提名保守派。



KEY IDEAS

Liberal: People who see change as a positive and like the idea of using the government as a way to implement large-scale changes. In modern times, the Democrats represent this political idea.

Big Government: The idea that the government should collect more taxes and do many things. This is a liberal idea.

Left: In terms of politics, being on this side means a person is liberal.

Conservative: People who are skeptical of change. They do not want government to be involved in peoples' lives any more than necessary. In modern times, the Republicans represent this political idea.

Small Government: The idea that the government should only do what people cannot do on their own. This is a conservative idea.

Right: In terms of politics, being on this side means a person is conservative.

New Right: A shift in the Republican Party that occurred between the 1960s and 1980s. It promoted strict conservative ideas and was a reaction to the strong liberal political atmosphere of the Great Society.

Religious Right: A coalition of Christian religious organizations begun in the 1970s that promote conservative ideas and candidates.

Liberal Media: The idea that the news media, including television, newspaper, and radio news outlets promote liberal ideas. A few news outlets have been established to provide a conservative alternative to this supposed bias. A reasonable reader of the news can see that some different outlets have a conservative or liberal bias.



THE ARTS

Explicit Lyrics Warning Labels: Warnings on music indicating that the lyrics contain profanity. They were first used in the 1980 as a result of the culture wars.



SPEECHES

Government is not the solution to our problem; government is the problem: Famous quote from Ronald Reagan's inaugural address that captures his ideas about the size of government.



ECONOMIC CONCEPTS

Reaganomics: Nickname for President Reagan's economic policies. He wanted lower taxes on the wealthy and lower regulations on business.

Supply-side Economics: Idea that the best way to promote economic growth is to lower taxes and reduce regulations on business so that business will produce more.

Trickledown Economics: The idea that reducing taxes on the wealthy would eventually benefit everyone since the upper classes would use the extra money to hire workers or make purchases that would pass the money down through the economy.

Voodoo Economics: Nickname for Ronald Reagan's economic policies. Coined by George H. W. Bush, it criticized the idea that tax breaks for the wealthy would every benefit the middle or lower classes.

Deregulation: The process of reducing laws and rules on business. In theory, the cost of complying with such rules slows down business, so reducing them will improve the economy.



LAWS

Economic Recovery Tax Act: 1981 law that reduced the overall tax rate to 25% over three years. It was the centerpiece of Ronald Reagan's economic policy.



EVENTS

Vatican II: Meeting of Catholic leaders between 1962 and 1965. It resulted in major changes to Catholic practice including changing the language of daily mass from Latin to local languages.

Culture Wars: Conflicts in the 1980s between social conservatives and liberals. They focused on such things as school prayer, women in the military, and explicit lyrics in music.

Firing of the Air Traffic Controllers: 1981 action by Ronald Reagan that demonstrated a weakness of labor unions in the era of the New Right.



PEOPLE AND GROUPS

Barry Goldwater: Republican senator from Arizona who ran for president in 1964 but lost. He was the first to promote conservative principles that would become known as the New Right.

Heritage Foundation: Think tank that promotes conservative policies and laws.

William Buckley: Founder and editor of National Review. He and his magazine championed conservative ideas.

Pat Robertson: Founder of the Christian Broadcasting Network and champion of the Religious Right.

Jerry Falwell: Champion of the Religious Right who founded the Moral Majority in 1979 to promote conservative candidates.

Moral Majority: Organization founded in 1979 by Jerry Falwell to promote conservative candidates and policies.

Values Voters: People who make decisions about who they will vote for based on the candidates' positions on social issues such as abortion or prayer in schools.

Law and Order Candidate: A candidate who promotes strict law enforcement and promises lower crime rates.

Yuppie: Young materialist people obsessed with their image, comfort and economic prosperity during the 1980s. The name is short for young, urban professional.

Reagan Democrats: Voters who had supported Democrats in the 1960s and 1970s but chose to vote for Ronald Reagan in 1980. Some of these voters included Catholics, values voters, and White working-class voters.

The Great Communicator: Nickname for Ronald Reagan that referenced his easygoing manner and ability to share his ideas. He was good at jokes and had been an actor and spokesman for General Electric before becoming president.

Pat Buchanan: Republican politician who championed conservative ideas. He had been a speechwriter for Richard Nixon and later ran in the Republican presidential primary in 1992.

William Rehnquist: Chief Justice of the Supreme Court from 1986 to 2005. He was conservative and the Court under his direction restricted the power of the federal government.

Antonin Scalia: Justice of the Supreme Court from 1986 to 2016. He was a champion of conservative ideas while on the Court.

Anthony Kennedy: Justice of the Supreme Court from 1988 to 2018. He was the swing justices between the conservative and liberal justices and therefore wrote some of the most important decisions in the 2000s.

QUESTION SEVENTEEN

WAS THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION ACTUALLY REVOLUTIONARY?

The 1950s are remembered as one of the most conservative decades in the past century. A republican was in the White House. Conformity was the norm. Underneath the veneer of peaceful sameness, however, an eagerness for change was brewing, and by the time the Baby Boomers who had behaved so nicely as schoolchildren in the 50s left home for college in the 60s, Americans were falling over themselves to remake their nation. The Civil Rights Movement was making headlines. Democratic presidents were expanding government in an effort to go to the Moon, create a Great Society and save the Earth. As the Social Revolution unfolded, liberals broke down rules about music, marriage, sex, gender, and drugs.

By the end of the 60s, they had gone too far. Musical innovators overdosed on drugs. Government had grown too much. High taxes and the war in Vietnam combined with economic problems in the 70s and dampened everyone's spirits. The psychedelic excitement of the earlier decade faded as the Baby Boomers grew up, had children, looked for jobs and became Yuppies.

In the 1970s, conservatives asserted themselves and offered different path. The lowered taxes and promoted traditional social values. They implemented a war on drugs and put labels on vulgar music.

What do we as historians make of this social seesaw? A revolution is a change that cannot be undone. Can we call the changes of the 1960s a Social Revolution if we also call the changes that followed them a Conservative Revolution?

Perhaps the Social Revolution was just an anomaly. Maybe it was just a brief moment of heady liberalism. A freak accident, perhaps, when too many teenagers became young adults all at the same time and everyone suddenly thought they could fix every problem.

Alternatively, perhaps the true nature of America is one of change. If that is true, the conservatism of the 50s and 80s were a natural reaction of fear and trepidation, but they were the exception, not the

rule. People remember the 1950s as one of the most conservative decades in the past century. A Republican was in the White House. Conformity was the norm. Underneath the veneer of peaceful sameness, however, a desire for change was brewing, and by the time the Baby Boomers who had behaved so nicely as schoolchildren in the 50s left home for college in the 60s, Americans were falling over themselves to remake their nation. The Civil Rights Movement was making headlines. Democratic presidents were expanding government in an effort to go to the Moon, create a Great Society and save the Earth. As the Social Revolution unfolded, liberals broke down rules about music, marriage, sex, gender, and drugs.

By the end of the 60s, they had gone too far. Musical innovators overdosed on drugs. Government had grown too much. High taxes and the war in Vietnam combined with economic problems in the 70s and dampened everyone's spirits. The psychedelic excitement of the earlier decade faded as the Baby Boomers grew up, had children, looked for jobs and became Yuppies.

In the 1970s, conservatives asserted themselves and offered different path. The lowered taxes and promoted traditional social values. They implemented a war on drugs and put labels on vulgar music.

What do we as historians make of this social seesaw? A revolution is a change that cannot be undone. Can we call the changes of the 1960s a Social Revolution if we also call the changes that followed them a Conservative Revolution?

Perhaps the Social Revolution was just an anomaly. Maybe it was just a brief moment of heady liberalism. A freak accident, perhaps, when too many teenagers became young adults all at the same time and everyone suddenly thought they could fix every problem.

Alternatively, perhaps the true nature of America is one of change. If that is true, the conservatism of the 50s and 80s were a natural reaction of fear and trepidation, but they were the exception, not the

rule. This would explain why the Beat Generation existed even when so many people were trying to fit in during the 50s, and also why the conservatives of the 70s and 80s weren't able to undo so many of the changes the Social Revolution inspired. After all, if America is a nation of change, you cannot stand still for too long, and you certainly cannot go backwards.

What do you think? Was the Social Revolution really revolutionary?

就解释了为什么即使在 50 年代有这么多人试图适应时，垮掉的一代也存在，以及为什么 70 年代和 80 年代的保守派无法解除社会革命所激发的那么多变化。毕竟，如果美国是一个变化的国家，你不能忍受太久，你当然不能倒退。

你怎么看？社会革命真的是革命性的吗？



www.inquiryhistory.com