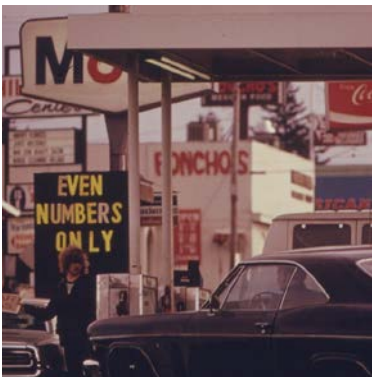
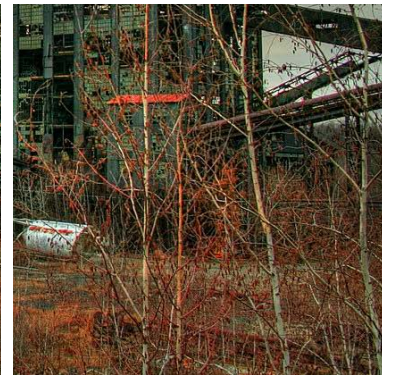
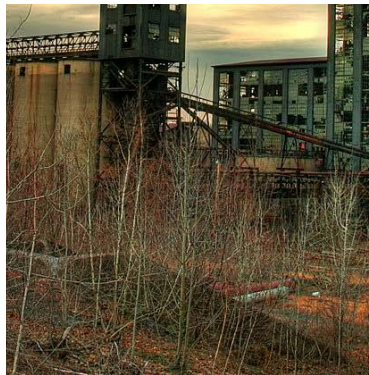
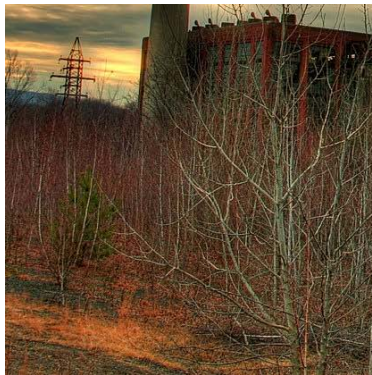




C A N
FAILURE
MAKE US A
BETTER
COUNTRY?



18
中文 SIMPLIFIED CHINESE





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QUESTION EIGHTEEN



EXPLORING AMERICA'S HISTORY THROUGH COMPELLING QUESTIONS

SUPPORTING QUESTIONS

- 1 WHY DIDN'T WE WIN OUR WAR IN VIETNAM?
- 2 SHOULD WE TRUST OUR NATION'S LEADERS?
- 3 IS IT BAD FOR AMERICA THAT SO FEW OF THE THINGS WE BUY ARE MADE HERE?

DEVELOPED AND COMPILED BY
JONATHAN LOOMIS

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QUESTION EIGHTEEN



American history is usually told as a series of triumphs – slavery was destroyed, the pioneers conquered the untamed West, Neil Armstrong set foot on the Moon – and rarely do we tell stories of failure. Although business ventures have failed, expeditions have come up empty-handed, and heroes have struck out, Americans have enjoyed a great deal of success in our short history.

The 1970s were different. In that decade, our nation suffered through a series of grand failures. We lost our war in Vietnam to an ill-equipped communist insurgency. A president resigned in disgrace. A nuclear power plant melted down. Foreign companies sold better, cheaper products and American manufacturing workers out of their jobs. The great industrial heartland that had fueled the Arsenal of Democracy began to crumble. The vibrant energy and optimism that characterized the 1960s got a reality check.

Of course, the United States survived as a nation. Perhaps failing taught us lessons that have made us better. Perhaps though, these failures left lasting scars that have weakened us. What do you think? Can failure make us a better country?

美国历史通常被称为一系列的胜利 - 奴隶制被摧毁，先驱们征服了野蛮的西方，尼尔阿姆斯特朗踏上了月球 - 我们很少讲述失败的故事。虽然商业企业失败了，但是探险活动却空空如也，英雄们纷纷出动，美国人在我们短暂的历史中取得了巨大的成功。

20 世纪 70 年代是不同的。在那十年里，我们的国家经历了一系列的重大失败。我们在越南失去了一场装备不良的共产主义叛乱战争。一位总统不客气地辞职。核电厂融化了。外国公司出售更好，更便宜的产品和美国制造业工人。助长民主阿森纳的伟大工业中心地区开始崩溃。20 世纪 60 年代充满活力的能量和乐观情绪得到了现实检验。

当然，美国作为一个国家而存在。也许失败告诉了我们使我们变得更好的教训。或许，这些失败给我们留下了持久的伤痕。你怎么看？失败会使我们成为更美好的国家吗？

1

F I R S T Q U E S T I O N WHY DIDN'T AMERICA WIN ITS WAR IN VIETNAM?



INTRODUCTION

Before the war in Afghanistan, the Vietnam War was the longest in American history. The concerns of the Cold War led American leaders into the conflict in Vietnam, but over time, the war became less and less about stopping the spread of communism. By the time the last Americans were evacuated from Saigon, few people believed losing Vietnam would significantly impact the balance of power between the United States and the Soviet Union.

Compared to the United States, Vietnam is a tiny nation in every respect – territory, economic output, natural resources, population, and technology – and yet the United States lost. Despite dropping more bombs in Vietnam than in all of the World War II, the nation that had defeated Hitler could not suppress Ho Chi Minh.

How was this possible? Why didn't we win our war in Vietnam?

介绍

在阿富汗战争之前，越战是美国历史上最长的。冷战的担忧导致美国领导人陷入越南的冲突，但随着时间的推移，战争对于阻止共产主义的蔓延越来越不那么关注。当最后一批美国人从西贡撤离时，很少有人认为失去越南会严重影响美国和苏联之间的权力平衡。

与美国相比，越南在各个方面 - 地区，经济产出，自然资源，人口和技术 - 都是一个极小的国家，但美国却失败了。尽管越南投放的炸弹比二战时期多，但击败希特勒的国家却无法压制胡志明。

这怎么可能？我们为什么不赢得我们在越南的战争？

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WHY VIETNAM?

America's foray into Vietnam began early in the Cold War, and was motivated by Cold War priorities. Unlike Korea, however, Vietnam proved to be more complicated. Korea had no colonial master waiting to come back at the end of the Second World War, but Vietnam had been part of the French colony of Indochina, and the French wanted to reestablish control over their colony. The United States was placed in the uneasy position of supporting a colonial empire in an age of decolonization or supporting the Vietnamese independence movement under the leadership of **Ho Chi Minh** and his **Viet Minh** army. President Harry S. Truman had no love for France's colonial regime in Southeast Asia but did not want to risk the loyalty of its Western European ally against the Soviet Union.

In 1950, the Truman administration sent a small group of military advisors to Vietnam and provided financial aid to help France fight the Viet Minh. Despite America's help, however, Vietnamese forces defeated the French in 1954, and the country was temporarily divided at the 17th Parallel. Ho Chi Minh and the Viet Minh controlled the North. In the South, the last Vietnamese emperor and ally to France, Bao Dai, named the French-educated, anti-communist **Ngo Dinh Diem** as his prime minister. The **Geneva Accords** ending the conflict called for countrywide national elections in 1956, with the victor to rule a reunified nation, but Diem knew he would lose an election and refused to abide by the treaty.

After a fraudulent election in the South in 1955, Diem ousted Bao Dai and proclaimed himself president of the Republic of Vietnam. He cancelled the 1956 elections in the South and began to round up communists and supporters of Ho Chi Minh. Realizing that Diem would never agree to the reunification of the country under Ho Chi Minh's leadership, the North Vietnamese began efforts to overthrow the government of the South by encouraging insurgents called **Viet Cong** to attack South Vietnamese officials.

The United States, fearing the spread of communism under Ho Chi Minh, supported Diem, assuming he would create a democratic, pro-Western government in South Vietnam. However, Diem's oppressive and corrupt regime openly promoted the nation's small Catholic minority and elevated Diem's family members to power. He was an unpopular ruler, particularly with farmers, students, and Buddhists, and many in the South actively assisted the Viet Cong in trying to overthrow his government.

The world became frighteningly aware of the conflict between Diem and his people when **Thich Quang Duc**, a Buddhist monk burned himself to death at a busy Saigon intersection on June 11, 1963. Fellow monks had notified the press that something important was going to happen and

为什么越南?

美国对越南的进攻始于冷战初期，并受冷战优先的推动。然而，与韩国不同的是，越南证明是更加复杂的。在第二次世界大战结束时，韩国没有殖民主人等待回来，但越南已成为法属印度支那殖民地的一部分，法国人想重新控制他们的殖民地。在胡志明和越南军队的领导下，美国处于非殖民化时代支持殖民帝国或支持越南独立运动的不安情绪。杜鲁门总统不爱法国在东南亚的殖民政权，但不想冒西欧盟友对苏联的忠诚。

1950年，杜鲁门政府派出一小批军事顾问到越南，并提供财政援助帮助法国抗击越南。然而，尽管美国的帮助，越南军队于1954年击败了法国人，并且该国暂时被划分为17度平行线。胡志明和越南控制着北方。在南方，越南最后一位皇帝和法国盟友宝黛，将受过法国教育的反共党员吴仪任命为他的总理。结束冲突的日内瓦协议要求在1956年举行全国性的全国选举，胜利者要统治统一的国家，但迪姆知道他将失去选举并拒绝遵守条约。

在1955年在南方进行欺诈性选举后，戴姆被推翻了保戴，并宣布自己为越南共和国总统。他取消了1956年在南方的选举，并开始围捕胡志明的共产党人和支持者。意识到狄恩永远不会同意胡志明领导下的国家统一，北越开始努力推翻南越政府，鼓励叛乱分子越共攻击南越官员。

美国担心胡志明领导下的共产主义扩张，支持迪姆，假设他将在南越建立一个民主的亲西方政府。然而，迪姆的暴虐和腐败政权公开宣扬了这个国家的小天主教少数派，并提升了迪姆的家人掌权。他是一个不受欢迎的统治者，特别是与农民，学生和佛教徒在一起，南方的许多人积极协助越共试图推翻他的政府。

1963年6月11日，一名佛教僧侣 Thich Quang Duc 在一个熙熙攘攘的西贡十字路口自焚，世界变得恐惧地意识到 Diem 和他的人民之间的冲突。同僧人已经通知媒体，重要的事情将会

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photographs of his self-immolation were circulated widely across the globe. President Kennedy said of Malcolm Browne's Pulitzer Prize winning photograph of the monk's death, "No news picture in history has generated so much emotion around the world as that one."



Quang Duc's act of protest increased international pressure on Diem and led him to announce reforms with the intention of mollifying the Buddhists. However, the promised reforms were not implemented, leading to a deterioration of affairs. With protests continuing, the special forces loyal to Diem's brother, Ngo Dinh Nhu, launched nationwide raids on Buddhist pagodas, resulting in bloodshed and widespread damage. Several Buddhist monks followed Quang Duc's example, and self-immolated.

When Kennedy took office as president in 1961, he chose to continue the policies of the Eisenhower administration by supplied Diem with money and military advisors and by November 1963, there were 16,000 American troops in Vietnam. But American leaders were growing impatient with Diem and after the CIA indicated their support for a new regime, South Vietnamese military officers **assassinated Diem** and his brother Nhu. For good or bad, no one emerged as a clear, decisive, strong and effective leader for the South.

Kennedy's own death a few weeks before the overthrow of Diem meant that President Lyndon B. Johnson would be responsible for guiding America's involvement in Vietnam. Johnson was effective at building legislative majorities in a style that ranged from diplomacy to quid pro quo deals to bullying. In the summer of 1964, he deployed these

发生，他的自焚照片在全球各地广为流传。肯尼迪总统在谈到马尔科姆布朗获得普利策奖的和尚逝世照片时说道：“历史上的新闻图片在世界各地都没有那么激动过。”

Primary Source: Photograph

The death of Thich Quang Duc. This photograph by Malcolm Browne won the Pulitzer Prize and brought international attention to Vietnam.

主要来源：照片

Thich Quang Duc 的去世。这张由马尔科姆布朗拍摄的照片赢得了普利策奖，并引起了国际社会对越南的关注。

Quang Duc 的抗议行为增加了对 Diem 的国际压力，并导致他宣布改革宗旨，以平息佛教徒。但是，承诺的改革并未实施，导致事态恶化。随着抗议活动的继续，忠于狄姆的兄弟 Ngo Dinh Nhu 的特种部队在全国范围内对佛塔进行袭击，造成流血和广泛的破坏。几位佛教僧侣跟随广德的榜样，自焚。

当肯尼迪在 1961 年就任总统时，他选择继续执行艾森豪威尔政府的政策，向迪姆提供金钱和军事顾问，到 1963 年 11 月，在越南有 16,000 名美国军队。但是美国领导人对迪姆越来越不耐烦，在中央情报局表示支持新政权后，南越军事人员暗杀了迪姆和他的兄弟努胡。无论是好还是坏，都没有人成为南方明确，果断，强大和有效的领导者。

肯尼迪自己的死亡在推翻迪姆之前的几周意味着总统林登约翰逊将负责指导美国参与越南事务。约翰逊在建立立法多数方面非常有效，其风格从外交到交换交易到欺凌。1964 年夏天，他部署了

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political skills to secure congressional approval for a new strategy in Vietnam with fateful consequences.

THE AMERICAN WAR

President Johnson had never been the cold warrior Kennedy was, but he believed that the credibility of the nation and his office depended on maintaining a foreign policy of containment. When, on August 2, 1964, the destroyer USS Maddox conducted an arguably provocative intelligence-gathering mission in the Gulf of Tonkin on the coast of Vietnam, it reported an attack by North Vietnamese torpedo boats. Two days later, the Maddox was supposedly struck again, and a second ship, the USS Turner Joy, reported that it also had been fired upon. The North Vietnamese denied the second attack, and Johnson himself doubted the reliability of the crews' report. The National Security Agency has since revealed that the August 4 attacks did not occur. Relying on information available at the time, however, Secretary of Defense **Robert McNamara** reported to Congress that American ships had been fired upon in international waters while conducting routine operations. On August 7, with only two dissenting votes, Congress passed the **Gulf of Tonkin Resolution**, and on August 10, the president signed the resolution into law.

The Gulf of Tonkin Resolution gave President Johnson the authority to use military force in Vietnam without asking Congress for a declaration of war. It dramatically increased the power of the president and transformed the American role in Vietnam from supporter to combatant. Although he was not the first president to send Americans to Vietnam, and did not oversee the entire conflict, Americans would remember the Vietnam War as Johnson's war because of the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution.

In 1965, large-scale bombing of North Vietnam began. The intent of the campaign, which lasted three years, was to force the North to end its support for the Viet Cong insurgency in the South. More than 200,000 American military personnel were sent to South Vietnam. At first, most of the American public supported the president's actions. Support began to ebb, however, as more troops were deployed. Frustrated by losses suffered by the South's Army of the Republic of Vietnam (ARVN), General **William Westmoreland** called for the United States to take more responsibility for leading the war. By April 1966, more Americans were being killed in battle than ARVN troops. Johnson, however, maintained that the war could be won if the United States stayed the course, and in November 1967, Westmoreland proclaimed that the end was in sight.

这些政治技巧，以确保国会批准越南的新战略，并带来重大后果。

美国的战争

约翰逊总统从来都不是肯尼迪的冷战士，但他相信国家和他的办公室的信誉取决于维持外交政策的遏制。1964年8月2日，当驱逐舰 USS Maddox 在越南海岸的东金湾进行了一次可以挑衅的情报搜集任务时，它报告了北越鱼雷艇的袭击。两天后，据称马多克斯号再次遭到袭击，第二艘特纳号乔伊斯号也报告说它也遭到了射击。北越人否认第二次袭击，约翰逊本人怀疑船员报告的可靠性。国家安全局此后透露，8月4日的袭击事件并未发生。然而，依靠当时可获得的信息，国防部长罗伯特麦克纳马拉向国会报告说，美国军舰在进行日常作业时曾在国际水域被开火。8月7日，国会仅通过两项反对票，通过了东京湾决议，并于8月10日将该决议签署为法律。

东京湾决议让约翰逊总统有权在越南使用武力，而不要求国会宣战。它大大增加了总统的权力，并将美国在越南的作用从支持者转变为战斗人员。虽然他不是第一个派美国人前往越南的总统，也没有监督整个冲突，但美国人会将越南战争归咎于约翰逊的战争，因为东京湾决议案。

1965年，北越开始大规模轰炸。这场持续三年的运动的目的是迫使北方停止支持越南南方的叛乱。超过20万名美国军人被派往南越。起初，大多数美国公众支持总统的行动。然而，随着更多部队部署，支援开始退潮。越南共和国军队（ARVN）遭受损失感到沮丧，威廉斯莫兰将军要求美国承担更多的领导战争的责任。到1966年4月，与ARVN部队相比，更多的美国人在战斗中丧生。然而，约翰逊坚持认为，如果美国坚持这一进程，战争可能会取得胜利，并且在1967年11月，威斯特摩兰宣布结局即将到来。

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In reality, the end was nowhere near. Victory was elusive for a variety of reasons. The Viet Cong rarely faced off on the battlefield in the traditional way Americans had been accustomed to from World War II and Korea. The enemy was hard to identify. The Viet Cong blended in with the native population and struck by ambush, often at night. In an effort to separate the enemy from the civilians, the government of South Vietnam established **free-fire zones**. All civilians were forced to leave these areas and anyone left behind was considered an enemy combatant. Cases of indiscriminate attacks on civilians within free-fire zones were frequent. According to political scientist R.J. Rummel, American troops murdered about 6,000 Vietnamese civilians during the war. Nick Turse, in his 2013 book, "Kill Anything that Moves," argues that the widespread use of free-fire zones, rules of engagement where civilians who ran from soldiers or helicopters could be viewed as Viet Cong, and a widespread disdain for Vietnamese civilians led to massive civilian casualties and war crimes inflicted by American troops. It seems obvious now, but the establishment of free-fire zones, camps for the civilians who were forced to leave their homes, and the attitudes of American troops toward civilians turned many South Vietnamese into supporters of the Viet Cong.

Without a clear enemy, it became harder and harder for American commanders to demonstrate that they were winning. Instead of pointing to territory won, or battle victories, they began to measure success by the body count of the enemy. Being rewarded, promoted, and given medals for killing large number of enemy soldiers undoubtable led American forces to target civilians.



事实上，结局远不及。由于各种原因，胜利难以捉摸。越共很少在美国人从二战和韩国习惯的传统方式上面对战场。敌人很难辨认。越共与当地居民融合在一起，并常常在夜间伏击。为了将敌人与平民分开，南越政府建立了自由防火区。所有平民都被迫离开这些地区，留下的任何人都被视为敌方战斗员。在自由区内平民不分青红皂白地袭击事件频发。根据政治学家 R.J. 在战争期间，美国军队 Rummel 谋杀了约 6000 名越南平民。Nick Turse 在他的 2013 年出版的书“杀死任何可以移动的东西”中指出，自由射击区的广泛使用，从战士或直升机上逃跑的平民的交战规则可以被看作是越共，而越南人则普遍不屑一顾平民导致美国士兵造成大量平民伤亡和战争罪。现在看起来很明显，但是建立自由区，为被迫离开家园的平民建立营地以及美国军队对平民的态度使许多南越人成为越共的支持者。

没有一个明确的敌人，美国指挥官越来越难证明他们正在赢得胜利。他们并没有指出赢得的领土或战斗胜利，而是开始通过敌人的身体数量来衡量成功。获得奖励，晋升和颁发奖牌以杀死大量敌方士兵毫无疑问导致美军以平民为目标。

Primary Source: Photograph

Navy A-6A Intruders dropping bombs in 1968 as part of Operation Rolling Thunder

主要来源：照片

1968 年，海军 A-6A 入侵者投掷炸弹，作为“滚滚雷霆行动”的一部分

More than any other reason, however, the Americans ultimately lost the war because the Vietnamese were fighting for freedom and were

但是，最终美国人最终失去了战争，因为越南人为自由而战，并愿意承受巨大的人员伤亡。越南

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willing to suffer enormous casualties to win. Vietnam was their homeland and they were not going anywhere. The Americans, on the other hand, might leave. The Vietnamese had suffered through the French colonial era, the Japanese occupation, and would suffer through the American war as well. For the Vietnamese, it was only a matter of time.

This did not mean, however, that the Americans didn't unleash the full onslaught of their armed forces. In February 1965, the air force began a long program of sustained bombing of North Vietnamese targets known as **Operation Rolling Thunder**. At first only military targets were hit, but as months turned into years, civilian targets were pummeled as well.

The United States also bombed the **Ho Chi Minh Trail**, a supply line used by the North Vietnamese to aid the Viet Cong. The trail meandered through the neighboring countries of Laos and Cambodia, so the bombing was kept secret from Congress and the American people. More bombs rained down on Vietnam than the Allies had used during the whole of World War II.

Additional sorties delivered defoliating chemicals such as **Agent Orange** and napalm to remove the jungle cover utilized by the Vietcong. The intense bombardment did little to deter the enemy and they continued to use the Ho Chi Minh trail despite the grave risk. They also burrowed underground, building 30,000 miles of tunnel networks to keep supply lines open.



是他们的家园，他们不会去任何地方。另一方面，美国人可能会离开。越南人经历了法国殖民时期的日本占领，并且也会因美国战争而受苦。对越南人来说，这只是一个时间问题。

然而，这并不意味着美国人并没有释放他们武装部队的全部猛烈攻击。1965年2月，空军开始了一个长期的轰炸北越越南目标的计划，称为“滚滚雷霆行动”。起初只有军事目标受到打击，但随着月数变成几年，平民目标也遭到了打击。

美国还轰炸了胡志明小径，这是北越用来援助越共的供应线。这条小径蜿蜒穿过老挝和柬埔寨的邻国，因此轰炸事件对国会和美国人民保密。在整个第二次世界大战期间，盟军使用的越南炸弹越来越少。

额外的架次交付使橙色和凝固剂等化学物质脱落，以去除越共使用的丛林覆盖物。激烈的轰炸几乎没有阻止敌人，尽管面临严重风险，他们仍然继续使用胡志明线索。他们还埋藏在地下，建造了30,000英里的隧道网络，以保持供电线路畅通。

Primary Source: Photograph

An American helicopter sprays the defoliant Agent Orange.

主要来源：照片

一架美国直升机喷洒脱叶剂橙剂。

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AMERICANS TURN AGAINST THE WAR

Westmoreland's predictions of eminent victory were called into question at home in January 1968 during the Vietnamese new year, called Tet, when the North Vietnamese launched their most aggressive formal assault on the South, deploying close to 85,000 troops. During the **Tet Offensive**, as these attacks were known, nearly one hundred cities in the South were attacked, including the capital of Saigon. The Americans and South Vietnamese Army were able to retake all the areas captured by the North during the offensive, but at an enormous cost in lives. Even the iconic and respected CBS newscaster **Walter Cronkite**, who visited Saigon during the Tet Offensive, questioned to possibility of success, stating that he believed it was clear the war would in stalemate.

And it wasn't only Cronkite. Although North Vietnamese forces suffered far more casualties than the roughly 4,100 Americans killed, public opinion in the United States, began to turn against the war. The conflict in Vietnam was the first war Americans watched on television, and they were troubled by what they saw. Disastrous surprise attacks like the Tet Offensive persuaded many that the war would not be over soon and raised doubts about whether or not Johnson's administration was telling the truth about the real state of affairs. A dangerous credibility gap began to develop. People in American simply stopped believing what their president was telling them about the progress of the war.



When Operation Rolling Thunder began in 1965, only 15% of the American public opposed the war effort in Vietnam. As late as January 1968, only a

美国人转战战争

威斯特摩兰对胜利的预言在 1968 年 1 月在越南新年期间被称为 Tet，在北越对南方发动最积极的正式攻击时部署了接近 85,000 人的部队。在 Tet 攻势期间，随着这些袭击事件的发生，南方近百个城市遭到袭击，其中包括西贡首府。美国人和南越军队在攻势中能够夺回北方俘获的所有地区，但是却牺牲了巨大的生命。即使是在 Tet 攻势期间访问西贡的标志性 and 受人尊敬的 CBS 新闻播报员 Walter Cronkite 也质疑成功的可能性，并称他相信战争将陷入僵局。

这不仅仅是克朗凯特。虽然北越部队的伤亡人数比美国大约 4,100 人死亡的伤亡人数要多得多，但美国的民意开始反对战争。越南的冲突是美国人在电视上观看的第一场战争，他们对他们所看到的事情感到困惑。象 Tet 攻势这样的灾难性的突然袭击说服许多人认为这场战争不会很快结束，并且对约翰逊政府是否说出事实真相的真相提出质疑。危险的信誉差距开始发展。美国人只是不再相信他们的总统告诉他们关于战争进展的信息。

Primary Source: Photograph

Walter Cronkite reporting from Vietnam during the Tet Offensive.

主要来源：照片

Walter Cronkite 在 Tet 攻势期间从越南报道。

1965 年雷霆行动开始时，只有 15% 的美国公众反对越南的战争行动。直到 1968 年 1 月，

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few weeks before the Tet Offensive, only 28% of the American public labeled themselves anti-war. However, by April 1968, six weeks later, the tables had turned and more Americans opposed the war than supported it.

Declining public support brought declining troop morale. Many soldiers questioned the wisdom of American involvement. Soldiers who had signed up believing they were going to be engaging in a great moral crusade against communism found themselves burning down villages. Some turned to alcohol, marijuana, and even heroin to escape the stress and horror of the war. To make matters worse, President Johnson had asked for the Selective Service Administration to triple the number of young men drafted in 1965. Many of the new soldiers who found themselves in Vietnam did not want to be there at all. For them, the most important objective of the war was surviving and making it home. Incidents of fragging, the murder of officers by their own troops who did not want to go into combat, increased in the years that followed the Tet Offensive. Soldiers who completed their yearlong tour of duty were welcomed home with chants of “**baby killer**,” instead of the parades that had greeted their fathers after World War II.



仅在 Tet 攻势的前几周，只有 28% 的美国公众称自己为反战。然而，到了 1968 年 4 月，六个星期之后，表格已经转变，更多的美国人反对这场战争，而不是支持它。

公众支持下降导致士气下降。许多士兵质疑美国参与的智慧。士兵们相信他们将参加反对共产主义的伟大道德运动，他们发现自己烧毁了村庄。一些人转向酒精，大麻，甚至海洛因，以避免战争的压力和恐怖。更糟糕的是，约翰逊总统曾要求选择性服务管理局在 1965 年起草的青年男子人数增加了三倍。许多在越南发现自己的新士兵根本不想去那里。对他们来说，这场战争的最重要目标是幸存下来并把它带回家。在 Tet 攻势之后的几年里，不愿意参战的自己的部队谋杀军官的事件不断增加。完成一年巡视任务的士兵们在家中接受了“宝贝杀手”的颂歌，而不是第二次世界大战后迎接父亲的游行。

Primary Source: Photograph

Anti-war protesters used flowers as a symbol of peace. This photograph of a protester putting flowers in the rifles of military police came to symbolize the conflict between the anti-war movement and the pro-war government.

主要来源：照片

反战抗议者用鲜花作为象征和平。这张抗议者在军警步枪上放花的照片，象征着反战运动与亲政府之间的冲突。

In May 1968, with over 400,000 American troops in Vietnam, Johnson began peace talks with the North. It was too late to save Johnson's presidency, however. Many of the most outspoken critics of the war were Democratic politicians whose opposition began to erode unity within the party. Minnesota senator Eugene McCarthy, who had called for an end to the war surprised the nation when he received nearly as many votes in the New Hampshire presidential primary as Johnson.

1968 年 5 月，约翰逊在越南有超过 40 万的美军，约翰逊开始与北方和谈。然而，拯救约翰逊总统的时间太晚了。许多对这场战争最直言不讳的批评者是民主党的政治家，他们的反对派开始腐蚀党内的团结。明尼苏达州参议员尤金麦卡锡呼吁结束这场战争，他在新罕布什尔总统初选中获得的选票几乎与约翰逊一样

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McCarthy's success in New Hampshire encouraged Robert Kennedy to announce his candidacy as an anti-war candidate as well. Johnson, suffering health problems and realizing his actions in Vietnam had hurt his public standing, announced that he would not seek reelection and withdrew from the **1968 presidential race**. With his remaining time in office, he dedicated himself to finding a peaceful end to America's involvement in Vietnam. Taking his place on the campaign trail as a supporter of the war, Vice President Hubert Humphry would go on to win the party's nomination.

A peace deal was not to be. The North Vietnamese sensed crumbling American resolve. They knew that the longer the war raged, the more anti-war sentiment in America would grow. For the next five years, they pretended to negotiate with United States, making proposals they knew would be rejected, and with each passing day, support for continuing the war in America decreased.

MY LAI: THE END OF MORAL AUTHORITY

In the 1940s and 1950s the United States had stood up to Stalin and Khrushchev in Berlin and Korea. But the moral authority the United States had as the defenders of freedom in the face of communism was lost in Vietnam. The killing of civilians horrified the Vietnamese people, Americans and the world. In Vietnam, a dangerous blend of power, racism, and frustration undermined the ethics of the young men who had been sent on a crusade that was failing.

On March 16, 1968, men from the army's Twenty-Third Infantry Division committed one of the most notorious atrocities of the war. About one hundred soldiers commanded by Captain Ernest Medina were sent to destroy the village of **My Lai**, which was suspected of hiding Viet Cong fighters. Although there was later disagreement regarding the captain's exact words, the platoon leaders believed the order to destroy the enemy included killing women and children. Having suffered twenty-eight casualties in the past three months, the men of Charlie Company were under severe stress and extremely apprehensive as they approached the village. Two platoons entered it, shooting randomly. A group of seventy to eighty unarmed people, including children and infants, were forced into an irrigation ditch by members of the First Platoon under the command of Lt. William L. Calley, Jr. Despite their proclamations of innocence, the villagers were shot. Houses were set on fire, and as the inhabitants tried to flee, they were killed with rifles, machine guns, and grenades. The Americans were never fired upon, and one soldier later testified that he did not see any man who looked like a Viet Cong fighter.

多，令国家感到惊讶。麦卡锡在新罕布什尔州的成功鼓励罗伯特·肯尼迪宣布他作为反战候选人的候选人。约翰逊患有健康问题并意识到自己在越南的行为损害了他的公众地位，宣布他不会谋求连任并退出 1968 年的总统竞选。在他剩余的时间里，他致力于寻求美国参与越南的和平结局。作为战争支持者的竞选线索，休伯特·汉弗瑞副总统将继续赢得该党的提名。

和平协议不是。北越人感觉到摇摇欲坠的美国决心。他们知道，战争持续的时间越长，美国的反战情绪就越会增长。在接下来的五年里，他们假装与美国进行谈判，提出他们知道会被拒绝的提议，并且日益减少对美国继续战争的支持。

我的雷：道德权威的结束

在 20 世纪 40 年代和 50 年代，美国在柏林和韩国站到斯大林和赫鲁晓夫。但是，美国在共产主义面前作为自由的捍卫者的道德权威在越南失败了。杀害平民使越南人民，美国人和世界震惊。在越南，权力，种族主义和挫折的危险混合破坏了那些因失败而发动的十字军青年的伦理道德。

1968 年 3 月 16 日，军队第二十三步兵师的人员犯下了这场战争中最臭名昭着的暴行之一。大约一百名由欧内斯特·梅迪纳上尉指挥的士兵被派去摧毁被怀疑隐藏越共战士的我的赖村。尽管后来对船长的确切说法有不同意见，排长们相信命令摧毁敌人，包括杀害妇女和儿童。在过去的三个月里，受到 28 人的伤亡，查理公司的男子在接近村庄时处于极度紧张和极度担忧之中。两排进入，随机射击。一群七十到八十名手无寸铁的人，包括儿童和婴儿，在第一排成员的威廉·卡利小中尉的指挥下被迫进入一个灌渠。尽管他们宣布无罪，村民们被枪杀。房屋被放火烧毁，当居民试图逃离时，他们被步枪、机关枪和手榴弹杀死。美国人从来没有被开除，一名士兵后来作证说，他没有看到任何人看起来像一个越南战斗机。

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The precise number of civilians killed at My Lai is unclear. The numbers range from 347 to 504. None were armed. Although not all the soldiers in My Lai took part in the killings, no one attempted to stop the massacre until Warrant Officer Hugh Thompson arrived in his helicopter. Along with his crew, Thompson attempted to evacuate women and children. Upon returning to base, Thompson immediately reported the events taking place at My Lai.

Although Thompson's crew members confirmed his account, none of the men from Charlie Company gave a report, and a cover-up began almost immediately. The army first claimed that 150 Viet Cong had been killed during a firefight with Charlie Company. Hearing details from friends in Charlie Company, a helicopter gunner named Ron Ridenhour began to conduct his own investigation and in April 1969, wrote to thirty members of Congress, demanding an investigation. By September 1969, the army charged Lt. Calley with premeditated murder. Many Americans were horrified at the graphic images of the massacre. The incident confirmed their belief that the war was unjust and not being fought on behalf of the Vietnamese people.



Aghast that their boys could ever commit such an atrocity, nearly half of all Americans surveyed after the incident believe that it had not actually happened. They wanted to believe that American goals in Vietnam were honorable and speculated that the anti-war movement had concocted the story to generate sympathy for the enemy.

我在黎的遇难平民的确切人数尚不清楚。数字从 347 到 504。没有武装。虽然并不是所有的黎族士兵都参加了杀戮活动，但没有人企图阻止屠杀，直到准尉军官休·汤普森抵达他的直升机。汤普森和他的船员一起，试图疏散妇女和儿童。回到基地后，汤普森立即报道了我在黎的事件。

虽然汤普森的船员证实了他的记录，但查理公司的人没有发表任何报告，几乎立即开始掩护。军队首先宣称 150 名越共在与查理公司的交火中遇难。听到查理公司朋友的细节，一位名叫 Ron Ridenhour 的直升机枪手开始进行他自己的调查，并于 1969 年 4 月致函国会三十名成员，要求进行调查。到 1969 年 9 月，军方以蓄意谋杀的手段对卡尔利中校提出指控。许多美国人对大屠杀的图像感到震惊。事件证实了他们认为这场战争是不公正的，而不是为越南人民而战。

Primary Source: Photograph

Villagers from My Lai massacred by American troops in 1968. Images of the slaughter turned many people in the United States and around the world against the war.

主要来源：照片

1968 年，美雷军队屠杀了我的美国军队。屠杀的图像使美国和世界各地的许多人反对战争。

感到他们的男孩可能犯下这样的暴行，在事件发生后，接近接受调查的美国人中，有一半人认为事实并没有发生。他们想要相信美国在越南的目标是光荣的，并且推测反战运动已经编造了故事来产生对敌人的同情。



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But it was not made up. Americans had murdered hundreds of innocent women and children, and not just at My Lei.

Calley was found guilty in March 1971, and sentenced to life in prison. Nationwide, hundreds of thousands of Americans joined a “Free Calley” campaign. Two days later, President Nixon released him from custody and placed him under house arrest at Fort Benning, Georgia. In August of that same year, Calley’s sentence was reduced to twenty years, and in September 1974, he was paroled. The only soldier convicted in the massacre, he spent a total of three-and-a-half years under house arrest for his crimes.

The massacre and the investigations that followed had a profound effect on Americans and the world. Never again would the United States be able to claim the moral high ground in its fight against the evils of the world. America is not to be believed, the world learned. Her motives are not always pure. No matter how justifiable the cause, America will always be tainted by the blood of the innocents of My Lei.

THE WAR COMES HOME

As the conflict wore on and reports of brutalities increased, the anti-war movement grew in strength. To take the political pressure off himself and his administration, and find a way to exit Vietnam “with honor,” Nixon began a process he called **Vietnamization**, turning more responsibility for the war over to South Vietnamese forces by training them and providing American weaponry, while withdrawing American troops from the field. At the same time, however, Nixon authorized the bombing of neighboring Cambodia, in an effort to destroy North Vietnamese and Viet Cong bases and cut off supply routes between North and South Vietnam. The bombing was kept secret from both Congress and the American public since Cambodia had declared its neutrality. In April 1970, Nixon decided to follow up the bombings with an **invasion of Cambodia**.

The invasion could not be kept secret, and when Nixon announced it on television on April 30, 1970, protests sprang up across the country. In fact, opposition to the war had been brewing for years, most noticeably among students. Because college students could apply for a deferment from being drafted while they completed school, colleges were filled with well-educated, highly-motivated young men who knew that as graduation approached, so did the likelihood of being conscripted into the army. These students, both men and women formed a powerful and vocal element of the anti-war movement. In 1965, professors organized a teach-in at the University of Michigan attended by 2,500 faculty and students. Focused on the war, the meetings were replicated in at other campuses. That same year, the **Students for a**

但它并没有弥补。美国人杀害了数百名无辜的妇女和儿童，而不仅仅是在我的雷。

Calley 于 1971 年 3 月被判有罪，并被判处终身监禁。在全国范围内，数十万美国人加入了“自由卡利”运动。两天后，尼克松总统将他羁押并将他置于他被软禁在佐治亚州本宁堡的软禁中。同年 8 月，卡利的刑期缩短为 20 年，1974 年 9 月，他被假释。在这次大屠杀中被判有罪的唯一一名士兵因为他的罪行被总共花了三年半的软禁。

大屠杀和随后的调查对美国人和世界产生了深远的影响。美国再也不能在与世界邪恶的斗争中宣称道德高地。世界了解到，美国是不可信的。她的动机并不总是纯粹的。无论事业有多合理，美国总是会被我的无辜的无辜者的血污染。

战争来了

随着冲突的加剧和野蛮报道的增加，反战运动日益增强。为了对自己和他的政府施加政治压力，想方设法以“荣誉”的方式离开越南，尼克松开始了一个他称之为越南化的进程，通过训练和提供美国武器将战争的更多责任转交给南越军队，同时从外地撤出美国军队。但与此同时，尼克松授权轰炸邻国柬埔寨，以摧毁北越和越南的基地，并切断越南南北的供应路线。自从柬埔寨宣布其中立以来，国会和美国公众都对这一爆炸事件保密。1970 年 4 月，尼克松决定跟进爆炸案，入侵柬埔寨。

入侵不能保密，1970 年 4 月 30 日尼克松在电视上宣布，全国范围内出现抗议活动。事实上，反对这场战争已经酝酿了多年，其中最引人注目的是学生。由于大学生在完成学业的时候可以申请延期起草，所以大学里充满了受过良好教育，高度积极主动的年轻人，他们知道随着毕业的临近，入伍的可能性也会增加。这些男女学生形成了反战运动的强大声音元素。1965 年，教授们在密歇根大学组织了一次教学活动，有 2500 名教师和学生参加。聚焦于战争，会议在其他校园复制。同一年，民主社会学生和学生非暴力协调委

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Democratic Society and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), the civil rights activist group, organized the first of several marches in Washington, DC with some 25,000 protesters in attendance. Burnings of draft cards in public began in earnest in 1965 and President Johnson was burned in effigy at the University of California, Berkeley.



Musicians such as Joan Baez, John Lenin, Pete Seeger, Barry McGuire, Jimi Hendrix and the groups Country Joe and the Fish, and Peter, Paul and Mary recorded anti-war songs and performed at protests rallies. In 1967, heavyweight boxing champion **Muhammad Ali** declared himself a conscientious objector and refused to go to war. He was convicted of draft evasion and sentenced to five years in jail. His conviction was overturned on appeal, but he lost his title and was banned from boxing for three years.

By 1967, the anti-war movement was fully intertwined with the other social movements of the time. The counterculture of the hippies overlapped with the anti-war movement as hippies professed free love and turned out at rallies. Activists within the African-American civil rights movement led by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. were strongly anti-war. Since college students could obtain a deferment, wealthier white teenagers who could afford a college tuition were able to legally avoid

the draft. The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) - 民权活动家组织在华盛顿特区举办了数次游行中的第一次，有大约 25,000 名抗议者参加。1965 年，公开发行的卡片在公开场合开始严肃起来，约翰逊总统在加利福尼亚大学伯克利分校被烧毁。

Primary Source: Photograph

Student protesters march through a campus during the Vietnam War.

主要来源：照片

越南战争期间，学生抗议者在校园中游行。

音乐家如琼·贝兹，约翰·列宁，皮特·西格尔，巴里·麦奎尔，吉米·亨德里克斯以及国家队的乔和鱼，彼得，保罗和玛丽等都录制了反战歌曲，并在抗议集会上表演。在 1967 年，重量级拳击冠军穆罕默德阿里宣布自己是一个良心拒服兵役者，并拒绝参加战争。他被判逃避逃罪并被判五年徒刑。他的信念在上诉中被推翻了，但他失去了他的头衔并被禁赛三年。

到 1967 年，反战运动与当时的其他社会运动完全交织在一起。嬉皮士的反文化与反战运动相重叠，因为嬉皮士宣称自由恋爱，并在集会上结束。由马丁路德金博士领导的非洲裔美国人民权运动中的激进分子强烈反战。由于大学生可以获得延期，所以能够承担大学学费的富有的白人青少年能够合法地避免选秀，而贫穷的非洲裔美国

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the draft, while poorer African Americans who did not have the money for college, could not. On the battlefield, African Americans made up a disproportionately high number of the soldiers and the casualties. For many of America's poor, white and black, Vietnam felt like a **rich man's war and a poor man's fight**.

In June of 1967, President Johnson travelled to Los Angeles for a Democratic fundraiser. He met a massive anti-war protest outside his hotel. When the Los Angeles police tried to break up the crowd, violence ensued and Johnson refused to give public speeches from that point onward.

In 1968, students at **Columbia University** in the heart of New York City took over the campus, occupied the offices and classrooms and shut down the school, demanding that the university end research it was conducting to help the government's war effort. After seven days, the New York police were called in to forcibly remove the students. Some 700 were arrested and 12 police officers were injured.

The most tragic and politically damaging protest occurred on May 1, 1970, at Kent State University in Ohio. Violence erupted in the town of Kent after an initial student demonstration on campus, and the next day, the mayor asked Ohio's governor to send in the National Guard. Troops arrived at the university's campus, where students had set fire to the ROTC building and were fighting off firemen and policemen trying to extinguish it. The National Guard used tear gas to break up the demonstration, and several students were arrested.

Tensions came to a head on May 4. Although campus officials had called off a planned demonstration, some 1,500 to 2,000 students assembled, and threw rocks at a security officer who ordered them to leave. 77 members of the National Guard, with bayonets attached to their rifles, approached the students. After forcing most of them to retreat, the troops seemed to depart. Then, for reasons that are still unknown, they halted, turned, and began firing at the students. **Nine students were wounded and four were killed**. Two of the dead had simply been crossing campus on their way to class. Peace was finally restored when a faculty member pleaded with the remaining students to leave. Ironically, most of the national guardsmen were the same age as the students and just as conflicted about the war as the protesters.

人却没有上大学的钱，他们不能。在战场上，非洲裔美国人成为士兵和伤亡人数的不成比例。对于美国的许多穷人，白人和黑人来说，越南感觉像是一个富人的战争和一个穷人的战斗。

1967年6月，约翰逊总统前往洛杉矶进行民主募捐。他在他的酒店外遇到了一场大规模的反战抗议活动。当洛杉矶警方试图打散人群时，暴力随之而来，约翰逊拒绝从那时起公开演讲。

1968年，纽约市中心的哥伦比亚大学的学生接管了校园，占领了办公室和教室，并关闭了学校，要求大学结束研究，帮助政府开展战争。七天后，纽约警方接到强行将学生移走的通知。约700人被捕，12名警察受伤。

1970年5月1日，俄亥俄州肯特州立大学发生了最悲惨和最具政治破坏性的抗议活动。在校园里进行了一次初步的学生示威之后，肯特郡爆发了暴力事件，第二天，市长要求俄亥俄州州长派遣国民警卫队。部队抵达大学的校园，学生们向 ROTC 大楼放火，并扑灭消防队和警察试图将其扑灭。国民警卫队使用催泪瓦斯打破示威，并逮捕了几名学生。

5月4日，紧张局势达到顶峰。虽然校园官员已经取消了有计划的示威活动，但约有1500至2000名学生聚集在一起，并向一位命令他们离开的安全官员投掷石块。国民警卫队的77名成员用步枪附带刺刀接近学生。在迫使大部分人撤退后，部队似乎离开了。然后，由于原因仍然未知，他们停下脚步，转身向学生开枪。九名学生受伤，四人死亡。两名死者在去上课途中只是穿越校园。当一位教员恳求剩下的学生离开时，和平终于恢复了。具有讽刺意味的是，大多数国民警卫员的年龄与学生的年龄相同，并且与抗议者一样对抗战争。

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Primary Source: Photograph

John Filo, a student and part-time news photographer, distilled the feelings many Americans had about Vietnam into a single image when he captured Mary Ann Vecchio kneeling over a fatally wounded Jeffrey Miller at Kent State. Filo's photograph was printed on the front page of the New York Times. It went on to win the Pulitzer Prize and has since become the visual symbol of a hopeful nation's lost youth.

主要来源：照片

学生兼兼职新闻摄影师 John Filo 将许多美国人对越南的感受融入了一个单一的形象。当时他抓住了 Mary Ann Vecchio 跪在 Kent State 的一名重伤员 Jeffrey Miller 身上。Filo 的照片印在纽约时报的头版。它继续赢得普利策奖，从此成为一个充满希望的国家失去青春的视觉象征。

News of the Kent State shootings shocked students around the country. Millions refused to attend class, as strikes were held at hundreds of colleges and high schools across the United States. On May 9, 100,000 protesters turned out in Washington, DC.

Only a few weeks later on May 15, a similar tragedy took place at **Jackson State College**, an African American university in Jackson, Mississippi. Once again, students gathered on campus to protest the invasion of Cambodia, setting fires and throwing rocks. The police arrived to disperse the protesters who had gathered outside a women's dormitory. Shortly after midnight, the police opened fire with shotguns. The dormitory windows shattered, showering people with broken glass. Twelve people were wounded, and two young men, one a student at the college and the other a local high school student, were killed.

Not everyone sympathized with the slain students, however. Nixon had referred to student demonstrators as "bums," and construction workers attacked the New York City protesters. A Gallup poll revealed that most Americans blamed the students for the tragic events at Kent State and in Jackson. While the students, African Americans, and hippies certainly had supporters, and by the early 1970s the majority of Americans opposed the war, their actions did not have the support of most of the country. Many, most notably their parents and grandparents felt that the students represented the worst of America. They were spoiled. They complained. They disrespected authority.

肯特州州的枪击事件令全国各地的学生感到震惊。数百万美国人拒绝参加上课，因为全美数百所大学和高中举行罢课。5月9日，华盛顿特区发生了10万名抗议者。

仅在几个星期后的5月15日，类似的悲剧发生在杰克逊州立大学，密西西比州杰克逊的一所非裔美国大学。学生们再次聚集在校园内抗议柬埔寨入侵，放火烧石。警方赶到时驱散聚集在女性宿舍外的示威者。午夜过后不久，警方用霰弹枪开火。宿舍窗户破碎，淋浴玻璃破碎的人。有十二人受伤，两名年轻男子，一名在学院学生，另一名在当地高中生遇难。

然而，并非所有人都同情被杀的学生。尼克松曾将学生示威者称为“流浪汉”，建筑工人袭击了纽约市的抗议者。盖洛普民意调查显示，大多数美国人在肯特州和杰克逊指责学生们发生了悲惨事件。虽然学生，非洲裔美国人和嬉皮士当然有支持者，到70年代初，大多数美国人反对这场战争，但他们的行动却得不到该国大部分国家的支持。许多人，尤其是他们的父母和祖父母，都认为这些学生是美国最糟糕的学生。他们被宠坏了。他们抱怨说。他们不尊重权威。他们吸烟和滥用毒品。他们抛弃了

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They smoked and abused drugs. They were throwing away time-honored social traditions. And perhaps worst of all, they refused to support America's fighting men and women.

PULLING OUT OF THE QUAGMIRE

Ongoing protests, campus violence, and the expansion of the war into Cambodia deeply disillusioned Americans about their role in Vietnam. Understanding the nation's mood, Nixon dropped his opposition to a repeal of the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution. In January 1971, he signed Congress's revocation of the notorious blanket military authorization. Gallup polls taken in May of that year revealed that only 28% of Americans supported the war. By then, many felt that the war had been a mistake.

Realizing that he must end the war but reluctant to make it look as though the United States was admitting its failure to subdue a small Asian nation, Nixon began maneuvering to secure favorable peace terms from the North Vietnamese. His diplomatic efforts in China and the Soviet Union, also helped. Combined with the intensive bombing of Hanoi and the mining of crucial North Vietnamese harbors, the loss of support from their benefactors made the North Vietnamese more willing to negotiate.

Nixon's actions also won him popular support at home. By the 1972 election, voters favored his policy of Vietnamization by a ratio of two to one. On January 27, 1973, Secretary of State Henry Kissinger signed an accord with Le Duc Tho, the chief negotiator for the North Vietnamese, ending American participation in the war. The United States was given sixty days to withdraw its troops, and North Vietnam was allowed to keep its forces in places it currently occupied. This meant that over 100,000 northern soldiers would remain in the South where they were ideally situated to continue the war with South Vietnam. The United States left behind a small number of military advisors as well as equipment, and Congress continued to approve funds to support South Vietnam, but considerably less than in earlier years. After American troops withdrew the war continued, but it was clear the South could not hope to defeat the North.

On the morning of April 29, 1975, as North Vietnamese and Viet Cong forces moved through the outskirts of Saigon, orders were given to evacuate Americans and South Vietnamese who had supported the United States. Unable to use the airport, **helicopters ferried Americans and Vietnamese refugees from the American embassy** to ships off the coast. North Vietnamese forces entered Saigon the next day, and **the South surrendered**.

历史悠久的社会传统。也许最糟糕的是，他们拒绝支持美国的战斗男女。

走出问题

持续的抗议活动，校园暴力和向柬埔寨扩大战争，让美国人对他们在越南的作用深感失望。了解这个国家的情绪，尼克松放弃了他反对废除东京湾决议湾。1971年1月，他签署了国会撤销臭名昭着的一揽子军事授权。当年5月采取的盖洛普民意调查显示，只有28%的美国人支持这场战争。那时候，许多人都认为这场战争是一个错误。

尼克松意识到自己必须结束战争，但不愿意让美国看起来好像承认自己未能征服一个亚洲小国，而是开始调动起来，以确保北越的和平条件。他在中国和苏联的外交努力也有所帮助。加上对河内的大规模轰炸和关键的北越港口的开采，失去捐助者的支持使得北越更愿意谈判。

尼克松的举动也赢得了他在国内的广泛支持。在1972年的选举中，选民们以2比1的比例赞成他的越南政策。1973年1月27日，国务卿亨利·基辛格与北越首席谈判代表杜德寿签署协议，结束美国参战。美国有六十天的时间撤军，北越被允许保留目前占领的部队。这意味着将有超过100,000名北方士兵留在南方，他们理想地位于南方继续与南越交战。美国留下少数军事顾问和装备，国会继续批准资助支持南越，但比前几年少得多。美军撤回战争后继续进行，但显然南方不希望击败北方。

1975年4月29日上午，越南北部和越南部队穿越西贡郊区，命令撤离美国和支持美国的南越人。由于无法使用机场，直升机将美国大使馆的美国人 and 越南难民送到海岸外运送。北越部队第二天进入西贡，南方投降。

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Primary Source: Photograph

Hubert van Es's iconic photograph of refugees boarding a UH-1 on a rooftop of one of the American embassy's building during Operation Frequent Wind. This photograph is emblematic of the final failure of America's long efforts in Vietnam.

主要来源：照片

Hubert van Es 的难民在 Frequent Wind 行动期间在美国大使馆的一座大楼的屋顶上登上了一架 UH-1 的标志性照片。这张照片象征着美国在越南的长期努力的最终失败。

EFFECTS OF THE WAR

The war had both immediate and long-term effects. With the exit of the Americans from Southeast Asia, neighboring Cambodia and Laos also fell to communist regimes. Domino Theory proved to be true in Southeast Asia. Supporters of the South Vietnamese government, and those afraid of what the new communist governments might do tried to escape. Over 3 million refugees left Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia. Most Asian countries were unwilling to accept these refugees, many of whom fled on whatever small fishing vessels they could find and were known as **boat people**. Between 1975 and 1998, an estimated 1.2 million refugees from Vietnam and other Southeast Asian countries resettled in the United States. Hundreds of thousands more found refuge in Canada, Australia, France and China. Of all the countries of Indochina, Laos experienced the largest refugee flight in proportional terms, as 10% of its total population crossed the border into Thailand.

In the longer term, the war left a scar on a generation of Americans. The Baby Boomers, whose parents had fought and won World War II, were left wondering what they had done wrong. Their friends had gone to die in a distant land, but had not come home victorious. What had all the bloodshed and heartache been for? And so it was that the generation that helped bring about an end of Jim Crow and had done so much good for social justice in America, collectively decided to try to forget the war. For decades, the veterans and protestors alike never mentioned their experiences. When Saigon fell in 1975, Kissinger said that "what we need for this country... is to heal the wounds and put Vietnam behind us..." But despite their efforts to forget, the wounds of Vietnam never healed. Even today, the generation of Americans who

战争的影响

战争具有直接和长期的影响。随着美国人从东南亚的退出，邻国柬埔寨和老挝也陷入了共产主义政权。多米诺理论在东南亚证明是正确的。南越政府的支持者，以及那些担心新共产主义政府可能会做什么的人都试图逃脱。300多万难民离开越南，老挝和柬埔寨。大多数亚洲国家不愿接受这些难民，其中许多人逃到他们能找到的小渔船上，并被称为船民。1975年至1998年期间，估计有120万越南难民和其他东南亚国家的难民在美国重新安置。还有数十万人在加拿大，澳大利亚，法国和中国找到了避难所。在所有印度支那国家中，老挝的比例最大，因为其总人口的10%越过边界进入泰国。

从长远来看，战争给一代美国人留下了伤痕。他们的父母曾经参加过二战，赢得了婴儿潮一代，他们不知道自己做错了什么。他们的朋友在遥远的地方去世，但没有回归胜利。所有的流血和心痛是为了什么？因此，那些帮助吉姆克罗斯诞生并结束并在美国为社会公正做出了很大贡献的一代，共同决定试图忘记这场战争。几十年来，退伍军人和抗议者都从未提及他们的经历。基辛格在1975年下台时说：“我们对这个国家所需要的.....就是愈合伤口，把越南放在我们身后.....”尽管他们努力忘记，但越南的伤口从未愈合。即使在今天，那些在越南和街头和

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suffered through the war, both in Vietnam and in the streets and campuses back home, struggle to make sense of the catastrophe that shaped their young lives.

校园中遭受战争折磨的美国人，仍然在努力理解形成年轻人生活的灾难。



Primary Source: Photograph

One example of the Vietnamese boat people – refugees escaping the advancing North Vietnamese Army.

主要来源：照片

越南船民的一个例子 - 难民逃离前进的北越军队。

The war led to constitutional change. Up until the war, the Constitution granted voting rights to citizens age 21 and older. Many Americans felt that if 18-year-olds were old enough to be drafted and die for their country, they ought to be able to vote as well. On July 1, 1971, the **26th Amendment** was ratified by the requisite two-thirds of the states, just three months and eight days after it was proposed in Congress. It was the fastest any amendment was ever ratified.

战争导致了宪政变革。直到战争结束，宪法赋予 21 岁及以上的公民投票权。许多美国人认为，如果 18 岁的孩子年龄大到可以为自己的国家起草和死亡，他们应该也可以投票。1971 年 7 月 1 日，第 26 修正案得到了必要的三分之二

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The loss in Vietnam left its mark on the armed forces. Having failed to achieve the mission the military is designed to do – win on the battlefield – Americans were hesitant to send troops back into combat. This was **Vietnam Syndrome**, and it lasted into the 1980s, when President Reagan finally committed the military into action again, albeit in much smaller operations. When President George H. W. Bush decided to send the military into Iraq as part of Operation Desert Storm in 1991, much of the criticism came from those who feared “another Vietnam.” Now, most of the generals who had been young soldiers in Vietnam are retiring and a new generation of commanders, who never experienced that defeat, are leading. Of course, America’s recent, long wars in Afghanistan and Iraq have brought back painful memories of the quagmire of Vietnam for the generation who lived through it.



In all, America’s war in Vietnam cost the lives of more than 1.5 million Vietnamese combatants and civilians, and over 58,000 American troops. Those soldiers are honored in a poignant memorial in the nation’s capital. The **Vietnam Wall** cuts a long V through the earth near the Lincoln Memorial. Along its face are carved the names of all those who were lost. Visitors, many of them family and friends of the fallen, come to find their love ones’ names and to leave mementos. A young architect, **Maya Lin**, the daughter of Chinese immigrants, won a competition to design the memorial and the black granite of her vision reflects back the faces of those who visit. It is perhaps the most fitting memorial possible – the emotions of the living who struggle with the

国家的批准，仅在国会提出三个月和八天之后。这是有史以来最快的修正案。

越南的损失在军队上留下了印记。由于未能实现军方打算完成的任务 - 在战场上取胜 - 美国人不愿意派兵重返战斗。这是越南综合症，它持续到 20 世纪 80 年代，里根总统终于再次实施军事行动，尽管在更小的行动。1991 年，乔治布什总统决定派遣军队进入伊拉克，作为“沙漠风暴”行动的一部分，大部分批评来自那些害怕“另一个越南”的人。现在，在越南年轻士兵的大多数将领都退休了新一代的指挥官从未失败过，他们领先。当然，美国最近在阿富汗和伊拉克发生的长期战争，为那些经历过它的那一代人带来了越南泥潭的痛苦回忆。

Primary Source: Photograph

One example of the Vietnamese boat people – refugees escaping the advancing North Vietnamese Army.

主要来源：照片

越南船民的一个例子 - 难民逃离前进的北越军队。

总而言之，美国在越南的战争耗费了超过 150 万越南战斗人员和平民的生命，以及超过 58,000 名美国士兵的生命。这些士兵在国家首都的一座凄美的纪念碑上受到尊重。越南墙在林肯纪念堂附近的地球上划出一道长长的 V 字。在脸上刻着所有失去者的名字。来访者，其中许多人是堕落的家人和朋友，来找到他们的爱人的名字，并留下纪念品。一位年轻的建筑师，中国移民的女儿玛雅林赢得了设计纪念碑的竞赛，她的视觉中的黑色花岗岩反映了参观者的面孔。这也许是最合适的纪念馆 - 与过去的痛苦斗争的生活者的情绪与

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pain of the past are bound together with the names of the people they loved and lost in a war that America still has not come to fully understand.

CONCLUSION

Since the Second World War, the United States had been the most economically vibrant, militarily powerful nation on Earth. Why is it then, that the American military could not subdue the insurgency of a relatively tiny Third World nation? Vietnam was no proxy war. American troops were fully committed, leading the fight on the ground and they were not fighting the Soviets or the Chinese Red Army. The enemy was often disorganized and poorly equipped. Americans controlled the sea and the air almost without opposition.

Could it have been a lack of knowledge of the fighting spirit of the Vietnamese people, or a passion for communist ideology that was fiercer than America's commitment to freedom and democracy?

Was it a problem of two wars? Maybe America's loss was because the Vietnamese were fighting a struggle for independence while Americans believed they were facing down communists in a battle of the Cold War and the two goals simply never could have ended in an American victory.

Maybe it was a matter of leadership. Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson and Nixon failed to understand the true nature of the conflict. General Westmoreland tried to fight a new foe using old tactics. The United States supported the wrong man in Diem. On the other side, Ho Chi Minh was beloved and the North Vietnamese commanders wisely used their limited resources to inflict the greatest harm at the lowest cost.

Or maybe Americans failed because they simply gave up. If the Baby Boomer Generation had not been so spoiled or afraid of sacrifice, could they have prevailed the way their parents had?

What do you think? Why did America lose its war in Vietnam?



Watch Johnson's address regarding the Gulf of Tonkin

他们在美国仍未完全理解的战争中所爱和失去的人们的名字捆绑在一起。

结论

自第二次世界大战以来，美国一直是地球上经济最活跃，军事强大的国家。那么为什么美国军方无法制服一个相对较小的第三世界国家的叛乱呢？越南不是代理人战争。美国军队全力以赴，率先在当地进行战斗，并没有与苏联或中国红军作战。敌人往往混乱无序，装备不佳。美国人几乎没有反对，控制了海洋和空气。

难道这是对越南人民战斗精神的认识不足，或者是对共产主义意识形态的激情比美国对自由民主的承诺更激烈？

这是两场战争的问题吗？也许美国的损失是因为越南人为争取独立而斗争，而美国人相信他们在冷战的战争中正面临着共产主义者，而这两个目标根本不可能在美国人的胜利中结束。

也许这是一个领导问题。艾森豪威尔，肯尼迪，约翰逊和尼克松没有理解冲突的本质。威斯特摩兰将军试图用旧战术来对抗新敌人。美国在迪姆支持错误的人。另一方面，胡志明深受眷顾，北越的指挥官明智地利用有限的资源以最低的成本造成最大的伤害。

或者也许美国人因为放弃而失败。如果婴儿潮一代没有如此宠坏或害怕牺牲，他们是否能够胜过父母的方式？

你怎么看？为什么美国在越南失去战争？



Watch a television report of participants sharing their memories of the Kent State Massacre

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KEY CONCEPTS

Baby Killer: Derogatory name that anti-war protesters called returning soldiers. It referred to the killing of civilians.

Rich man's war and a poor man's fight: Phrase that exemplified the idea that wealthy politicians were making choices about the conduct of the war but that poor Americans, especially African Americans, had to do the fighting.

Vietnam Syndrome: A fear on the part of American leaders to send the military into action due to the loss in Vietnam.

关键概念

婴儿杀手：反战抗议者称退伍士兵的贬义名称。它提到杀害平民。

富人的战争和一个穷人的战斗：短语代表了富裕的政治家们对战争行为做出选择的想法，但贫穷的美国人，特别是非裔美国人不得不去做战斗。

越南综合症：由于越南的损失，美国领导人担心派军队采取行动。



LOCATIONS

Free-Fire Zones: Areas of the Vietnamese countryside. All civilians in these areas were supposed to move to camps and anyone left in the zones was considered an enemy. In reality, many civilians refused to leave and were killed. The policy made the government of South Vietnam and the Americans unpopular with the civilian population.

Ho Chi Minh Trail: Route taken by North Vietnamese to supply the Viet Cong in the South. The route went through Laos and Cambodia.

Vietnam War Memorial: Also known as the Vietnam Wall, the memorial in Washington, DC bears the names of all Americans who died in the war. It takes the shape of a long granite V sunken into the earth. Visitors see themselves reflected in the polished stone.

地点

自由区：越南乡村的区域。这些地区的所有平民都应该搬到营地，任何留在这些地区的人都被认为是敌人。实际上，许多平民拒绝离开并被杀害。这一政策使南越政府和美国人不受平民的欢迎。

胡志明小径：北越向南越提供越南的路线。这条路线经过老挝和柬埔寨。

越南战争纪念碑：也被称为越战墙，华盛顿特区的纪念碑上有所有在战争中遇难的美国人的名字。它采取沉入地球的长花岗岩 V 的形状。游客看到自己反映在抛光的石头上。



TREATIES, LAWS & POLICIES

Geneva Accords: International agreement after World War II to unify Vietnam and hold nation-wide elections. Diem in the South ignored the accords knowing he would lose an election.

Gulf of Tonkin Resolution: Resolution passed by Congress in 1964 that granted President Johnson wide authority to use armed force in Vietnam. It was used by presidents Johnson and Nixon to go to war without an actual declaration of war.

Vietnamization: Nixon's policy of withdrawing American troops and turning responsibility for fighting over to the South Vietnamese Army. It was a way of ending the war without surrendering.

26th Amendment: Constitutional amendment ratified in 1971 granting the right to vote to anyone age 18 and older. Previously citizens had to be 21 to vote.

条款，法律和政策

日内瓦协定：二战后达成的统一越南和举行全国选举的国际协议。南方的迪姆不理睬这些协议，因为他知道他失去一次选举。

东京湾解决方案：1964 年国会通过的决议授权约翰逊总统在越南使用武力。总统约翰逊和尼克松用它在没有实际宣战的情况下参加战争。

越南化：尼克松放弃美国军队并将战斗责任转交给南越军队的政策。这是在不投降的情况下结束战争的一种方式。

第二十六条修正案：1971 年批准的宪法修正案赋予 18 岁及以上的任何人投票权。以前的公民必须是 21 票才能投票。



PEOPLE AND GROUPS

Ho Chi Minh: Communist leader of North Vietnam who fought the French, Japanese and then Americans in an effort to realize independence for Vietnam.

Viet Minh: The North Vietnamese army.

Ngo Dinh Diem: Dictator of South Vietnam. He was widely hated due to his corrupt government, policies that favored the Catholic minority and was eventually killed in a coup that was tacitly supported by the US.

人和团体

胡志明：北越的共产党领导人，为争取越南独立而与法国人，日本人和美国人交战。

越南：北越军队。

Ngo Dinh Diem：南越的独裁者。由于他的政府腐败，政府倾向于支持天主教少数民族，并最终在美国默许的政变中被杀，他因此受到广泛的憎恨。

1 WHY DIDN'T AMERICAN WIN ITS WAR IN VIETNAM?



Thich Quang Duc: Buddhist monk who self-immolated on a street corner in Saigon to protest Diem's government. A photograph of the event captured the world's attention.

Robert McNamara: Secretary of Defense during the Vietnam War. He is often blamed for the failure.

Viet Cong: Guerilla fighters in South Vietnam who supported the North.

William Westmoreland: American commander in Vietnam.

Walter Cronkite: Respected television news anchor who went to Vietnam during the Tet Offensive and reported that he believed that war would end in a stalemate. His opinion influenced many Americans.

Students for a Democratic Society: Group of college students who organized protests, most notably large rallies in Washington, DC.

Muhammad Ali: Heavyweight boxing champion who went to jail instead of going to Vietnam when he was drafted. He lost his title but served as an example for other draft dodgers.

Vietnamese Boat People: South Vietnamese refugees who escaped the advancing North Vietnamese Army by boarding small boats and travelling to neighboring countries. They were one part of a larger refugee crisis that followed the fall of South Vietnam.

Maya Lin: Young Chinese-American architect who won a competition to design the Vietnam War Memorial.

Thich Quang Duc: 佛教僧侣在西贡的一个街角自焚, 抗议 Diem 的政府。这张照片甚至引起了全世界的关注。

罗伯特麦克纳马拉: 越战期间的国防部长。他经常被指责失败。

越南: 支持北方的越南南部的游击战士。

William Westmoreland: 美国驻越南司令。

Walter Cronkite: 在 Tet 攻势期间去过越南的受人尊敬的电视新闻主播, 并报告说他相信战争将以僵局结束。意见影响了很多美国人。

民主社会学生: 组织抗议活动的大学生群体, 华盛顿特区最引人注目的大型集会。

穆罕默德阿里: 重量级拳击冠军谁被监禁, 而不是去越南时, 他被起草。他失去了他的头衔, 但担任其他选秀禁区的榜样。

越南船民: 南越难民, 他们乘坐小船逃往邻近的国家, 逃离了前进的北越军队。他们是越南南部沦陷后的难民危机之一。

玛雅林: 赢得设计越南战争纪念馆比赛的年轻美籍华裔建筑师。



EVENTS

Assassination of Diem: South Vietnamese army officers arranged the assassinate Diem and his brother and take over the government. The plot was carried out in November 1963. The CIA knew about the plot and did nothing to stop it.

Operation Rolling Thunder: Major bombing campaign initiated in 1965 in an effort to force the North Vietnamese to surrender. It inflicted heavy damage but failed in its primary objective.

Tet Offensive: Major operation undertaken by the North Vietnamese to attack cities in the South during the new year's celebration (Tet) of 1968. It ultimately failed but did demonstrate that the North was not about to surrender.

1968 Democratic Primary: In 1968 senator Eugene McCarthy challenged sitting president Lyndon Johnson. McCarthy ran as an anti-war candidate. When McCarthy did surprisingly well in the first primary election Johnson withdrew from the race. Robert Kennedy joined as another anti-war candidate and vice president Hubert Humphry joined as a pro-war candidate. Humphry eventually won the nomination but lost the general election to Richard Nixon.

My Lai Massacre: Attack by American troops on the village of My Lai in 1968. The American commander ordered his soldiers to kill everyone in the village, including women and children. The massacre caused many in the around the world to doubt the good intentions of the United States.

Invasion of Cambodia: In 1970 President Nixon decided to send American ground forces into Cambodia to cut off the Ho Chi Minh Trail. His move intensified the anti-war movement.

Columbia University Protest: Protest in which students occupied the campus of Columbia University in 1968. They were violently ousted by the NYC police.

Kent State Shooting: Clash between students and the Ohio National Guard at Kent State University in 1970. The guardsmen opened fire on unarmed students resulting in nine deaths. The massacre shocked the nation as it seemed the war was coming home.

Jackson State Shooting: A less publicized shooting similar to the Kent State Massacre that occurred a few weeks later at the predominantly African American Jackson State College. Twelve students were wounded and two were killed by police.

活动

Diem 暗杀: 南越军队官员安排暗杀 Diem 和他的兄弟并接管政府。情节是在 1963 年 11 月进行的。中央情报局知道情节并没有阻止它。

滚动雷霆行动: 1965 年发起的重大轰炸运动, 旨在迫使北越投降。它造成严重破坏, 但其主要目标失败。

Tet 攻势: 北越在 1968 年新年庆典 (Tet) 期间进行的攻击南部城市的主要行动。它最终失败了, 但确实表明北方不会投降。

1968 年民主党初选: 1968 年参议员尤金麦卡锡挑战总统林登约翰逊。麦卡锡是一名反战候选人。当麦卡锡在约翰逊的第一次大选中退出比赛时表现出色。罗伯特·肯尼迪是另一位反战候选人, 副总统休伯特·汉弗瑞是一位亲战候选人。汉弗瑞最终赢得了提名, 但失去了大选给理查德尼克松。

我的黎大屠杀: 美军在 1968 年袭击了我的黎村。美军指挥官命令他的士兵杀死村里所有人, 包括妇女和儿童。这场屠杀使得全世界许多人怀疑美国的良好意图。

入侵柬埔寨: 1970 年, 尼克松总统决定派美国地面部队进入柬埔寨, 切断胡志明小径。他的举动加剧了反战运动。

哥伦比亚大学抗议活动: 1968 年, 学生们在哥伦比亚大学校园内抗议。他们被纽约警察暴力推翻。

肯特州立拍摄: 学生与俄亥俄州国民警卫队于 1970 年在肯特州立大学发生冲突。卫兵向手无寸铁的学生开火, 导致 9 人死亡。大屠杀震惊了这个国家, 因为战争似乎正在回家。

杰克逊州立拍摄: 一种类似于肯特州大屠杀的较少公开拍摄, 几周后在主要的非裔美国人杰克逊州立大学发生。有十二名学生受伤, 两人被警察打死。

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Operation Frequent Wind: A military airlift to transport escaping American and Vietnamese supporters out of Saigon as the North Vietnamese closed in in 1975.

Surrender of South Vietnam: April 30, 1975. North Vietnamese troops entered Saigon and the South Vietnamese government fell. Vietnam was united under communist leadership.

频繁风行动：随着北越在 1975 年关闭，一场军事空运将越南的美国和越南支持者从西贡运出。

南越投降：1975 年 4 月 30 日。北越军队进入西贡，南越政府倒台。越南在共产主义领导下团结起来。



TECHNOLOGY

Agent Orange: Chemical sprayed from aircraft that caused the leaves to fall off of trees, thus making it easier to find enemy fighters. It is widely believed to have caused serious health problems for the soldiers who were exposed.

技术

橙剂：从飞机上喷出的化学药剂，可以让树叶从树上掉下来，从而更容易找到敌方战士。人们普遍认为已经为暴露的士兵造成了严重的健康问题。

2

S E C O N D Q U E S T I O N S H O U L D W E T R U S T O U R N A T I O N ' S L E A D E R S ?



INTRODUCTION

It is a running joke that politicians lie. However, in general we expect those in positions of authority to inform the public truthfully about what is happening. In the case of the people we elect, we expect that they will be honest, and for most of the nation's history, Americans usually believed what their presidents told them. That is not the case today. Now, our first instinct is to question and we and the media are on the lookout for lies. Some newspapers even keep a running log of each time a president says something that is even partially untrue. The Washington Post's famous fact checkers award Pinocchios to politicians the way reviewers give stars to movies.

How did this change happen? How is it that we came to be so distrusting? Furthermore, does our mistrust extend to other leaders, such as CEOs, generals, superintendents, principals, or even teachers?

This shift happened during the 1970s. A simple chart showing the percentage of people who trust the president over time falls off dramatically during this decade, and an exploration of the events of those years can give us a good idea as to why this shift happened. In the 1970s, leakers revealed that a series of presidents had been lying about the Vietnam War, a president resigned in disgrace after participating in a criminal conspiracy, and all three presidents during the decade failed to turn around a struggling economy.

That brings us to our question. The 1970s certainly proved that sometimes our presidents are untrustworthy, or at least unable to achieve the goals we wish they could. But does that mean we can't trust our leaders in general, or just that we should expect them to earn our trust?

What do you think? Can we trust our nation's leaders?

介绍

政客们说谎是个笑话。但是，总的来说，我们期望那些处于权力地位的人如实地向公众通报所发生的事情。对于我们选出的人来说，我们预计他们会是诚实的，对于美国历史上的大部分人来说，美国人通常都相信他们的总统告诉他们的是什么。今天情况并非如此。现在，我们的第一个直觉是质疑，我们和媒体都在寻找谎言。有些报纸甚至每次发布总统所说的甚至是部分不真实的东西时都会记录下来。“华盛顿邮报”着名的事实检查员向评论家们提供电影明星的方式向政客颁发皮诺基斯奖。

这种变化是如何发生的？我们怎么会变得如此不信任？此外，我们的不信任还会延伸到其他领导人，如首席执行官，将军，监管人员，校长甚至教师吗？

这种转变发生在 20 世纪 70 年代。一个简单的图表显示了在过去的十年里，相信总统的人的比例急剧下降，对这些年的事件的探索可以给我们一个很好的想法，说明为什么会发生这种转变。20 世纪 70 年代，泄密者透露，一系列总统对越南战争一直在撒谎，总统在参与犯罪阴谋后辞职，三位总统都未能扭转经济困境。

这给我们带来了我们的问题。20 世纪 70 年代当然证明，有时我们的总统是不可信的，或者至少不能实现我们希望他们能够实现的目标。但这是否意味着我们不能相信我们的领导人，或者说我们应该期望他们赢得我们的信任？

你怎么看？我们能相信我们国家的领导人吗？

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THE PENTAGON PAPERS

In 1967, Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara created a special study group charged with writing an “encyclopedic history of the Vietnam War.” McNamara claimed that he wanted to leave a written record for historians, to prevent policy errors in future administrations, but he neglected to inform either President Lyndon Johnson or Secretary of State Dean Rusk about the study.

Instead of using existing Defense Department historians, McNamara assigned close aides. Thirty-six analysts worked on the study. They largely used existing files in the Office of the Secretary of Defense in order to keep the study secret, and conducted no interviews or consultations with the armed forces, with the White House, or with other federal agencies.

McNamara left the Defense Department in February 1968, and his successor Clark Clifford received the finished study on January 15, 1969, five days before President Richard Nixon's inauguration, although Clifford claimed he never read it. The study comprised 3,000 pages of historical analysis and 4,000 pages of original government documents in 47 volumes, and was classified as “Top Secret – Sensitive.”

But the report did not remain secret. One of the analysts who had access to the report, **Daniel Ellsberg** opposed the war, and he and his friend **Anthony Russo** photocopied the study in October 1969 intending to disclose it. Ellsberg said the documents “demonstrated unconstitutional behavior by a succession of presidents, the violation of their oath and the violation of the oath of every one of their subordinates.”

In February 1971, Ellsberg discussed the study with New York Times reporter Neil Sheehan, and gave 43 of the volumes to him in March. Before publication, The New York Times sought legal advice. The paper's regular lawyers, Lord Day & Lord, advised against publication, but in-house counsel James Goodale prevailed with his argument that the press had a First Amendment right to publish information significant to the people's understanding of their government's policy.

The New York Times began publishing excerpts on June 13, 1971, in a series titled “Vietnam Archive: Pentagon Study Traces Three Decades of Growing US Involvement.” The study was dubbed **The Pentagon Papers** during the resulting media publicity.

The Pentagon Papers revealed that four presidents – Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson – had misled the public regarding their intentions in Vietnam. For example, the Eisenhower

PENTAGON 论文

1967 年，国防部长罗伯特麦克纳马拉创立了一个专门研究小组，负责撰写“越战战争的百科全书”。麦克纳马拉声称他想为历史学家留下书面记录，以防止未来政府的政策失误，但他忽略了通知总统林登约翰逊或国务卿 Dean Rusk 关于这项研究。

麦克纳马拉没有使用现有的国防部历史学家，而是派出了近距离的助手。这项研究共有三十六名分析师进行研究。他们在很大程度上利用了国防部长办公室的现有档案，以便保密研究，并且不会与武装部队，白宫或其他联邦机构进行面谈或磋商。

麦克纳马拉于 1968 年 2 月离开国防部，他的继任者克拉克克利福德在理查德尼克松总统就职前五天在 1969 年 1 月 15 日接受了完成的研究，尽管克利福德声称他从未读过它。这项研究包括三千页的历史分析和四千页的原始政府文件，共 47 卷，并被列为“最高机密 - 敏感”。

但报告并不保密。其中一位获得报告的分析师 Daniel Ellsberg 反对这场战争，他和他的朋友 Anthony Russo 于 1969 年 10 月对该研究进行了复印，意在披露这项研究。埃尔斯伯格表示，这些文件“显示了一连串总统的违宪行为，违反了他们的誓言并违反了他们每个下属的誓言。”

1971 年 2 月，Ellsberg 与纽约时报记者 Neil Sheehan 讨论了这项研究，并在 3 月份向他提供了 43 卷。在出版之前，纽约时报征求法律意见。该报的正律师 Lord Day & Lord 建议不要出版，但内部律师 James Goodale 认为他的论点是，新闻媒体有权发布重要信息，以显示人们对政府政策的理解。

“纽约时报”于 1971 年 6 月 13 日开始发表一篇题为“越南档案：五角大楼研究报告追踪美国越来越多的三十年的系列报道”的摘录。这项研究在最终的媒体宣传期间被称为五角大楼文件。

五角大楼文件显示，四位总统 - 杜鲁门，艾森豪威尔，肯尼迪和约翰逊 - 已经误导了公众在越南的意图。例如，艾森豪威尔政府积极反对日内瓦

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Administration actively worked against the Geneva Accords. The Kennedy administration knew of plans to overthrow South Vietnamese leader Ngo Dinh Diem before his death in the November 1963 coup. President Johnson had decided to expand the war while promising, “we seek no wider war” during his 1964 presidential campaign, including plans to bomb North Vietnam well before the 1964 Election. President Johnson had been outspoken against doing so during the election and claimed that his opponent Barry Goldwater was the one that wanted to bomb North Vietnam, but in the end, Johnson authorized the bombing of Cambodia and Laos, and coastal raids on North Vietnam, none of which had been reported by the American media.

President Nixon at first planned to do nothing about publication of the study since it embarrassed the Johnson and Kennedy administrations rather than his own, but Henry Kissinger convinced the president that not opposing the publication might encourage future leaks that would hurt Nixon. Government lawyers argued that Ellsberg and Russo were guilty of violating the Espionage Act of 1917 because they had no authority to publish classified documents. After failing to persuade the New York Times to voluntarily cease publication, Attorney General John Mitchell and Nixon obtained a federal court injunction forcing the Times to cease publication after three articles. The newspaper appealed the injunction, and the case **New York Times Co. v. United States** quickly rose through the legal system to the Supreme Court.

协定。肯尼迪政府知道计划在 1963 年 11 月的政变中去世前推翻南越领导人吴庭元。约翰逊总统决定在 1964 年总统竞选期间承诺扩大战争，“我们不寻求更广泛的战争”，包括计划在 1964 年选举之前轰炸北越。约翰逊总统在大选期间一直直言不讳，并声称他的对手巴里戈德沃特是想要轰炸北越的那个人，但最终，约翰逊授权轰炸柬埔寨和老挝，以及沿海袭击北越，没有一家其中有美国媒体报道。

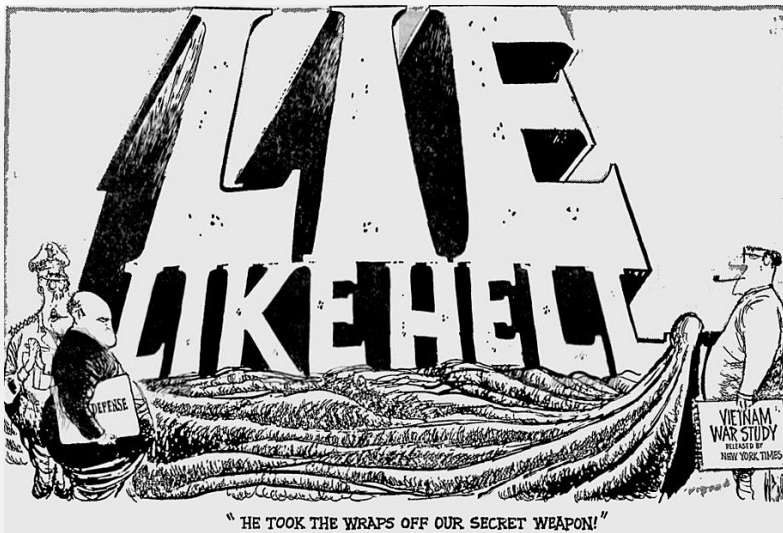
尼克松总统最初计划对发表这项研究一事无成，因为它让约翰逊和肯尼迪政府尴尬，而不是他自己，但亨利基辛格说服总统说，不反对该出版物可能会鼓励未来的泄露，这会伤害尼克松。政府律师认为，Ellsberg 和 Russo 因违反 1917 年间谍法案而犯罪，因为他们无权发布机密文件。在未能说服纽约时报自愿停止出版后，司法部长约翰·米切尔和尼克松获得了联邦法院的强制令，迫使“纽约时报”在三篇文章后停止出版。该报上诉禁令，纽约时报公司诉美国案迅速通过法律体系上升至最高法院。

Primary Source: Editorial Cartoon

A 1971 cartoon by Don Wright panning the military and government for their deception during the Vietnam War.

主要来源：编辑卡通

唐·赖特 1971 年的漫画在越南战争期间为军队和政府的欺骗做准备。



On June 18, 1971, The Washington Post, which had also received portions of the documents from Ellsberg, began publishing its own series of articles based upon the Pentagon Papers. That same day,

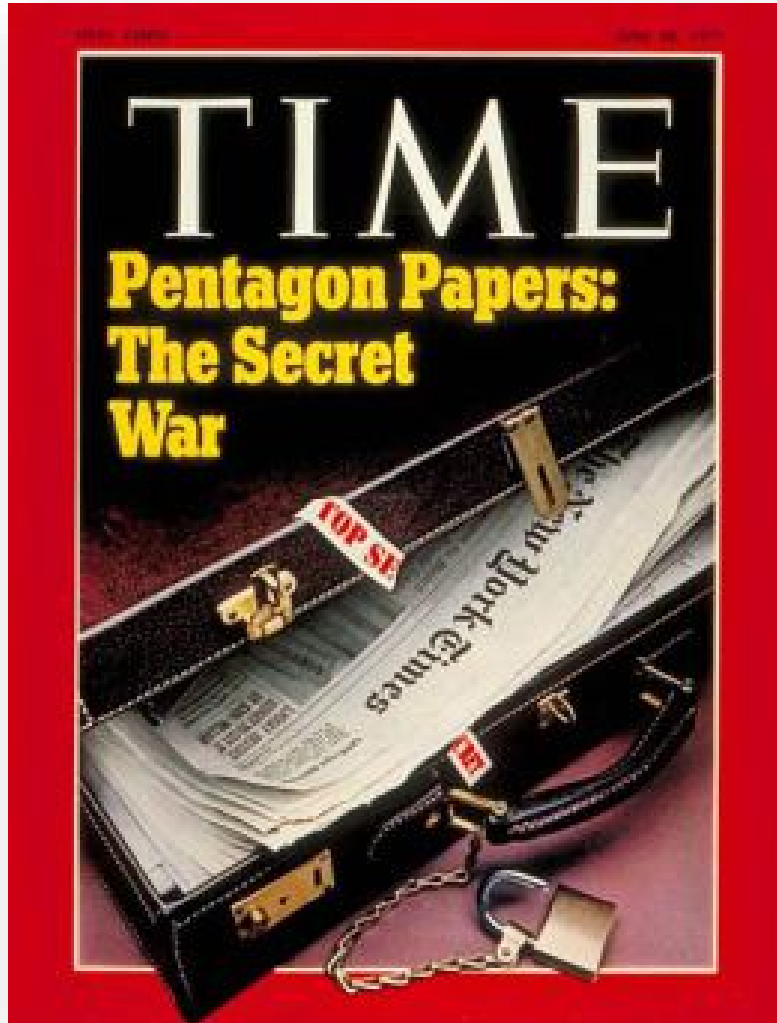
1971 年 6 月 18 日，华盛顿邮报也收到了来自 Ellsberg 的部分文件，开始发布自己的一系列基于五角大楼文件的文章。同一天，美国助理总检察长

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Assistant U.S. Attorney General William Rehnquist asked the Post to cease publication. After the newspaper's owners refused, Rehnquist sought an injunction in district court. Judge Murray Gurfein declined to issue such an injunction, writing that, "the security of the Nation is not at the ramparts alone. Security also lies in the value of our free institutions. A cantankerous press, an obstinate press, a ubiquitous press must be suffered by those in authority to preserve the even greater values of freedom of expression and the right of the people to know." The government appealed that decision, and on June 26, the Supreme Court agreed to hear it jointly with the New York Times case. In the meantime, fifteen other newspapers received copies of the study and began publishing it.

威廉伦奎斯特要求邮政停止出版。报纸的所有者拒绝后，伦奎斯特在地方法院寻求禁令。Murray Gurfein 法官拒绝发布这样的禁令，他写道：“国家的安全不在单独的城墙上。安全还在于我们的自由机构的价值。一个庸俗的新闻界，一个顽固的新闻界，一个无处不在的新闻界必须遭到有权维护表达自由的更大价值和人民知情权的无处不在的媒体。”政府对此作出了上诉，并于6月26日最高法院同意与“纽约时报”案件一起听取它的意见。与此同时，其他十五家报纸也收到了这份研究报告的副本，并开始发表。



Primary Source: Magazine Cover

Many news sources published stories about the Pentagon Papers, including Time Magazine.

主要来源：杂志封面

许多新闻媒体发表了有关五角大楼文件的报道，其中包括时代杂志。

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On June 30, 1971, the Supreme Court decided, 6-3, that the government failed to meet the heavy burden of proof required to obtain a prior restraint injunction. The nine justices wrote nine opinions disagreeing on significant, substantive matters, but the essential takeaways from the case were clear.

In the words of Justice Black, “Only a free and unrestrained press can effectively expose deception in government. And paramount among the responsibilities of a free press is the duty to prevent any part of the government from deceiving the people and sending them off to distant lands to die of foreign fevers and foreign shot and shell.”

The outcome was a major victory for newspapers, and the media in general. Even today, the *New York Times Co. v. United States* case protects the right of the press to report what government officials are doing, even if those officials don't want the public to know.

Ellsberg himself surrendered to authorities and admitted that he had given the papers to the press stating, “I felt that as an American citizen, as a responsible citizen, I could no longer cooperate in concealing this information from the American public. I did this clearly at my own jeopardy and I am prepared to answer to all the consequences of this decision.” He was indicted by a grand jury in Los Angeles on charges of stealing and holding secret documents. But the Nixon Administration botched the case. In their paranoia about preventing future leaks, Nixon's henchmen, called the **Plumbers**, had decided to humiliate Ellsberg and had illegally broken into the office of Ellsberg's psychiatrist in a failed attempt to steal embarrassing files.

Federal District Judge William Matthew Byrne, Jr. declared a mistrial and dismissed all charges against Ellsberg and his partner Russo on May 11, 1973, after it was revealed that agents acting on the orders of the Nixon administration had approached the trial judge and offered to make him director of the FBI. Judge Byrne ruled, “the totality of the circumstances of this case... offend a sense of justice.” Ellsberg and Russo were freed and the public began to think that Nixon was no more honest than his predecessors.

On May 4, 2011, the National Archives and Records Administration announced that the complete Pentagon Papers would be declassified and released. Today, anyone can download and read the Papers from the Archive's website.

NIXON'S REELECTION

After the chaotic convention in Chicago in 1968, the Democratic Party redesigned its procedure for selecting its presidential candidate. The new rules, set by a commission led by George McGovern, a senator

1971年6月30日，最高法院6-3决定，政府未能履行取得先前约束禁令所需的沉重举证责任。9位法官写了9条意见，不同意重大的实质性问题，但本案的基本要点很明显。

用布莱克法官的话说：“只有自由奔放的新闻媒体才能有效揭露政府的欺骗行为。新闻自由的首要责任防止政府的任何部分欺骗人民并将他们送到遥远的国家去死于外国发烧和外国炮击。”

结果是报纸和整个媒体的重大胜利。即使在今天，纽约时报公司诉美国案也保护了媒体报道政府官员在做什么的权利，即使这些官员不希望公众知道。

埃尔斯伯格自己向当局投降，并承认他曾向报界发表过文件说：“我认为作为一名美国公民，作为一个负责任的公民，我不能再合作地向美国公众隐瞒这些信息。我明确地做到了这一点，并且我准备好应对这一决定的所有后果。”他被洛杉矶的一个陪审团以盗窃和持有秘密文件罪名起诉。但尼克松政府拙劣的案件。在他们对防止未来泄漏的偏执狂中，尼克松的追随者，称为管道工，决定羞辱 Ellsberg，并非法侵入 Ellsberg 精神病医生的办公室，试图窃取令人尴尬的文件。

联邦区法官 William Matthew Byrne, Jr. 于 1973 年 5 月 11 日宣布进行了一次错判并驳回了 Ellsberg 及其合伙人 Russo 的所有指控，因为他们透露，根据尼克松政府命令行事的代理人已经接近审判法官，让他成为联邦调查局局长。伯恩法官裁定：“这起案件的总体情况.....冒犯了正义感。”埃尔斯伯格和鲁索被释放，公众开始认为尼克松不像前任那样诚实。

2011年5月4日，国家档案和记录管理局宣布五角大楼文件将全部解密并发布。今天，任何人都可以从档案网站下载并阅读论文。

尼克松的重新选择

在 1968 年芝加哥混乱的大会之后，民主党重新设计了选举总统候选人的程序。由南达科他州参议员乔治麦戈文领导的委员会制定的新规定根据候选人在

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from South Dakota, awarded delegates based on a candidate's performance in state primaries. As a result, a candidate who won no primaries could not receive the party's nomination as Hubert Humphrey had controversially done in Chicago.

The new system gave a greater voice to people who voted in the primaries and reduced the influence of party leaders and power brokers who might manipulate the nominating process at the convention itself. It also led to a more inclusive political environment. In 1972, Shirley Chisholm, a member of the House of Representatives from New York became the first African-American and first woman to win official support for a major party nomination when she garnered 156 votes on the first ballot.

Eventually, the nomination went to **George McGovern**, a strong opponent of the Vietnam War. However, many Democrats refused to support his campaign. Working and middle class voters turned against him after allegations that he supported abortion and the decriminalization of drug use. McGovern's initial support of vice presidential candidate Thomas Eagleton in the face of revelations that Eagleton had undergone electroshock treatment for depression, followed by his withdrawal of that support and acceptance of Eagleton's resignation, also made McGovern look indecisive and disorganized.

Nixon and the Republicans held a strong lead in public opinion from the start. Nixon's foreign policy successes, including his visit to China and a healthy economy bolstered his reputation. To increase their advantage, Republicans attempted to paint McGovern as a radical leftist who favored amnesty for draft dodgers. In the Electoral College, McGovern carried only liberal Massachusetts and Washington, DC. Nixon won a decisive victory of 520 electoral votes to McGovern's 17. One Democrat described his role in McGovern's campaign as "recreation director on the Titanic." It was one of the most lopsided victories in American presidential history. Unfortunately for Nixon, the seeds of his downfall were already sown.

THE WATERGATE BREAK-IN

During the presidential campaign, the **Committee to Re-Elect the President (CREEP)**, the fundraising arm of the Nixon Campaign, decided to play "dirty tricks" on Nixon's opponents. Before the New Hampshire democratic primary, they released a forged letter supposedly written by democratic-hopeful Edmund Muskie in which he insulted French Canadians, one of the state's largest ethnic groups. Men were assigned to spy on both McGovern and democratic hopeful Senator Edward Kennedy. Men pretending to

州初选中的表现向各代表授予了代表。结果，一个不获得初选的候选人无法收到该党的提名，因为休伯特汉弗莱在芝加哥曾有过争议。

新体系给初选中投票的人提供了更大的发言权，并降低了可能操纵公约本身提名流程的党派领导和权力中介的影响力。这也导致了更具包容性的政治环境。1972年，来自纽约众议院的众议员 Shirley Chisholm 成为第一位赢得官方支持的非裔美国人和第一位女性，她在第一轮投票中获得 156 票。

最终，这项提名被提交给了越战的强大对手乔治麦戈文。但是，许多民主党人拒绝支持他的竞选。工作和中产阶级选民在指控他支持堕胎和吸毒非刑罪化之后对他表示反对。麦戈文最初支持副总统候选人托马斯伊格尔顿面对伊格尔顿接受电击治疗抑郁症，随后他撤回支持并接受伊格尔顿的辞职，这也让麦戈文显得犹豫不决和混乱。

尼克松和共和党从一开始就在公众舆论中占据强劲的领先地位。尼克松外交政策的成功，包括他对中国的访问和健康的经济增强了他的声誉。为了增加他们的优势，共和党人试图把麦戈文画成一个激进的左派分子，他倾向于赦免草案道奇。在选举团中，麦戈文只进行自由主义的马萨诸塞州和华盛顿特区。尼克松赢得了麦戈文 17 票的 520 票选举的决定性胜利。一位民主党人将他在麦戈文竞选活动中的角色描述为“泰坦尼克号的娱乐总监”。这是美国总统史上最不平衡的胜利之一。尼克松不幸的是，他的垮台的种子已经播下了。

WATERGATE BREAK-IN

在总统竞选期间，重选总统委员会 (CREEP) 是尼克松运动的筹款部门，决定对尼克松的反对者发挥“肮脏的伎俩”。在新罕布什尔州的民主小学之前，他们发布了一封伪造的信，据称是由民主希望的埃德蒙马斯基撰写的，他侮辱了法国加拿大人，这是该州最大的族群之一。男子被指派监视麦戈文和民主希望的参议员爱德华肯尼迪。假装为尼克松民主党竞选对手工作的男子联系各州的供应商租用或购

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work for the campaigns of Nixon's Democratic opponents contacted vendors in various states to rent or purchase materials for rallies. The rallies were never held, of course, and democratic politicians were accused of failing to pay their bills. CREEP's most notorious operation, however, was its break-in at the offices of the Democratic National Committee (DNC) in the **Watergate** office complex in Washington, DC.

According to a plan originally proposed by CREEP's general counsel and White House aid **G. Gordon Liddy**, five men were to break in to the offices of the DNC, photograph documents, and wiretap telephones. The break-in went badly. The burglars were discovered by a security guard, arrested by the police, tried and either pled guilty or were convicted.

Criminal wrongdoing in an election is never good for a politician, but even from the beginning, James Neal, the prosecutor on the case, didn't believe Nixon had any knowledge of what the conspirators were planning. The problem for Nixon, was his paranoia. Nixon always believed that his political opponents were going to get the better of him, and that his supporters might turn against him. He had even ordered the creation of an "enemies list" of people who he hated and were not allowed to visit the White House or speak with him.



买用于集会的材料。当然，这些集会从来没有举行，民主政治家被指责没有支付账单。但是，CREEP 最臭名昭着的行动是在华盛顿特区水门办公楼的民主党全国委员会 (DNC) 办公室进行的。

根据 CREEP 总法律顾问和白宫援助 G. Gordon Liddy 最初提出的计划，五名男子将进入 DNC 办公室，拍照文件和窃听电话。闯入非常糟糕。这些窃贼是由一名保安人员发现的，被警方逮捕，受到审判并被判有罪或被定罪。

选举中的犯罪行为对政治家来说是不利的，但即使从一开始，案件检察官詹姆斯尼尔也不相信尼克松对共谋者的计划有什么了解。尼克松的问题是他的偏执狂。尼克松总是相信他的政治对手会越来越好，而他的支持者可能会反对他。他甚至下令创建一个他恨的人的“敌人名单”，并且不允许他访问白宫或与他谈话。

Primary Source: Photograph

Reporters Carl Bernstein and Bob Woodward in the newsroom of the Washington Post.

主要来源：照片

记者卡尔伯恩斯坦和鲍勃伍德沃德在华盛顿邮报新闻编辑室。

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The Watergate break-in was exactly the sort of problem Nixon was terrified of, and although Nixon himself was innocent, his efforts to hide the entire operation brought down his presidency.

In the weeks following the Watergate break-in, **Bob Woodward** and **Carl Bernstein**, young reporters for The Washington Post, received information from several anonymous sources, including one known to them only as “**Deep Throat**,” that led them to realize that people in the White House were trying to cover up the truth about the break-in. While most of the press focused on other events, Woodward and Bernstein continued to dig and publish their findings.

What Woodward and Bernstein found led the Senate to appoint a special committee to investigate the Watergate affair. Throughout the spring and the long, hot summer of 1973, Americans sat glued to their television screens, as the major networks took turns broadcasting the **Senate hearings**. One by one, disgraced former members of the administration confessed, or denied, their role in the Watergate scandal. The top lawyer at the White House, **John Dean** testified that Nixon was involved in the conspiracy, allegations the president denied. In March 1974, the President’s Chief of Staff, **H.R. Haldeman**, top aid **John Ehrlichman**, and **John Mitchell**, the head of Nixon’s reelection campaign were indicted and charged with conspiracy.

Nixon fired Haldeman, Ehrlichman and Dean. In an effort to show that he was innocent, he authorized the appointment of a special prosecutor, **Archibald Cox** to investigate the entire affair.

THE END OF NIXON’S PRESIDENCY

Without evidence clearly implicating the president, the investigation might have ended if not for the testimony of **Alexander Butterfield**, a low-ranking member of the administration. Butterfield was asked if there were any recordings of Nixon himself. In fact, Butterfield had helped Nixon install a recording system that would turn on whenever anyone in the Oval Office spoke, or any time the president was on the phone. Nixon wanted the recordings for his personal use and kept them a secret because he thought his aids would not be candid if they knew they were being taped.

Cox and the Senate subpoenaed the tapes. Nixon, however, refused to hand them over, citing executive privilege, the right of the president to refuse certain subpoenas. When he offered to supply summaries of the conversations, Cox refused. On October 20, 1973, in an event that became known as the **Saturday Night Massacre**, Nixon ordered Attorney General Richardson to fire Cox. Richardson refused and

水门事件的闯入正是尼克松害怕的问题，尽管尼克松本人是无辜的，但他隐瞒整个行动的努力使他担任总统。

在水门事件之后的几个星期，华盛顿邮报的年轻记者鲍勃伍德沃德和卡尔伯恩斯坦收到了几个匿名消息来源的消息，其中一个消息是他们所知道的“深喉”，这让他们意识到，白宫正试图掩盖关于闯入事件的真相。尽管大部分媒体都关注其他事件，但伍德沃德和伯恩斯坦仍在继续挖掘并发布他们的调查结果。

伍德沃德和伯恩斯坦发现，参议院任命了一个特别委员会来调查水门事件。在整个春季和 1973 年漫长炎热的夏天，美国主要网络轮流播放参议院听证会，他们紧紧地盯着电视屏幕。一个接一个，政府当局的前任成员承认或否认他们在水门事件丑闻中的角色。白宫首席律师约翰迪恩作证说，尼克松参与了阴谋，总统否认了这一阴谋。1974 年 3 月，总统办公厅主任 H.R. Haldeman，高级援助 John Ehrlichman 和尼克松竞选连任的领导 John Mitchell 被起诉并被控阴谋。

尼克松解雇了 Haldeman, Ehrlichman 和 Dean。为了表明他是无辜的，他授权任命一位特别检察官阿奇博尔德考克斯来调查整个事件。

尼克松总统的结束

如果没有证据明确暗示总统，调查可能已经结束，如果不是对行政管理低级成员亚历山大·巴特菲尔德的证词。问巴特菲尔德是否有尼克松自己的录音。实际上，巴特菲尔德曾帮助尼克松安装了一个录音系统，该系统在椭圆形办公室任何人发言时或任何时候总统打电话时都会打开。尼克松希望录音可以用于个人用途，并保密，因为他认为如果他们知道自己被录音，他的艾滋病病毒就不会坦白。

考克斯和参议院传唤录音带。然而，尼克松拒绝交出他们，理由是行政特权，总统有权拒绝某些传票。当他提出提供对话的摘要时，考克斯拒绝了。1973 年 10 月 20 日，尼克松在一次被称为“周六夜间大屠杀”的事件中命令检察长 Richardson 向 Cox 开枪。理查森拒绝和辞职，副检察长威廉·鲁克尔

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resigned, as did Deputy Attorney General William Ruckelshaus when confronted with the same order. Control of the Justice Department then fell to Solicitor General Robert Bork, who complied with Nixon's order.

斯豪斯也面临同样的命令。然后司法部的控制下降到符合尼克松的命令的副检察长罗伯特博克。



Primary Source: Newspaper

The front page of the New York Times the day after the Saturday Night Massacre.

主要来源：报纸

“纽约时报”的首页是周六晚上大屠杀之后的第二天。

The public was enraged by Nixon's actions. It seemed as though the president had placed himself above the law. Telegrams flooded the White House. Nixon went on the defensive. At a press conference in November, he argued that he was innocent and that he wanted a full investigation, stating, "...in all of my years of public life, I have never obstructed justice. And I think, too, that I can say, that in my years of public life, that I welcome this kind of examination because people have got to know whether or not their president is a crook. Well, I'm not a crook." It was a claim that would tarnish his legacy forever.

尼克松的行为激怒了公众。好像总统把自己置于法律之上。电报淹没了白宫。尼克松继续防守。在11月的一次新闻发布会上，他辩称他是无辜的，他希望进行全面调查，称：“.....在我所有公共生活的多年里，我从未阻挠司法。我想我也可以这样说，在我公共生活多年的时候，我欢迎这种考试，因为人们必须知道他们的总统是不是一个骗子。那么，我不是个骗子。”这是一个会永远损害他的遗产的说法。

When Nixon finally agreed to release transcripts of the tapes in April of 1974, he released only edited versions. In July, The Supreme Court ruled in **United States v. Nixon** that the president could not claim executive privilege and ordered him to hand over the unedited versions.

当尼克松最终同意在1974年4月发行录音带的录音带时，他只发布了编辑过的版本。7月，最高法院在美国诉尼克松案中裁定，总统不能要求行政特权，并命令他交出未经编辑的版本。

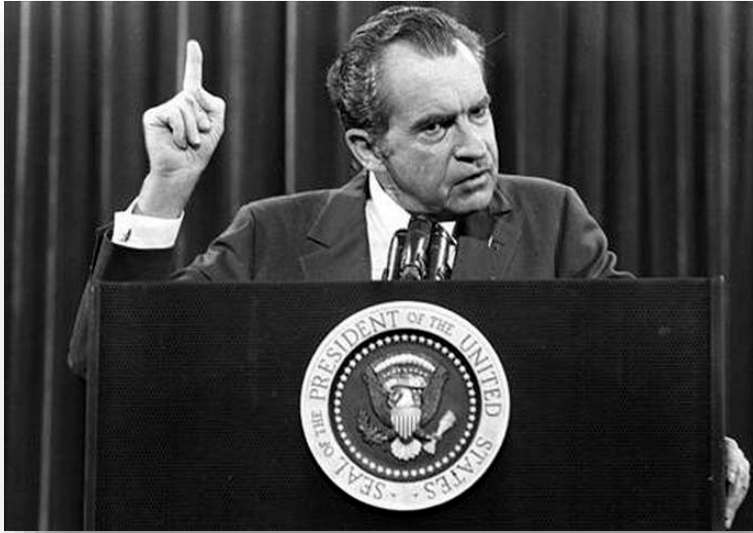
The tapes revealed several crucial conversations that took place between the President and his counsel, John Dean, and focused on the cover-up, in which Dean described it as a "cancer on the presidency." The burglary team was being paid hush money for their silence and

这些录像带揭示了总统和他的律师约翰·迪恩之间发生了几次重要的对话，并集中讨论了掩护，在这一幕中，迪恩将其描述为“总统癌症”。窃贼队正在获得支付他们的沉默和迪恩指出，尼克松的

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Dean noted that Nixon's top aids were involved. In the end, Nixon himself gave orders on tape to pay off witnesses.



顶级艾滋病毒参与。最后，尼克松亲自下达了录音带以支付证人。

Primary Source: Photograph

Nixon declares that his is "not a crook."

主要来源：照片

尼克松宣称他的“不是骗子”。

It was now clear that Nixon was personally involved in the cover-up. Perhaps worst of all, he had tried to **obstruct justice** by firing the special prosecutor and ordering his aids to pay hush money to people who knew what had happened.

现在很明显，尼克松亲自参与了掩盖行动。也许最糟糕的是，他试图通过解雇特别检察官，并命令他的艾滋病向知道发生了什么事的人付钱。

The release of the tapes destroyed Nixon politically. The House of Representatives was ready to vote to **impeach** the president. On the night of August 7, 1974, the republican leaders of the House and Senate met with Nixon in the Oval Office to warn him that his support in Congress had all but disappeared. They told him that he would face certain impeachment when the House voted and that there were enough votes in the Senate to convict him.

磁带的发行在政治上摧毁了尼克松。众议院准备投票弹 the 总统。1974年8月7日晚上，众议院和参议院共和党领导人在椭圆形办公室会见尼克松，警告他在国会的支持几乎消失了。他们告诉他，众议院投票时他会面临一定的弹 and，并且参议院中有足够的选票来判定他的罪名。

Realizing that he had no chance of staying in office and that public opinion was not in his favor, **Nixon decided to resign**. On August 9, he left the White House in disgrace.

意识到他没有任职的机会，并且公众舆论对他不利，尼克松决定辞职。8月9日，他黯然离开白宫。



Primary Source: Photograph

Richard Nixon flashes his trademark V for victory one last time before boarding Marine One and leaving the White House after his resignation.

主要来源：照片

Richard Nixon 最后一次登上 Marine One 并离开白宫后离开了他的商标 V。

THE EFFECTS OF THE WATERGATE SCANDAL

It was indeed an unprecedented time. The new president, **Gerald Ford** was the first vice president chosen under the terms of the new **25th Amendment**, which provides for the appointment of a vice president in the event the incumbent dies or resigns. Nixon had appointed Ford, a longtime representative from Michigan known for his honesty following the resignation of embattled vice president Spiro T. Agnew over a charge of failing to report income, a lenient charge since this income stemmed from bribes he had received as the governor of Maryland. Ford was also the first vice president to take office after a sitting president's resignation, and the only chief executive never elected either president or vice president.

Ford understood that his most pressing task was to help the country move beyond the Watergate scandal. His declaration that "Our long national nightmare is over... our great Republic is a government of laws and not of men" was met with almost universal applause. But the nation's goodwill evaporated when **he granted Richard Nixon a full pardon**. Ford thus prevented Nixon's indictment for any crimes he may have committed in office and ended criminal investigations into his actions. The public reacted with suspicion and outrage. Many were convinced that the extent of Nixon's wrongdoings would never be known and he would never be called to account. When Ford chose to run for the presidency in 1976, the pardon returned to haunt him.

Nixon's resignation and Ford's pardon did not make the **Watergate scandal** vanish. Instead, it fed a growing suspicion of government felt by many. The events of Vietnam and the release of the Pentagon Papers had already showed that the government could not be trusted

水门事件的影响

这确实是前所未有的时间。新任总裁杰拉尔德·福特是第 25 届修订条款中的第一位副总裁，该条款规定在任职者去世或辞职时任命一位副总裁。尼克松已经任命福特，这位来自密歇根州的长期代表因诚实而出名，因为副总统斯皮罗·阿格纽因无法报告收入而被辞退，这是一笔宽松的收费，因为这笔收入源于他作为州长收到的贿赂。马里兰州。福特还是第一位在总统辞职后就职的副总统，唯一的首席执行官从未选出总统或副总统。

福特明白，他最紧迫的任务是帮助该国超越水门事件的丑闻。他的声明“我们漫长的国家噩梦已经结束……我们伟大的共和国是一个法治政府而不是男人的政府”，几乎得到了普遍的掌声。但是，当尼克松给予理查德·尼克松全额赦免时，这个国家的善意就消失了。因此，福特防止尼克松对他可能在办公室犯下的任何罪行提出起诉，并结束对他的行为的刑事调查。公众对此产生怀疑和愤慨。许多人深信，尼克松的不法行为的范围永远不会被知晓，他永远不会被要求解释。当福特 1976 年选择竞选总统时，赦免再度困扰着他。

尼克松的辞呈和福特的赦免并没有让水门事件的丑闻消失。相反，它引发了许多人越来越怀疑政府的担忧。越南事件和五角大楼文件的发布已经表明，政府不能信任保护人民的利益或告诉他们

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to protect the interests of the people or tell them the truth. For many, Watergate confirmed these beliefs. Since Nixon's resignation, Americans have shown a much greater reluctance to trust their presidents.

Today, the suffix gate attached to a word has come to mean a scandal, in politics or otherwise. News sources have reported on Apple's Bendgate and Antennagate, the NFL's Deflategate and Seatgate, and myriad wrongdoings of politicians dubbed Bridgegate, Travelgate, Emailgate, Nannygate and Strippergate, to name just a few.

THE IRAN HOSTAGE CRISIS

One of the most tragic events of the late 1970s was a result of American Cold War activities in the Middle East, and set the stage for a conflict that is ongoing. It also revealed the limitations of American military power. The military's reputation had already been tarnished by the debacle in Vietnam, and Americans took out their frustration on their president. It all happened in Iran.

For years, the United States had supported the king, or shah or Iran as an anti-communist. The shah, Mohammad Reza Pahlavi had come to power during World War II and had worked hard in his thirty years in power to modernize his country. He promoted industrialization and rights for women. Unfortunately for the Shah and his supporters, a powerful conservative backlash was brewing among the Islamic clergy who believed the Shah's policies ran counter to the teachings of the Quran. In 1979, led by cleric **Ruhollah Khomeini**, mostly student revolutionaries **overthrew his government** and seized the American embassy in Tehran. They took 52 Americans at the embassy hostage.

At the time, terrorism was on the rise around the globe. The world had watched in horror as Arab gunmen cut down eleven Israeli weightlifters at the 1972 Olympics in Munich, Germany. The Irish Republican Army (IRA) was fighting an ongoing struggle to gain independence for Northern Ireland and had already killed thousands of English and Irish citizens in car bombings and similar acts of terror. Americans began to see the world slipping into anarchy and felt powerless to fix the problem. The Iranian Revolution and **hostage crisis** was just another example of the chaos they could not control.

真相。对于很多人来说，水门事件证实了这些信念。自尼克松辞职以来，美国人表现出更不情愿相信他们的总统。

今天，一个词的后缀大门已经意味着一个丑闻，在政治或其他方面。新闻媒体报道了苹果公司的 Bendgate 和 Antennagate，NFL 的 Deflategate 和 Seatgate，以及被称为 Bridgegate，Travelgate，Emailgate，Nannygate 和 Strippergate 的政客的大量不当行为，仅举几例。

伊朗东道主危机

20 世纪 70 年代后期最悲惨的事件之一是美国冷战在中东的活动，并为正在发生的冲突奠定了基础。它还揭示了美国军事力量的局限性。越南的崩溃已经玷污了军方的声誉，美国人对他们的总统感到沮丧。这一切都发生在伊朗。

多年来，美国一直支持国王或伊朗作为反共。沙阿，穆罕默德礼萨巴列维在二战期间上台执政，并在他执政三十年中努力实现国家现代化。他促进了女性的工业化和权利。不幸的是，对于沙阿及其支持者而言，伊斯兰教的僧侣们之间正在酝酿一种强大的保守主义者，他们相信沙赫的政策与古兰经的教义背道而驰。1979 年，由教士 Ruhollah Khomeini 领导，大多数学生革命者推翻了他的政府并夺取了在德黑兰的美国大使馆。他们带走了 52 名美国人在大使馆的人质。

当时，全球恐怖主义呈上升趋势。在 1972 年的德国慕尼黑奥运会上，阿拉伯武装人员砍下了 11 名以色列举重运动员，全世界都非常惊讶。爱尔兰共和军（爱尔兰共和军）正在为争取北爱尔兰独立而进行的斗争中挣扎，并且已经造成成千上万的英国和爱尔兰公民遭受汽车爆炸和类似的恐怖行为。美国人开始看到世界陷入无政府状态，并且无力解决问题。伊朗革命和人质危机只是他们无法控制的混乱的另一个例子。

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Primary Source: Photograph

Iranian students carrying posters with a photograph of Khomeini climb the gate of the American embassy.

主要来源：照片

携带有霍梅尼照片的海报的伊朗学生爬上美国大使馆的大门。

The Shah had escaped the Revolution and was in the United States receiving treatment for cancer. The revolutionaries demanded that he be returned to Iran in exchange for the hostages. President Carter refused, stating that the United States would “not yield to blackmail.” For 444 days, Americans watched helplessly as their fellow citizens were held in confinement. A rescue effort, entitled **Operation Eagle Claw**, ordered by President Carter failed in April 1980 when a helicopter and support plane crashed in the Iranian desert. Eight American service members and one Iranian died. It was an embarrassment for the American Special Forces and the President, who took responsibility for the failure.

Because of the hostage crisis, the failure of the rescue mission, and the struggling economy, Carter lost his bid for reelection to Ronald Reagan. It was one of the most lopsided elections in American history. While usually viewed by historians as a failed president, Carter worked tirelessly in his long post-presidency to promote human rights around the world, and is considered a great humanitarian.

In a final insult to Carter, the new Iranian government, a **theocracy** led by the nation’s clerics, released the hostages minutes after Ronald Reagan was sworn into office.

沙赫逃脱革命，并在美国接受癌症治疗。革命者要求他回到伊朗去换取人质。卡特总统拒绝了，称美国“不会屈服于勒索”。在 444 天里，美国人无助地看着他们的同胞被关在牢房里。1980 年 4 月，一架直升机和一架支援飞机在伊朗沙漠坠毁，卡特总统下令行动鹰爪行动失败。八名美国军人和一名伊朗人死亡。美国特种部队和总统负责失败是一件尴尬事。

由于人质危机，救援任务失败以及经济困境，卡特失去了竞选连任罗纳德里根的投标。这是美国历史上最不平衡的选举之一。尽管历史学家通常认为他是一位失败的总统，但卡特在长期担任总统后不知疲倦地努力促进世界各地的人权，并被认为是一位伟大的人道主义者。

在对卡特的最后侮辱中，由罗纳德里根宣誓就职后，由国家神职人员领导的新政府伊朗政府释放了人质几分钟。

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Primary Source: Photograph

A photograph of American Barry Rosen released by the Iranians during the hostage crisis. Images such as these infuriated the American public who blamed President Carter for his inability to find a way to bring the hostages home.

主要来源：照片

在人质危机期间，伊朗人发布了美国人巴里罗森的照片。像这些形象激怒了美国公众，他们指责卡特总统无法找到将人质带回家的方法。

THREE MILE ISLAND

The nation's trust of its leaders and institutions took another hit in 1979 at the **Three Mile Island** nuclear power plant in Pennsylvania.

On March 28, a valve in the cooling system got stuck in the open position which allowed large amounts of nuclear reactor coolant to escape. In normal operation, the coolant would maintain safe temperatures inside the reactor. Without it, the reactor would overheat, melt, and spew out radioactive material. The mechanical failure was compounded by the failure of plant operators to recognize the situation due to inadequate training and design flaws that made control room indicators ambiguous. As a result, an operator mistakenly believed that there was too much coolant water present in the reactor and manually overrode the automatic emergency system.

By early the next morning it had become clear that things were going wrong. The temperatures inside the reactor were too high. The station manager announced a general emergency. The electric company that owned the plant, Metropolitan Edison (Met Ed) notified the Pennsylvania Emergency Management Agency, which in turn contacted state and local agencies, Governor Richard L. Thornburgh. The uncertainty of operators at the plant was reflected in fragmented,

三英里岛

1979年，宾夕法尼亚州三英里岛核电站对该国领导人和机构的信任再次受到重创。

3月28日，冷却系统中的阀门卡在打开的位置，使大量核反应堆冷却剂逸出。在正常操作中，冷却剂将保持反应器内的安全温度。没有它，反应堆会过热，熔化，并放出放射性物质。由于培训和设计缺陷导致控制室指标不明确，工厂操作员无法识别这种情况，从而加剧了机械故障。结果，操作员错误地认为反应堆中存在太多的冷却水并且手动超过了自动应急系统。

到第二天清晨，事情就变得很清楚了。反应堆内的温度过高。车站经理宣布了一场普通紧急事件。拥有该工厂的电力公司 Metropolitan Edison (Met Ed) 通知宾夕法尼亚州紧急事务管理局，后者又联系州和地方机构理事 Richard L. Thornburgh。工厂操作员的不确定性反映在 Met Ed 对政府机构和新闻界的分散，模糊或矛

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ambiguous, or contradictory statements made by Met Ed to government agencies and to the press, particularly about the possibility and severity of an off-site release of radiation.

Scranton held a press conference in which he was reassuring, yet confusing about this possibility, stating that though there had been a “small release of radiation...no increase in normal radiation levels” had been detected. These were contradicted by another official, and by statements from Met Ed, who both claimed that no radioactivity had been released. In fact, readings from instruments at the plant and off-site detectors had detected radioactivity releases, albeit at levels that were unlikely to threaten public health as long as they were temporary, and providing that containment of the then highly contaminated reactor was maintained.

Angry that Met Ed had not informed them before conducting a steam venting from the plant, and convinced that the company was downplaying the severity of the accident, state officials turned to the Nuclear Regulatory Agency (NRC), the federal agency charged with oversight of commercial nuclear power plants.

After receiving word of the accident from Met Ed, the NRC activated its emergency response headquarters in Bethesda, Maryland and sent staff members to Three Mile Island. NRC chairman Joseph Hendrie initially viewed the accident as a cause for concern but not alarm. However, the NRC faced the same problems in obtaining accurate information as the state, and was further hampered by being organizationally ill-prepared to deal with emergencies, as it lacked a clear command structure and the authority to tell the utility what to do, or to order an evacuation of the local area.

In the end, the United States was lucky. The reactor at Three Mile Island overheated and melted, but not so much that it breached the protective shell that surrounded it. However, the Three Mile Island accident showed once again that leaders, in business and technology, as well as in politics were not immune from mistakes and were not to be trusted to provide accurate, truthful information when the public's safety was on the line.

The Three Mile Island accident also marked a significant turning point in the global development of nuclear power. The accident did not initiate the demise of the nuclear power industry, but it did halt its historic growth. At the time of the incident, 129 nuclear power plants had been approved for construction, but of those, only 53 were built. Clearly, many **anti-nuclear activists** argued, scientists and business leaders were willing to take shortcuts and nuclear power was too dangerous to be used as a source of electricity. Globally, the end of the increase in

盾的声明中，特别是关于非现场释放辐射的可能性和严重性。

斯克兰顿举行了一个新闻发布会，他对此感到放心，但对这种可能性感到困惑，称虽然发生了“小幅度辐射.....没有增加正常辐射水平”。这些与另一位官员以及 Met Ed 的声明相抵触，他们都声称没有释放放射性物质。事实上，工厂仪器和场外探测器的读数已经检测到放射性物质的释放，尽管只要它们是临时性的，不会威胁到公众健康的水平，并且保持了当时受到严重污染的反应堆的遏制。

Met Ed 在工厂进行蒸汽排放之前没有通知他们，他们感到愤怒，并相信该公司正在淡化事故的严重程度，国家官员转向核监管机构（NRC），负责监督商业的联邦机构核电厂。

在接到 Met Ed 的事故消息后，NRC 在马里兰州贝塞斯达启动了应急响应总部，并派员工前往三里岛。NRC 主席约瑟夫亨德里最初认为这起事故是值得担忧的原因，但并未引起警惕。然而，NRC 在获得与国家相同的准确信息方面面临同样的问题，并且由于缺乏明确的指挥结构和权力告知公用事业机构应对突发事件，因此在组织上没有准备好应对紧急情况而进一步受到阻碍，或者命令撤离当地。

最后，美国是幸运的。三哩岛的反应堆过热并融化，但不是太多，以至于破坏了围绕它的保护壳。然而，三里岛事故再次表明，领导人在商业和技术以及政治领域都不可避免地犯下错误，并且在公众安全上线时不会被信任提供准确，真实的信息。

三里岛事故也标志着全球核电发展的一个重要转折点。这起事故并未引发核电行业的消亡，但它确实阻止了其历史性增长。事发时，已有 129 座核电站被批准建设，其中只有 53 座建成。显然，许多反核活动人士认为，科学家和商界领袖愿意采取捷径，核电太危险，不能用作电力来源。在全球范围内，1986 年核电站建

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nuclear power plant construction came with the more catastrophic **Chernobyl** disaster in the Soviet Union in 1986.

设增加的结束是苏联更加灾难性的切尔诺贝利灾难。



Primary Source: Photograph

Anti-nuclear activists demonstrate outside the Pennsylvania State Capitol building after the Three Mile Island incident.

主要来源：照片

三里岛事件后，反核活动家在宾夕法尼亚州议会大厦外展示。

CONCLUSION

So, we learned from the 1970s that sometimes the people we elect to the most powerful positions of authority are imperfect. They make poor decisions. They try and to solve important problems and fail. Sometimes they lie and break the law to hide their lies. After the stringing disappointments of that decade, Americans have come to be much less trusting of our leaders.

What do you think? Should we trust our leaders?

结论

所以，我们从 20 世纪 70 年代就了解到，有时候我们选择权力最强大的人选并不完美。他们做出糟糕的决定。他们尝试并解决重要问题并失败。有时他们会撒谎，违反法律来掩盖他们的谎言。在经历了这十年的失望之后，美国人对我们的领导人的信任度大大降低。

你怎么看？我们应该相信我们的领导？

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Read the Pentagon Papers



Watch Nixon's Press Conference



Watch Nixon's Resignation Speech



Watch Ford Pardon Nixon



Watch Carter's speech after the failed Eagle Claw Operation



Watch a New York Times documentary about American attitudes toward nuclear power



PEOPLE AND GROUPS

Daniel Ellsberg and Anthony Russo: Analysts who helped write the Pentagon Papers report and released it to the press.

The Plumbers: A group of criminals that worked for the Nixon reelection team. They tried to prevent leaks of secret information that might hurt the president, but their ineptitude ultimately led to Nixon's resignation.

George McGovern: Democratic candidate for president in 1972. He was anti-war, but lost in one of the most lopsided elections in American history.

Committee to Re-Elect the President (CREEP): Group that worked to fundraise for Nixon's reelection campaign and used underhanded and illegal methods to hurt his opponents.

G. Gordon Liddy: Lawyer for CREEP and aid in the Nixon White House. He planned the Watergate break in.

Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein: Young reporters working for the Washington Post who uncovered much of the Watergate cover-up.

Deep Throat: Pseudonym for Mark Felt, Associate FBI Director who met secretly with Woodward and Bernstein and gave them information about the Watergate cover-up.

John Dean, H.R. Halderman, John Ehrlichman and John Mitchell: Aids to Nixon who lost their jobs and went to jail because of their involvement in the Watergate cover-up.

Archibald Cox: Special prosecutor appointed by Nixon to investigate the Watergate affair.

Alexander Butterfield: Minor White House official who revealed that there were secret recordings of Nixon's conversations and telephone calls.

Gerald Ford: Vice President who became president after Nixon Resigned in 1974. He lost the 1976 presidential election to Jimmy Carter.

Ayatollah Ruholla Khomeini: Religious leader who led the Iranian Revolution and became the first leader of the theocracy.

人和团体

Daniel Ellsberg 和 Anthony Russo: 帮助撰写五角大楼文件报告并将其发布给新闻界的分析师。

管道工: 为尼克松竞选团队工作的一群罪犯。他们试图阻止泄露可能伤害总统的秘密信息, 但他们的无能最终导致了尼克松的辞职。

乔治麦戈文: 1972 年民主党总统候选人。他反战, 但在美国历史上最失端的选举中失利。

重新选举总统委员会 (CREEP): 努力为尼克松竞选连任募款并使用不合法和非法手段伤害对手的组织。

G. Gordon Liddy: CREEP 的律师和尼克松白宫的援助。他策划了水门事件。

鲍勃伍德沃德和卡尔伯恩斯坦: 为华盛顿邮报工作的年轻记者发现了水门事件的大部分掩饰。

深喉: Mark Felt 的同名词, 联邦调查局局长, 与伍德沃德和伯恩斯坦秘密会面, 并向他们介绍有关水门事件掩盖的信息。

John Dean, H.R. Halderman, John Ehrlichman 和 John Mitchell: 艾滋病尼克松由于参与水门事件掩盖而失去工作并进入监狱。

Archibald Cox: 尼克松任命调查水门事件的特别检察官。

亚历山大·巴特菲尔德: 小白宫官员透露尼克松的对话和电话有秘密录音。

杰拉尔德福特: 尼克松 1974 年辞职后成为总统的副总统。他在 1976 年的总统选举中失去了吉米卡特。

Ayatollah Ruholla Khomeini: 领导伊朗革命并成为神权政治的第一位领导人的宗教领袖。

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SPEECHES

"I'm not a crook": Famous claim by Nixon to the press during the Watergate Scandal.

重要讲话

“我不是骗子”：尼克松在水门丑闻期间向媒体提出的著名索赔。



KEY CONCEPTS

Impeachment: The Constitutional process of removing an elected official or judge. In the case of a president, the House of Representatives serves as the prosecutors and the Senate as the jury.

Obstruction of Justice: Charge that an official uses his or her authority to prevent investigation of a crime.

Theocracy: A system of government based on a particular religion in which religious leaders hold power in government.

Anti-Nuclear Movement: A movement to end the use of nuclear power for electricity production. Despite the fact that nuclear power produces almost no pollution, activists feared the potential for catastrophic accidents.

关键概念

弹：：取消当选官员或法官的宪法程序。就总统而言，众议院担任检察官，参议院担任陪审团。

妨害司法：指控官员利用其权力防止犯罪调查。

神权政体：基于宗教领袖掌握政权的特定宗教的政府体系。

反核运动：结束使用核电发电的运动。尽管核能几乎没有污染，但活动人士担心发生灾难性事故的可能性。



EVENTS

Watergate Scandal: The name for all of the crimes, investigations and ultimate resignation of President Nixon associated with the Watergate break-in and subsequent cover-up.

Watergate Hearings: Hearings in 1973 in which the Senate tried to uncover the extent of the Watergate cover-up.

Saturday Night Massacre: Nickname for the day Nixon forced the resignation of his Attorney General and the firing of Archibald Cox. The event led many Americans to believe that Nixon was trying to hide his own wrongdoing.

Nixon's Resignation: Nixon resigned the presidency on August 9, 1974. He was replaced by Vice President Gerald Ford.

Pardon of Nixon: President Gerald Ford pardoned Nixon for any and all crimes associated with the Watergate Scandal. This ended the possibility of an investigation and trial of the former president.

Iranian Revolution: Overthrow of the Shah of Iran in 1979 and establishment of the Islamic Republic.

Iranian Hostage Crisis: The 444-day holding of 52 Americans by the new revolutionary government of Iran.

Operation Eagle Claw: Failed attempt to rescue the American hostages from Iran. The mission embarrassed the military and President Carter.

活动

水门事件丑闻：尼克松总统与水门事件入侵有关的所有犯罪，调查和最终辞职以及随后的掩盖事件。

水门事件听证会：1973年参议院试图揭露水门事件掩盖范围的听证会。

星期六晚上大屠杀：尼克松当天的绰号迫使他的总检察长辞职和解雇 Archibald Cox。这件事导致许多美国人相信尼克松试图掩盖自己的不法行为。

尼克松的辞职：尼克松于1974年8月9日辞去总统职务，他被副总统杰拉尔德福特取代。

尼克松的赦免：杰拉尔德福特总统赦免尼克松所有与水门事件有关的罪行。这结束了对前总统进行调查和审判的可能性。

伊朗革命：1979年推翻伊朗国王并建立伊斯兰共和国。

伊朗人质危机：伊朗新革命政府444天举行52名美国人。

鹰爪行动：未能企图将美国人质从伊朗解救出来。这次访问令军方和卡特总统感到尴尬。



LOCATIONS

Watergate Complex: Office complex and hotel in Washington, DC. It was the location of the Democratic National Committee's offices during the 1972 presidential election.

Three Mile Island: Nuclear power plant in Pennsylvania, and site of a nuclear meltdown in 1979.

Chernobyl: Nuclear power plant in the Soviet Union (Ukraine) that melted down in 1986, released large amounts of nuclear radiation.

地点

水门大厦：华盛顿特区的办公大楼和酒店。这是1972年总统选举期间民主党全国委员会办公室的所在地。

三哩岛：宾夕法尼亚州的核电站，1979年核爆炸的地点。

切尔诺贝利：1986年苏联解体的核电站（乌克兰）释放了大量的核辐射。



2 SHOULD WE TRUST OUR NATION'S LEADERS?



DOCUMENTS

The Pentagon Papers: Nickname for a secret report about the Vietnam War. It was released to the public and showed that the government and military had deceived the public about the progress of the war.

文件

五角大楼文件：关于越南战争秘密报道的绰号。它向公众公开，表明政府和军方已经公开了关于战争进展的欺骗。

COURT CASES AND LAWS

New York Times Co. v. United States: 1971 Supreme Court case that granted the press wide latitude in publishing classified documents with the purpose of informing the public about government activities.

United States v. Nixon: 1974 Supreme Court case in which the court decided that the president could not claim executive privilege to hide evidence such as the recordings of his conversations.

25th Amendment: Constitutional amendment providing a method for replacing the Vice President.



法院案件和法律

纽约时报公司诉美国：1971年最高法院的案件，赋予新闻界广泛的出版机密文件，目的是向公众通报政府活动。

美国诉尼克松案：1974年最高法院案，法院判决总统不能要求行政特权隐瞒证据，例如他的对话录音。

第25修正案：宪法修正案提供更换副总统的方法。

3

T H I R D Q U E S T I O N IS IT BAD FOR AMERICA THAT SO FEW OF THE THINGS WE BUY ARE MADE HERE?



INTRODUCTION

A quick glance at the tags on your clothes or the labels on products at our favorite stores will reveal that very few of the things we buy are actually produced in the United States. Instead, countries such as China, Taiwan, Japan, Vietnam, India and Bangladesh appear frequently. Why is this? What happened to the gigantic factories of the Midwest and Northeast that fueled the industrial revolution of the late 1800s? What happened to the workers who made the United States the Arsenal of Democracy during World War II?

Some might say that this is good for our country. We have more options. We can compare American cars with Japanese, Korean, and European imports and buy the one that is best. But, when did these foreign automakers start selling their cars in the United States to begin with? And, why didn't the Detroit automakers do something to protect their market share? What about our presidents and congress? Why didn't they do something to protect American business and workers?

Then, there is the question of America's wealth. What's happening to the money we spend when we go to the store? Is it leaving the country to pay foreign workers?

What do you think? Is it bad for America that so few of the things we buy are made here?

介绍

快速浏览一下您衣服上的标签或我们最喜爱的商店中的产品标签，就会发现我们购买的东西中很少有实际上是在美国生产的。相反，中国，台湾，日本，越南，印度和孟加拉国等国家频繁出现。为什么是这样？中西部和东北部的巨大工厂为 19 世纪后期的工业革命带来了什么？第二次世界大战期间使美国成为民主阿森纳的工人们发生了什么？

有人可能会说这对我们国家有好处。我们有更多的选择。我们可以比较美国汽车与日本，韩国和欧洲的进口，并购买最好的汽车。但是，这些外国汽车制造商什么时候开始在美国销售他们的汽车？而且，底特律汽车制造商为什么不做一些事情来保护他们的市场份额？我们的总统和代表大会怎么样？他们为什么没有采取措施保护美国的工商业？

那么，美国的财富就是问题。我们去商店时所花的钱会发生什么？是否离开该国支付外国工人？

你怎么看？对于美国来说，我们购买的这么少的东西是在这里制造的吗？

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THE NIXON SHOCK

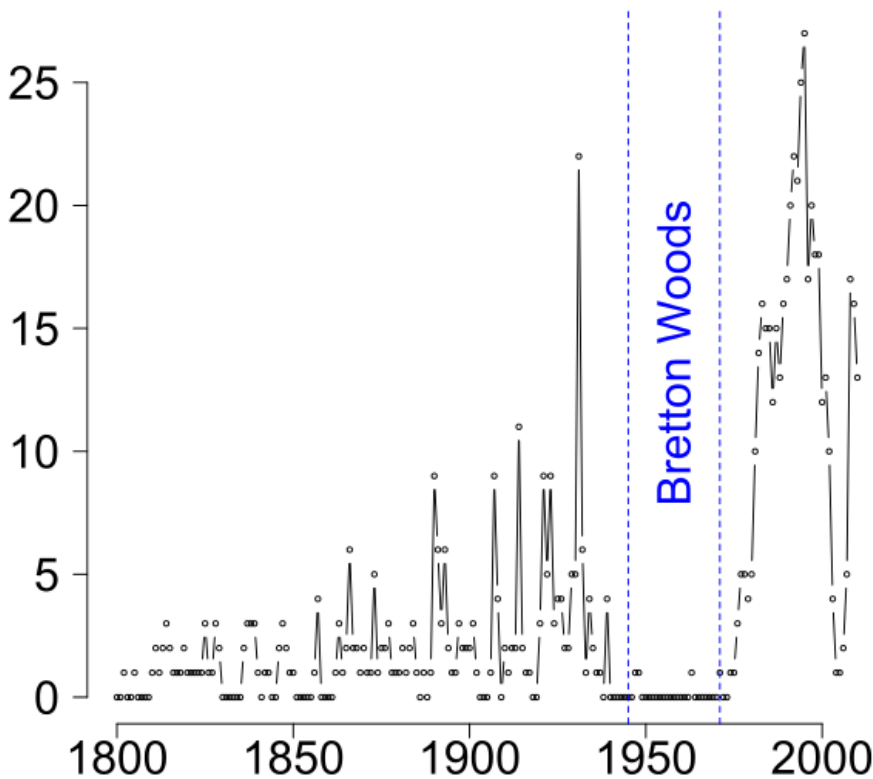
In 1944 in Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, representatives from 44 nations met to develop a new international monetary system that came to be known as the **Bretton Woods system**. Conference members hoped to find a way to ensure global financial stability and promote economic growth. In the Bretton Woods system, countries agreed to settle their international accounts in American dollars. For example, France used American dollars to pay its debts to West Germany rather than using French Francs or German Marks. The dollar was fixed at \$35 per ounce in gold, which was guaranteed by the United States Government. This system is called the **gold standard**. Thus, the United States was committed to backing every dollar with gold, and other currencies were pegged to the dollar.

For the first years after World War II, the Bretton Woods system worked well. Western capitalist systems thrived. With the Marshall Plan, Japan and Europe rebuilt from the war, and countries outside the United States wanted dollars to spend on American goods. Because the United States owned over half the world's official gold reserves, the system appeared secure.

尼克松冲击

1944年，在新罕布什尔州的布雷顿森林，来自44个国家的代表聚集在一起开发了一种新的国际货币体系，后来被称为布雷顿森林体系。会议成员希望找到确保全球金融稳定和促进经济增长的途径。在布雷顿森林体系中，各国同意以美元结算其国际账户。例如，法国用美国美元向西德偿还债务，而不是使用法国法郎或德国马克。美元被固定为每盎司35美元的黄金，这是由美国政府担保的。这个系统被称为黄金标准。因此，美国承诺用黄金支持每一美元，而其他货币则与美元挂钩。

在第二次世界大战后的头几年，布雷顿森林体系运作良好。西方资本主义体系蓬勃发展。随着马歇尔计划，日本和欧洲从战争中重建，美国以外的国家希望美元花在美国商品上。由于美国拥有世界官方黄金储备的一半以上，该系统看起来很安全。



Secondary Source: Chart

This chart shows the number of banking crisis each year beginning in 1800. While the Bretton Woods System was in place, there were almost no incidents.

次要来源：图表

这张图表显示了1800年开始的每年银行业危机的数量。布雷顿森林体系建立之后，几乎没有发生任何事故。

However, from 1950 to 1969, as Germany and Japan recovered and increased production, America's proportion of the world's economic

然而，从1950年到1969年，随着德国和日本的复苏和增产，美国在世界经济总量中所占的比重从

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output dropped significantly, from 35% to 27%. Furthermore, American began spending more on foreign goods than it sold. Money started flowing out of the United States. At the same time, public debt was growing as a result of spending on the Vietnam War, and monetary inflation by the Federal Reserve caused the dollar to become increasingly overvalued.

By the end of the 1960s, other nations were beginning to dislike the Bretton Woods system. As American economist Barry Eichengreen summarized, "It costs only a few cents for the Bureau of Engraving and Printing to produce a \$100 bill, but other countries had to pony up \$100 of actual goods in order to obtain one."

By 1966, the United States did not have enough gold on hand to back up all the dollars held by foreign governments. In May 1971, West Germany was fed up with the limitations of staying in the Bretton Woods system. Unwilling to revalue the Deutsche Mark, the West German government decided instead to abandon the system altogether. In the following three months, this move strengthened the West German economy. Simultaneously, the dollar dropped 7.5% against the Deutsche Mark. Other nations began to demand redemption of their dollars for gold. Switzerland redeemed \$50 million. France acquired \$191 million in gold. Under the Bretton Woods system, the American dollar was always valued at \$35 per ounce of gold. As the European nations abandoning the system, the dollar fell in value.

To combat these problems, President Nixon decided to break up Bretton Woods by suspending the convertibility of the dollar into gold. This prevented a run on the American gold by foreign governments. To prevent panic in the markets, he also instituted a 90-day freeze on wages and prices.

The **Nixon Shock**, as his decision is now known, has been widely considered a political success, but had mixed results for the global economy. The dollar plunged in value by a third during the 1970s. In 1996, Nobel Prize winning economist Paul Krugman summarized the post-Nixon Shock era as follows: "The current world monetary system assigns no special role to gold; indeed, the Federal Reserve is not obliged to tie the dollar to anything. It can print as much or as little money as it deems appropriate. There are powerful advantages to such an unconstrained system. Above all, the Fed is free to respond to actual or threatened recessions by pumping in money. To take only one example, that flexibility is the reason the stock market crash of 1987 – which started out every bit as frightening as that of 1929 – did not cause a slump in the real economy. While a freely floating national money has advantages, however, it also has risks. For one thing, it can

35%大幅下降到 27%。此外，美国人开始花更多的钱购买外国货物，而不是出售。钱开始流出美国。与此同时，由于越南战争的支出，公共债务正在增长，美联储的货币通胀导致美元越来越高估。

到 20 世纪 60 年代末，其他国家开始不喜欢布雷顿森林体系。正如美国经济学家 Barry Eichengreen 所总结的那样：“雕刻和印刷局花费 100 美元的钞票只需几美分，但其他国家为了获得一个实际产品却不得不花费 100 美元的实际商品。”

到 1966 年，美国手头没有足够的黄金来支撑外国政府持有的所有美元。1971 年 5 月，西德对厌倦了布雷顿森林体系的限制感到厌倦。不愿意重新评估德国马克，西德政府决定完全放弃该系统。在接下来的三个月里，这一举措加强了西德经济。同时，美元兑德国马克下跌 7.5%。其他国家开始要求赎回他们的美元黄金。瑞士兑现 5000 万美元。法国收购了 1.91 亿美元的黄金。在布雷顿森林体系下，美元的价值总是每盎司黄金 35 美元。随着欧洲国家放弃这一体系，美元的价值下降。

为了解决这些问题，尼克松总统决定通过暂停美元兑换为黄金来分解布雷顿森林体系。这阻止了外国政府对美国黄金的运行。为了防止市场恐慌，他还制定了 90 天的工资和价格冻结。

尼克松冲击，正如他现在所知道的那样，已被广泛认为是政治上的成功，但对全球经济的结果好坏参半。20 世纪 70 年代，美元汇率暴跌了三分之一。1996 年，诺贝尔经济学奖得主保罗克鲁格曼将后尼克松冲击时代总结如下：“当前的世界货币体系对黄金没有特殊的作用；事实上，美联储并没有义务将美元与任何东西联系起来。它可以打印尽可能多或尽可能少的钱，只要它认为合适。这样一个不受约束的系统具有强大的优势。最重要的是，美联储可以通过抽取货币来自由回应实际或威胁的经济衰退。仅举一个例子，这种灵活性就是 1987 年股市暴跌的原因 - 从 1929 年开始，这一切都像恐慌一样开始 - 并没有导致实体经济下滑。然而，自由浮动的国家资金有其优势，但也存在风险。首先，

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create uncertainties for international traders and investors. Over the past five years, the dollar has been worth as much as 120 yen and as little as 80... Furthermore, a system that leaves monetary managers free to do good also leaves them free to be irresponsible...”

The most immediate result of the Nixon Shock, was economic stagflation.

STAGFLATION

Americans were accustomed to steady economic growth since the end of World War II. Recessions had been short and were followed by robust economic growth. But in the 1970s, for the first time since the Great Depression, Americans faced an economy that could result in a lower standard of living for their children. The problem was a dangerous combination of three factors.

Inflation is the slow increase of prices over time. Some inflation is usually good for an economy, but inflation, which had crept along at 1% to 3% for the previous two decades, exploded into double digits. At the same time, the unemployment rate was nearing the dangerous 10% line. Not since the Great Depression of the 1930s had so many Americans been looking for work. Economic output also stalled. Americans were simply not able to produce and sell as much as they were accustomed to. This situation is **stagflation**, a disastrous blend of high inflation, high unemployment, and low economic growth.

Americans' confidence faltered. They began to ask themselves what had gone wrong.

Richard Nixon tried to fight inflation first by cutting government spending, but ultimately by imposing wage and price controls on the entire nation. President Ford watched the inflation rate soar above 11% in 1974. He enacted a huge propaganda campaign called **Whip Inflation Now (WIN)**, which asked Americans to voluntarily control spending, wage demands, and price increases. The struggling economy, along with his pardon of Nixon after the Watergate Scandal, led Americans to sour on President Ford and they handed the presidency to **Jimmy Carter** in the 1976 election.

Carter was viewed by many as a breath of fresh air. He was deeply religious, a peanut farmer, and the governor of Georgia. Unlike Nixon, Carter had the reputation of being an honest tell-it-like-it-is person. Carter tried tax and spending cuts, but the annual inflation rate topped 18% under his watch in the summer of 1980. At the same time, the unemployment rate fluctuated between 6% and 8%.

它可能会给国际贸易商和投资者带来不确定性。在过去的五年里，美元的价值高达120日元，低至80美元.....此外，让货币经理人自由行善的制度也让他们自由不负责任.....”

尼克松冲击最直接的结果是经济滞胀。

滞胀

自第二次世界大战结束以来，美国人习惯于稳定的经济增长。经济衰退一直很短，随后经济强劲增长。但在20世纪70年代，自大萧条以来，美国人首次面临经济可能导致其子女生活水平下降的问题。问题是三个因素的危险组合。

通货膨胀是随着时间的推移价格缓慢上涨。一些通胀对通货膨胀通常是有利的，但过去二十年通货膨胀率在1%至3%之间的情况迅速蔓延至两位数。与此同时，失业率接近危险的10%线。自20世纪30年代的大萧条以来，并没有那么多美国人一直在寻找工作。经济产出也停滞不前。美国人根本无法像他们习惯的那样生产和销售。这种情况是滞胀，高通胀，高失业率和低经济增长的灾难性混合。

美国人的信心不稳定。他们开始问自己出了什么问题。

理查德尼克松试图通过削减政府开支来对抗通货膨胀，但最终通过对整个国家施加工资和价格控制。1974年，福特总统观察到通货膨胀率飙升至11%以上。他发起了一场名为“Whip Inflation Now”（WIN）的大型宣传活动，要求美国人自愿控制支出，工资需求和价格上涨。挣扎的经济以及在水门丑闻之后他对尼克松的赦免导致美国人对福特总统表示不满，他们在1976年的大选中将总统职位交给了吉米卡特。

卡特被许多人视为呼吸新鲜空气。他非常虔诚，是一位花生农民，也是格鲁吉亚州长。与尼克松不同的是，卡特有一种诚实的说法，即它是一个人的声誉。卡特试图削减税收和支出，但1980年夏季他的年度通胀率高达18%。与此同时，失业率在6%至8%之间波动。



1970 Chevelle SS 396.

It's getting tougher and tougher to resist.

The standard V8 has been kicked up to 350 hp.

A new air-gulping Cowl Induction Hood awaits your order.

You can also order your choice of a floor-mounted 4-speed or the 3-range Turbo Hydra-matic.

Under that lean and hungry look is a lean

and agile suspension. F70 x 14 white-lettered wide oval treads. 7"-wide mag-type wheels. And power disc brakes.

Your mission is to infiltrate your Chevy dealer's and escape with this car.

It will go willingly.

Putting you first, keeps us first.



**In ten seconds,
your resistance will
self-destruct.**

Primary Source: Advertisement

The 1970s Chevelle SS 396, a classic example of the large, fuel-hungry, muscle cars popular in the late 1960s and early 1970s. They were fun to drive but terrible to own when gas prices soared.

主要来源：广告

二十世纪七十年代的 Chevelle SS 396 是 20 世纪 60 年代末和 70 年代初流行的大型燃油饥饿型肌肉车的典型例子。当汽油价格飙升时，他们开车很有乐趣，但却很难驾驭自己。

OIL, CARS, AND CRISIS

Before the 1970s, the most popular cars in America were large, heavy, and powerful. In 1971, the standard motor for the popular Chevrolet Caprice was a 400-cubic inch (6.5 liter) V8, which achieved no more than 15 highway miles per gallon. Detroit's **Big Three** - General Motors, Chrysler and Ford – had dominated the automobile market for decades. Without completion, they had grown complacent, making ever larger, heavier and less efficient vehicles. To make matters worse, in the 1970s, Americans fell in love with big, powerful muscle cars that boasted the least fuel-efficient engines of all. They

油，汽车和危机

在 20 世纪 70 年代之前，美国最受欢迎的汽车大型，重型和强大。1971 年，流行的雪佛兰 Caprice 的标准发动机是一款 400 立方英寸（6.5 升）的 V8 发动机，每加仑的发动机速度不超过 15 公里。底特律的三巨头 - 通用汽车，克莱斯勒和福特 - 几十年来主宰了汽车市场。如果没有完成，他们已经自满了，制造出更大，更重，效率更低的车辆。更糟糕的是，在 20 世纪 70 年代，美国人爱上了拥有所

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might have been fun to drive, but they were time bombs for America's economy.

When Israel defeated its Arab neighbors in the Yom Kippur War of 1973, Arab oil producers retaliated against Israel's allies by leading the **Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC)** to enact an **embargo**. They agreed to significantly limit the quantity of oil they exported to the United States. The prices of oil-based products skyrocketed in the United States as demand outstripped supply. Automobiles and drivers sat in long lines at service stations, and everyone felt the pain of paying more at the pump as the price of gasoline quadrupled.

With skyrocketing prices, the much smaller, far more efficient Japanese and European cars that utilized four-cylinder engines, unibody construction, and front-wheel drive dramatically increased in popularity. American automakers' attempts at compensating were relatively poorly received as the offered vehicles that were still less efficient and less well constructed than the imports. The Detroit automakers simply could not adapt fast enough. Some of the failed American cars of the 1970s such as the Chevrolet Nova and Ford Pinto are remembered as cautionary examples of hubris. It took General Motors, Chrysler and Ford a decade to recover. In the meantime, Japanese and European cars became common on American roads.



The government's response to the embargo was quick but had limited effectiveness. A national speed limit of 55 mph was imposed to help reduce consumption. President Nixon named William E. Simon as Energy Czar, and in 1977, a cabinet-level Department of Energy was created. The government established the **Strategic Petroleum Reserve**. Today the reserve holds roughly 700 million barrels of oil in

有燃油效率最低的引擎的大而强大的肌肉车。他们开车可能很有趣，但他们是美国经济的时间炸弹。

当以色列在 1973 年赎罪日战争中击败其阿拉伯邻国时，阿拉伯石油生产国通过领导石油输出国组织（欧佩克）实施封锁，对以色列盟友进行报复。他们同意大幅限制出口到美国的石油数量。由于需求超过供应，美国油基产品的价格猛涨。汽车和司机在加油站排长队，每个人都感觉到在汽油价格上涨四倍的情况下付出更多努力的痛苦。

随着价格暴涨，使用四缸发动机，一体式结构和前轮驱动的小得多，效率更高的日本和欧洲汽车大大增加了人气。美国汽车制造商的补偿尝试相对较少，因为提供的车辆效率较低，而且进口构造也较差。底特律的汽车制造商很难适应得很快。20 世纪 70 年代的一些失败的美国汽车，如雪佛兰新星和福特平托，都被记作骄傲自大的例子。通用汽车，克里斯特和福特花了十年时间才恢复过来。与此同时，日本和欧洲汽车在美国道路上变得常见。

Primary Source: Advertisement

A magazine ad for a Toyota. These smaller, more fuel-efficient imports became popular during the fuel shortages of the 1970s and were a major blow to the Big Three American carmakers.

主要来源：广告

丰田杂志广告。这些更小巧，更省油的进口产品在 20 世纪 70 年代的燃料短缺期间开始流行起来，这是美国三大汽车制造商的重大打击。

政府对封锁的反应很快，但效果有限。全国限速为 55 英里/小时是为了减少消费。尼克松总统任命威廉·西蒙为能源沙皇，并于 1977 年创立了一个内阁级能源部。政府成立了战略石油储备。今天，该储备在路易斯安那州和得克萨斯州拥有大约 7 亿桶

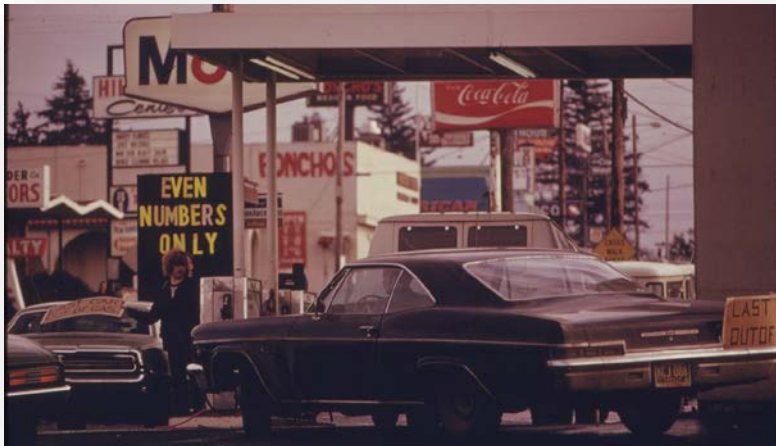
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tanks in Louisiana and Texas, enough to provide the United States with all the oil it needs for about a month.

But with demand high and supply low, gas stations were hurting. The American Automobile Association reported that in the last week of February 1974, 20% of American gasoline stations had no fuel to sell. Tens of thousands of local gasoline stations closed during the fuel crisis.

In an effort to reduce consumption and alleviate the pressure on gas stations, some state governments instituted rationing. Odd-even rationing allowed vehicles with license plates having an odd number as the last digit to buy gas only on odd-numbered days of the month, while others could buy only on even-numbered days. Americans loved their cars. American cities had been built with cars in mind. Americans drove from the suburbs to shopping malls and into downtowns to work. They took long vacations in their cars. Cars were to the modern American what horses had been to the cowboys. Americans hated rationing. Limits on gasoline even led to violent incidents when truck drivers chose to strike for two days in December 1973. In Pennsylvania and Ohio, non-striking truckers were shot at by striking truckers, and in Arkansas, trucks of non-strikers were attacked with bombs.



THE GREAT MALAISE

In 1979, President Carter left for the presidential retreat of Camp David, conferring with dozens prominent political leaders and other individuals to try to find a solution to the nation's trouble. His pollster, Pat Caddell, told him that the American people simply faced a crisis of

油罐，足以为美国提供大约一个月所需的所有石油。

但随着需求量的增加和供应量的减少，加油站受到了伤害。美国汽车协会报告说，在1974年2月的最后一周，20%的美国加油站没有燃料可供出售。在燃料危机期间，成千上万的当地加油站关闭。

为了减少消费和缓解加油站的压力，一些州政府实行了配给制。奇数配给允许牌照号码为奇数的车辆作为最后一位在本月奇数天购买天然气，而其他人在只能在偶数天购买。美国人喜欢他们的车。美国城市已经考虑到了汽车的建造。美国人从郊区驱车前往购物商场和市中心上班。他们在车里长时间休假。汽车对现代美国人来说是马匹去过牛仔队的。美国人讨厌配给。在1973年12月卡车司机选择罢工两天时，对汽油的限制甚至导致了暴力事件。在宾夕法尼亚州和俄亥俄州，非引人注目的卡车司机遭到卡车司机的枪击，而在阿肯色州，非罢工者的卡车遭到炸弹袭击。

Primary Source: Photograph

Lines of cars waiting to purchase gasoline during the oil crisis. Notice the rationing sign indicating even numbered cars only on that day.

主要来源：照片

在石油危机期间等待购买汽油的汽车线。注意仅在当天表明偶数号汽车的配给标志。

伟大的马拉雅

1979年，卡特总统离开了戴维营的总统撤退，同几十个著名的政治领导人和其他人一起，试图找到解决国家麻烦的办法。他的民意测验专家 Pat Caddell 告诉他，美国人民只是面临着 20 世纪 60

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confidence stemming from the assassination of major leaders in the 1960s, the Vietnam War, and the Watergate scandal.

When he came back to the White House on July 15, 1979, Carter gave a nationally televised address in which he told the American people, “I want to talk to you right now about a fundamental threat to American democracy... I do not refer to the outward strength of America, a nation that is at peace tonight everywhere in the world, with unmatched economic power and military might. The threat is nearly invisible in ordinary ways. It is a crisis of confidence. It is a crisis that strikes at the very heart and soul and spirit of our national will. We can see this crisis in the growing doubt about the meaning of our own lives and in the loss of a unity of purpose for our nation...”

This came to be known as his **Malaise Speech**, although Carter never used the word in the speech. Carter juxtaposed crisis and confidence to explain how overconsumption in the United States was leading to an energy crisis. Although at first this resonated with the public and he went up in opinion polls, there was a boomerang effect and the speech prompted a public backlash. Some thought that Carter was blaming the American people for having lost a can-do spirit. Carter’s critics argued that it was the president himself was suffering from a malaise. If he were actually a strong leader, they said, he would fix the energy crisis himself.

Three days after the speech, Carter asked for the resignations of all of his cabinet officers, and ultimately accepted those of five who had clashed with the White House the most. The Malaise Speech and the subsequent cabinet shake-up were poorly received by the public and media who viewed it as evidence that Carter didn’t have a clear plan to fix the nation’s ailing economy.

In the presidential election of 1980, former Hollywood actor and California governor **Ronald Reagan** easily defeated Carter. Americans were drawn to his confident, optimistic message. One of his campaign ads asserted that it was “Morning Again in America.” After years of scandal and economic hardship, American were indeed ready for a new start.

GLOBALIZATION

Trade between cities and nations has been a reality since ancient times. The United States was involved in international trade even before it was a nation. Spanish conquistadors exported gold and silver. French trappers sent beaver pelts home to Europe and the colonists in New England and Virginia shipped tobacco, fish and lumber to England. But for the most part, producers and consumers in the United States dealt mostly with products that were not from

年代刺杀主要领导人，越南战争和水门事件丑闻带来的信任危机。

1979年7月15日他回到白宫时，卡特发表了一个全国电视转播的演说，他告诉美国人民：“我现在想和你谈谈对美国民主的根本威胁.....我没有指的是美国这个今天在世界各地处于和平状态的国家的向外力量，具有无与伦比的经济实力和军事实力。普通的方式几乎看不到威胁。这是一场信心危机。这是一场危机，它打击了我们国家意志的内心和精神。我们可以看到这场危机越来越怀疑我们自己的生活的意义以及失去了我们国家的统一目标.....”

虽然卡特在演讲中从未使用过这个词，但这被称为他的玛莱斯演说。卡特并置危机和信心来解释美国的过度消费是如何导致能源危机的。虽然起初这与公众有共鸣，并且他在民意调查中出现，但还是有了回旋效应，言论引发了公众的强烈反应。有人认为卡特责备美国人失去了一种可以做的精神。卡特的批评者认为，总统本人正在患上不适。如果他实际上是一位强大的领导者，他们说，他会自己解决能源危机。

演讲结束三天后，卡特要求所有内阁官员辞职，并最终接受了最多与白宫发生冲突的五人。公众和媒体很少接受玛丽丝演讲和随后的内阁改组，他们认为卡特没有明确的计划来解决这个国家的病态经济。

在1980年的总统大选中，前好莱坞影星兼加州州长罗纳德里根轻松击败卡特。美国人被他的自信，乐观的信息所吸引。他的竞选广告之一宣称它是“美国的早晨”。在多年的丑闻和经济困难之后，美国人确实准备好了一个新的开始。

全球化

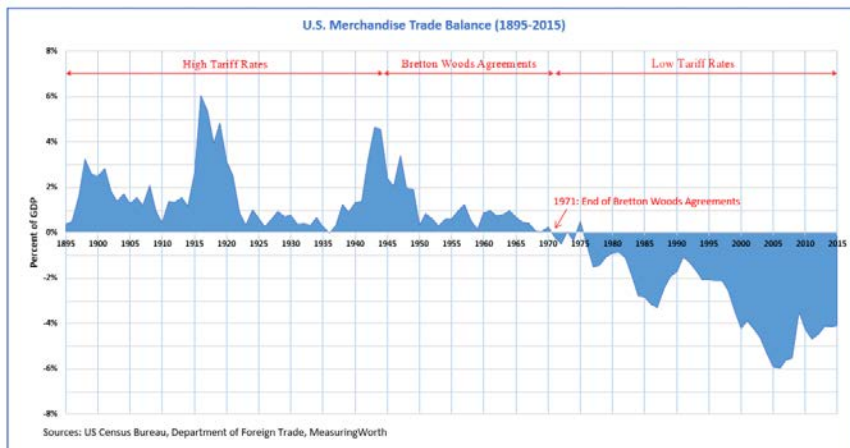
自古以来，城市与国家之间的贸易就成为现实。甚至在美国还没有成为一个国家之前，美国就参与了国际贸易。西班牙征服者出口黄金和白银。法国的捕猎者将海狸皮送到欧洲，新英格兰和弗吉尼亚的殖民者将烟草，鱼和木材运往英国。但大多数情况下，美国的生产者和消费者主要处理不是来自其他国家的产物。他们吃在附近农场种植的食物。美国

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other countries. They ate food grown in nearby farms. Americans drove cars built in Detroit. They flew in planes built in Seattle. They toasted their bread, mowed their lawns, washed their clothes and cooked their food with appliances made in America.

All that changed in the last quarter of the 20th Century in a process dubbed **globalization**. Beginning in the 1970s, American manufacturing companies found it harder and harder to compete with foreign importers. Sometimes it was because of years of poor choices, as was the case of the Detroit automakers who simply were not designing cars that people wanted to buy. In other cases, larger factors such as the Nixon Shock changed the value of American money in the global marketplace and gave foreign companies an advantage. Without the Bretton Woods system maintaining the value of the dollar for example, Japanese electronics companies could sell televisions in the United States and make more money than before. Sony, Panasonic, Sharp, Pioneer, Casio, and Yamaha became familiar names on American store shelves.



As the years wore on, more and more products that had once been built in the United States were being made elsewhere. In the case of the auto industry, foreigners simply replaced American companies. In others, American companies **outsourced** their production to where the cost of labor was significantly less. This was especially true in the textile industry. During the 1970s and 1980s, 95% percent of the looms in North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia shut down. The effect was devastating for the local economies. In some towns everyone either worked in a textile mill, was related to someone who did, or worked in a business that supported these workers.

From coast to coast, the working class people of America faced growing competition from workers in distant countries and more often than

人驾驶在底特律建造的汽车。他们飞在西雅图建造的飞机上。他们烤面包，修剪草坪，洗衣服，用美国制造的器具烹饪食物。

在 20 世纪的最后一个季度，这一过程在全球化过程中发生了变化。从 20 世纪 70 年代开始，美国制造企业发现与外国进口商竞争越来越困难。有时候是因为多年的糟糕选择，就像底特律汽车制造商的情况一样，他们根本就没有设计人们想要购买的汽车。在其他情况下，尼克松冲击等更大的因素改变了全球市场上美国货币的价值，给外国公司带来了好处。如果没有布雷顿森林体系维持美元价值，日本电子公司就可以在美国销售电视机，并比以前赚更多的钱。索尼，松下，夏普，先锋，卡西欧和雅马哈在美国商店货架上成为熟悉的名字。

Secondary Source: Chart

This chart shows the balance to trade for the United States beginning in 1895. Until 1970, America sold more products to the world than it purchased. After 1975, Americans have always imported more than exported. This is called the trade deficit.

次要来源：图表

这张图表显示了美国从 1895 年开始的贸易余额。直到 1970 年，美国向世界出售的产品数量比购买的多。1975 年以后，美国人总是比出口重要。这被称为贸易赤字。

随着时间的推移，越来越多的曾经在美国建造的产品正在其他地方生产。就汽车行业而言，外国人只是取代了美国公司。在另外一些国家，美国公司把他们的生产外包到劳动力成本明显较低的地方。纺织工业尤其如此。在二十世纪七十年代和八十年代，北卡罗来纳州，南卡罗来纳州和格鲁吉亚的织机中有 95% 关闭。这对当地经济造成了破坏。在一些城镇，每个人都在纺织厂工作，与某人曾经工作过，或曾经在支持这些工人的企业工作过。

从海岸到海岸，美国的工人阶级人民面临来自遥远国家工人的日益激烈的竞争，而且往往不是这

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not, the American workers were losing. Nowhere was this more evident than in the industrial heartland of the Midwest.

THE RUST BELT

In the 1800s, the cities of the Midwest boomed and immigrant workers flooded in to find work in the Industrial Revolution's new factories. Carnegie's steel mills and Henry Ford's auto plants, Rockefeller's oil refineries and Pullman's railroad car company stood out as examples of the ingenuity that were hallmarks of the age. The industrial heartland of the United States reached its zenith during World War II when its factories transformed themselves into the Arsenal of Democracy.

With the decline of manufacturing jobs in the 1970s and 1980s, the great industrial cities of the Midwest were dealt a massive blow. Factories closed. Workers were laid off. People moved away to look for work. Business owners faced loss revenue as their customers had less to spend. City governments struggled to maintain services as tax revenue fell. Schools closed. In some places, whole neighborhoods were abandoned. Crime and drug abuse increased. Middle class families who could, moved into more prosperous suburbs leaving inner cities empty. In many cities only the poor African American families remained. Demographic maps of cities like Detroit or Cleveland show rings of mostly White suburbs around nearly 100% African American urban cores. Laws, government policies, and racist business practices ensured that neighborhoods remained segregated.



样，美国工人失去了工作。这在中西部的工业中心地区没有比这更明显的了。

皮带

在 19 世纪，中西部城市蓬勃发展，移民工人涌入工业革命的新工厂。卡内基的钢铁厂和亨利福特的汽车厂，洛克菲勒的炼油厂和普尔曼的铁路车辆公司都是这个时代的标志性杰作。二战期间，美国的工业中心地区达到了顶峰，当时工厂的工厂已转变为民主阿森纳。

随着 20 世纪 70 年代和 80 年代制造业就业岗位的减少，中西部的大工业城市遭受了巨大的打击。工厂关闭。工人被解雇。人们搬走了寻找工作。由于客户花费较少，企业主面临亏损收入。随着税收收入下降，市政府努力维持服务。学校关闭。在一些地方，整个社区都被抛弃了。犯罪和吸毒增加。中产阶级家庭可以搬到更繁华的郊区，让内城空空荡荡。在许多城市，只有贫穷的美国黑人家庭依然存在。像底特律或克利夫兰这样的城市的人口统计地图显示，几乎 100% 的非裔美国城市核心围绕白色郊区。法律，政府政策和种族主义商业惯例确保了社区隔离。

Primary Source: Photograph

One of the many abandoned houses in Detroit, Michigan. These were once thriving neighborhoods of row houses, but are now abandoned.

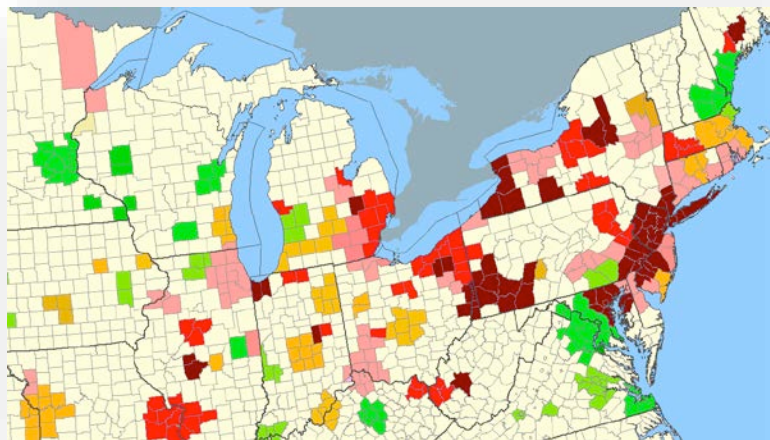
主要来源：照片

密歇根州底特律许多被遗弃的房屋之一。这些曾经蓬勃发展的排房的街区，但现在被放弃。

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A new term was coined to describe the region of abandoned steel mills, railroad yards, automobile factories and manufacturing centers: the **Rust Belt**. What had once been a source of American pride, the region that had fueled the growth of the nation, became a symbol of its decline. Abandoned factories, boarded up storefronts, and graffiti-covered vacant homes continue to be scars that show how far America's heartland fell.



Problems associated with the Rust Belt persist even today, particularly around the eastern Great Lakes states. From 1970 to 2006, Cleveland, Detroit, Buffalo, and Pittsburgh lost about 45% of their population. Median household incomes fell in Cleveland and Detroit by about 30%, in Buffalo by 20%, and Pittsburgh by 10%.

Not all production in the United States ended, however. In the late-2000s, American manufacturing recovered faster from the Great Recession of 2008 than the other sectors of the economy, and a number of initiatives both public and private, are encouraging the development of new technologies that will provide jobs for unemployed laborers. Despite its decline, the Rust Belt still composes one of the world's major manufacturing regions. While there are examples all across the Midwest of decay, there are places where prosperity seems to be growing out of the ashes. The great Bethlehem Steel Works in Pennsylvania closed its doors in 1995 after 140 years of production, but the rusting hulk was torn down and the site is now the home to a hotel and casino.

THE FORMAL STRUCTURES OF GLOBALIZATION

一个新的术语被用来形容废弃的钢铁厂，铁路场地，汽车工厂和制造中心的地区：铁锈带。曾经是美国自豪感的来源，该地区推动了国家的发展，成为其衰落的象征。被遗弃的工厂，登上店面以及覆盖涂鸦的空置房屋仍然是疤痕，显示美国的中心地带有多远。

Secondary Source: Map

This map shows the rate of manufacturing job loss in the past four decades. The darker red the color, the greater number of manufacturing jobs disappeared.

次要来源：地图

这幅地图显示了过去四十年来制造业失业率。颜色越深，制造工作的数量就越多。

即使在今天，特别是在大湖区东部各州周围，与锈带有关的问题依然存在。从 1970 年到 2006 年，克利夫兰，底特律，布法罗和匹兹堡失去了约 45% 的人口。克利夫兰和底特律的家庭平均收入下降了 30%，布法罗下降了 20%，匹兹堡下降了 10%。

然而，并非美国所有的生产都结束了。在二十世纪二十年代后期，美国制造业从 2008 年的大衰退中恢复得比其他经济部门快，许多公共和私营部门的举措都鼓励开发新技术，为失业劳动者提供就业机会。尽管衰退，锈带仍然是世界主要制造业地区之一。虽然中西部地区存在腐朽的例子，但也有一些地方的繁荣似乎正在从灰烬中蔓延开来。在宾夕法尼亚州的伟大伯利恒钢厂经过 140 年的生产后于 1995 年关闭了它的大门，但生锈的废钢被拆除，现在它成了酒店和赌场的所在地。

全球化的形式结构

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In the wake of the Second World War, the major nations of the world sought ways to develop a more integrated, stable and peaceful world. The Bretton Woods system and the United Nations were aspects of this effort. In addition, the **World Trade Organization (WTO)**, **International Monetary Fund (IMF)** and **World Bank** were established. The WTO provides a framework and forum for negotiating and formalizing trade agreements. In effect, the WTO exists to help eliminate barriers to trade between countries. The IMF was created to be a super-bank for the governments of the developing world to help them access funds when private banks were too weak, thus ensuring stability in global markets. The World Bank uses money loaned from wealthy nations to finance development projects such as constructions of airports, irrigation systems, or programs to fight hunger and disease in the Third World.

Like most nations, the United States has concluded many free trade treaties. Most famous of these is the **North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)**. Concluded in 1994, the agreement between the United States, Canada and Mexico eliminates tariffs on products transferred between the three nations. For example, Canada will not charge a tariff, or tax, on pork products brought across the border from American farms and sold to Canadian consumers. Globally, the most famous of all such free trade zones is the European Union's open market, which encompasses most of mainland Europe and many of the United States' closest allies.

The leaders of the major industrial nations of the world meet every few years to discuss economic issues. These grand summits of the leaders of the United States, Canada, the United Kingdom, France, Germany, Italy and Japan are known as the **G7**, short for **Group of Seven**. For a while, it was the G8 while Russia was invited. Interestingly, China is not included although it is the world's second largest economy.

ANTI-GLOBALIZATION

There are outspoken critics of the process of globalization, and the visible manifestations of globalization such as the IMF, WTO, G7 and NAFTA are their favorite targets. Sometimes called the **anti-globalization movement**, these activists base their criticisms on a number of related ideas. Some members of the movement oppose large, multinational corporations. Specifically, they accuse corporations of seeking to maximize profit at the expense of workers, pay, and environmental conservation. They point to examples of Third World workers being paid wages far less than American workers and being forced to work long hours in dangerous factories as evidence of unregulated corporate evil.

在第二次世界大战之后，世界主要国家想方设法发展一个更加融合，稳定和和平的世界。布雷顿森林体系和联合国是这一努力的一个方面。此外，还建立了世界贸易组织（世贸组织），国际监测基金（货币基金组织）和世界银行。世贸组织为贸易协定的谈判和正式化提供了一个框架和论坛。实际上，WTO 的存在是为了帮助消除国家间贸易壁垒。国际货币基金组织成立后，将成为发展中国家政府的超级银行，帮助它们在私人银行太弱时获得资金，从而确保全球市场的稳定。世界银行利用来自富裕国家的贷款资助发展项目，如机场建设，灌溉系统或第三世界与饥饿和疾病作斗争的计划。

像大多数国家一样，美国缔结了许多自由贸易条约。其中最著名的是北美自由贸易协定（NAFTA）。1994 年结束时，美国，加拿大和墨西哥之间的协议取消了三国之间转移产品的关税。例如，加拿大不会对从美国农场穿过边境的猪肉产品收取关税或税收，并向加拿大消费者出售。在全球范围内，所有这些自由贸易区中最有名的是欧盟的开放市场，其中包括欧洲大部分大陆和许多美国最亲密的盟友。

世界主要工业国家的领导人每隔几年就会讨论经济问题。这些美国，加拿大，英国，法国，德国，意大利和日本领导人的高峰会被称为七国集团（G7）的缩写。有一段时间，这是 G8，而俄罗斯应邀。有趣的是，尽管中国是世界第二大经济体，但中国并不包括在内。

反全球化

全球化过程中有直言不讳的批评者，全球化的明显表现如 IMF，WTO，G7 和 NAFTA 是他们最喜欢的目标。这些活动家有时被称为反全球化运动，他们的批评基于一些相关的想法。该运动的一些成员反对大型跨国公司。具体而言，他们指责企业寻求以牺牲工人，工资和环境保护为代价来实现利润最大化。他们指出第三世界工人的薪酬远远低于美国工人，并被迫在危险的工厂长时间工作，作为不受管制的公司恶行的证据。

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Other participants in the movement fear that globalization is leading to a decrease in democratic representation as more and more of the decisions that affect daily life are made by corporate executives and the leaders of multi-national organizations such as the World Trade Organization. Unlike a mayor who might be voted out of office for failing to maintain city roads, the leaders of global organizations seem far away from the ability of individual voters to control. For some, this is a threat to national sovereignty itself. What makes someone American if globalization has made markets and public policy a matter of international concern? These anti-globalists believe modern companies are manipulating even the United States government, just like American Dollar Diplomacy made use of corporate power to manipulate governments in Latin America. In 2010, the Supreme Court ruled in **Citizens United v. FCC** that corporations and organizations have an equal right to free speech under the First Amendment. This decision erased limits on political spending by companies. Without limits, the executives of a company like Exxon-Mobile can spend billions of dollars on political ads to influence an election. Although companies cannot vote, their leaders can use corporate money to control political debate in ways that everyday citizens cannot. Some of the people who worried about this loss of political control were motivated in 2016 to vote for Donald Trump with his promises of “America First” and “Drain the Swamp.” The Occupy Wall Street movement that started in New York City in 2011 is an example of people organizing against perceived influence of powerful banks.

Another criticism of globalization is the destruction of local culture. If Italians start drinking Starbucks instead of stopping at local cafes, local identity suffers. If people in the mountains of Bolivia give up indigenous styles of dress in favor of American jeans and t-shirts, local culture begins to fade. When Mongolian teenagers watch Hollywood movies and listen to American pop music, they are diluting their own culture with the global culture of the American entertainment industry. In these and many other cases, anti-globalists point to the loss of diversity and identity as downsides of globalization. Because of the title of Benjamin Barber’s famous book describing this process, it is often called “**McWorld**.”

Many anti-globalization activists do not oppose globalization in general. Rather, they call for forms of global integration that better provides for democratic representation, advancement of human rights, fair trade and sustainable development. For example, these people believe free trade agreements should include protections for the workers and the environment. Rather than anti-globalist, this group is now known as the **Social Justice Movement**.

该运动的其他参与者担心，随着越来越多的影响日常生活的决定由企业高管和世界贸易组织等多国组织的领导人作出，全球化正在导致民主代表性的下降。与市长因未能维持城市道路而可能被投票不同，全球组织的领导人似乎远离个人选民控制的能力。对一些人来说，这是对国家主权本身的威胁。如果全球化使市场和公共政策成为国际关注的问题，是什么让美国人成为美国人？这些反全球主义者认为，现代公司正在操纵美国政府，就像美元外交利用公司的权力操纵拉美的政府一样。2010年，最高法院在公民联合诉美国联邦通信委员会裁定，公司和组织根据第一修正案享有言论自由的平等权利。这一决定消除了公司政治支出的限制。没有限制，像埃克森美孚这样的高管可以花数十亿美元购买政治广告来影响选举。虽然公司不能投票，但他们的领导人可以使用公司的资金来控制政治辩论，而这种方式是日常公民不能的。一些担心失去政治控制权的人在2016年被动员投票支持唐纳德特朗普，他承诺“美国第一”和“排除沼泽”。2011年在纽约市开始的占领华尔街运动是一个组织反对强大银行的感知影响的例子。

对全球化的另一种批评是破坏当地文化。如果意大利人开始喝星巴克，而不是在当地咖啡馆停留，本地身份就会受到影响。如果玻利维亚山区的人们放弃美国牛仔裤和T恤衫的土着服装风格，当地文化开始淡化。当蒙古青少年看好莱坞电影并听美国流行音乐时，他们正在用美国娱乐业的全球文化来稀释自己的文化。在这些以及其他许多案例中，反全球主义者指出多样性和认同的丧失是全球化的不利之处。由于本杰明巴伯描述这一过程的著名书名，它通常被称为“**麦克世界**”。

许多反全球化活动人士并不反对全球化。相反，他们呼吁形成更好地为民主代表，促进人权，公平贸易和可持续发展提供全球一体化的形式。例如，这些人认为自由贸易协议应该包括对工人和环境的保护。这个团体现在被称为**社会正义运动**，而不是反全球主义者。

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Primary Source: Photograph

An activist at the Occupy Wall Street movement in New York City in 2011. The 99% rallying cry makes that case that only 1% of the world's people control most of the world's wealth. The protestors believed that this situation damages the democratic principle of one person, one vote.

主要来源：照片

2011年纽约市占领华尔街运动的积极分子。99%的呐喊使得这一案例中只有1%的世界人民控制着世界大部分财富。抗议者认为，这种情况损害了一人一票的民主原则。

It appears the process of globalization is irreversible. We seem to be more and more integrated with each passing year. The question that remains for both proponents and opponents of globalization is: what will the costs and benefits be, and for whom?

FIGHTING GLOBALIZATION

Some activists have taken to the streets to protest the injustices they feel are being done in the process of globalization. Most notably in the United States, when the World Trade Organization member nations met in Seattle, in November 1999, protesters blocked delegates from entering meetings and forced the cancellation of the opening ceremonies. Protesters and Seattle riot police clashed in the streets after police fired tear gas at demonstrators. In what protesters called the **Battle in Seattle**, over 600 people were arrested and thousands were injured. Three police officers were injured by friendly fire, and one by a thrown rock. Some protesters destroyed the windows of storefronts of businesses owned or franchised by targeted corporations such as a large Nike shop and many Starbucks locations. The mayor put the city under the municipal equivalent of martial law and declared a curfew. The Seattle protests shocked American leaders who underestimated public discontent and Americans in general were surprised to see images of peaceful protesters being attacked with tear gas in the streets. For many, it reminded them of the chaos of the 1960s. By 2002, the city of Seattle had paid over \$200,000 in settlements of lawsuits filed against the Seattle Police Department for assault and wrongful arrest, with a class action lawsuit still pending.

看来全球化的过程是不可逆转的。我们似乎越来越与每一年都融合在一起。对于全球化的支持者和反对者而言，问题依然存在：成本和收益会是什么？为谁而定？

打击全球化

一些活动人士走上街头抗议他们在全球化过程中所感受到的不公正。尤其在美国，当世界贸易组织成员国于1999年11月在西雅图开会时，抗议者阻止了代表们进入会议并强迫取消开幕式。警方向示威者发射催泪瓦斯后，抗议者和西雅图防暴警察在街头发生冲突。在西雅图被称为战役的抗议者中，有600多人被捕，数千人受伤。三名警察因友善的射击而受伤，另一名则被扔石头砸伤。一些抗议者摧毁了目标公司所拥有或特许经营的商店店面的窗户，例如大型耐克店和许多星巴克地点。市长把这个城市置于市政当局的戒严之下，并宣布宵禁。西雅图抗议震惊了美国领导人，他们低估了公众的不满情绪，美国人普遍看到和平抗议者的图像被街头的催泪瓦斯袭击。对很多人来说，这让他们想起了1960年代的混乱局面。到了2002年，西雅图市已经向西雅图警察局提起了超过20万美元的诉讼，因为这些诉讼是针对袭击和错误的逮捕行为，集体诉讼仍在等待中。

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Primary Source: Photograph

Seattle police officers in riot gear spray protesters with tear gas during the Battle in Seattle. Police tactics in Seattle and Washington, DC were seen as evidence that governments were siding with corporations against the will of the people.

主要来源：照片

西雅图西雅图战役期间，西雅图警察在防暴装备中用催泪瓦斯喷洒抗议者。西雅图和华盛顿特区的警察手段被看作是政府违背人民意愿与政府站在一起的证据。

After the Seattle WTO protests, Canadian author Naomi Klein published a book entitled “**No Logo: Taking Aim at the Brand Bullies**” which became the unofficial manifesto of the anti-globalist movement. In her book, Klein argued that corporations have used their economic influence to hurt workers, muzzle dissent, and enrich their shareholders at the expense of average citizens in both wealthy and developing nations.

西雅图世贸组织抗议后，加拿大作家纳奥米克莱因出版了一本题为“没有标志：瞄准品牌恶霸”的书，该书成为反全球主义运动的非官方宣言。在她的书中，克莱因认为，企业利用他们的经济影响力来伤害工人，压制异见人士，并以富裕国家和发展中国家的普通公民为代价来丰富自己的股东。

Encouraged by the disruption they caused and media attention their actions received, **protesters repeated their efforts in Washington, DC** in 2000 when roughly 15,000 people demonstrated at the annual meeting of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank. Police raided the activists’ meeting hall. DC police arrested more than 1,300 people and after lawsuits, \$13.7 million in damages were awarded to the protesters who had been arrested and injured. In 2002, some 1,500 or more people gathered again to demonstrate against the annual meetings of IMF and World Bank in the streets of Washington DC. Again, hundreds of people were arrested, and just like before, the city had to pay the protesters to end a lawsuit.

受到他们引起的干扰以及媒体关注他们的行为的鼓舞，抗议者在 2000 年在华盛顿重复了他们的努力，当时约有 15,000 人在国际货币基金组织 (IMF) 和世界银行年会上表现出来。警方突击搜查活动分子的会议厅。特区警方逮捕了 1300 多人，经过诉讼后，向被逮捕和受伤的示威者颁发了 1370 万美元的损失赔偿金。2002 年，约有 1,500 多人再次聚集在华盛顿特区街头示威反对 IMF 和世界银行年会。再次，数百人被捕，并且像以前一样，该城市不得向抗议者支付诉讼。

Similar protests have erupted in cities around the world when economic summits were held in Genoa, Berlin, Paris, and Madrid, among others.

在热那亚，柏林，巴黎和马德里等地举行经济峰会时，世界各地的城市也爆发了类似的抗议活动。

Despite the public attention these clashes have produced, they seem to have had little effect on the process of globalization itself, or on the targeted leaders, organizations and businesses. One argument often made by their critics is that a major cause of poverty among Third World farmers is the trade barriers put up by rich nations and poor nations

尽管这些冲突引起了公众的关注，但它们似乎对全球化本身的进程或对目标领导者，组织和企业的影响甚微。批评者经常提出的一个观点是，第三世界农民贫穷的一个主要原因是富裕国家和穷国提出的贸易壁垒。世贸组织是专门

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alike. The WTO was created specifically to work towards removing those trade barriers. Therefore, they argue, people really concerned about the plight of the Third World should be encouraging free trade, rather than attempting to fight it. Indeed, people from developing countries have been relatively accepting and supportive of globalization while the strongest opposition to globalization has come from wealthy First World activists and labor unions.

Perhaps though, the most important reason the anti-globalization movement has failed to make much of a difference is because it is largely disorganized. There are no umbrella organizations or widely respected leaders to help unify the many groups who come out to protest. Environmental activists, human rights activists, nationalists, protectionists, and cultural preservationists all have their own agendas, and sometimes find that they fight amongst themselves as much as they protest the organizations they view as the boogeymen of globalization.

THE CASE FOR GLOBALIZATION

Globalization has had positive effects in the United States. The production of goods in foreign countries with lower labor costs mean lower prices for American consumers. Televisions, clothing, cell phones, fruit, and a myriad of the things for sale in America are all less expensive because of the globalization of markets.

Economic globalization has also made it possible for American businesses to make more money selling to foreign consumers. Coca-Cola, Pepsi, McDonalds, Starbucks, Microsoft, Apple, Google, Amazon, Visa, Nike, Levi's and many more have become successful around the world.

Improvements in communications that have accompanied increased trade mean that journalism is now global. Social media networks are global as well. Email, online messaging, voice and video calls from one side of the world to another are now common. Only a decade ago such communication was the thing of wild imagination.

Despite the negative effects critics point to, globalization has benefited the developing world. People in the Third World have found jobs producing the things people in wealthy countries want to buy. And Third World consumers now have access to the same products Americans can buy. Overall, has poverty around the world has decreased.

设立的，旨在消除这些贸易壁垒。因此，他们认为，真正关心第三世界困境的人应该鼓励自由贸易，而不是企图与之抗争。事实上，来自发展中国家的人们相对接受和支持全球化，而最强烈的反对全球化来自富有的第一世界活动家和工会。

或许，反全球化运动未能发挥重要作用的最重要原因是因为它基本上是混乱的。没有伞式组织或广受尊敬的领导人来帮助统一出来抗议的许多团体。环保活动家，人权活动家，民族主义者，保护主义者和文化保护主义者都有自己的议程，有时会发现他们在抗议他们认为是全球化的煽动者的组织时自相矛盾。

全球化的案例

全球化对美国产生了积极影响。在国外生产劳动力成本较低的商品意味着美国消费者的价格更低。由于市场的全球化，电视机，服装，手机，水果以及无数在美国销售的东西都价格便宜。

经济全球化也使得美国企业能够向国外消费者销售更多的钱。可口可乐，百事可乐，麦当劳，星巴克，微软，苹果，谷歌，亚马逊，Visa，耐克，李维斯等等在全球都取得了成功。

随着贸易量的增加，通讯方面的改进意味着新闻业现在是全球性的。社交媒体网络也是全球性的。电子邮件，在线消息，来自世界各地的语音和视频通话现在很常见。仅在十年前，这种交流才是疯狂的想象。

尽管评论家指出负面影响，但全球化已经使发展中国家受益。第三世界的人们找到了创造富裕国家人们想购买的东西的工作。而第三世界的消费者现在可以获得美国人可以购买的相同产品。总体而言，世界各地的贫困人口有所下降。

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Primary Source: Photograph

A McDonald's in Thailand. Anti-globalists point to these as evidence of the destruction multinational corporations have on local culture. Globalists argue that corporations such as these increase the standard of living in Third World nations.

主要来源：照片

麦当劳在泰国。反全球主义者指出，这是跨国公司破坏当地文化的证据。全球主义者认为，像这样的公司会提高第三世界国家的生活水平。

CONCLUSION

The world is more integrated now than it was just a decade ago, and far more integrated than it was at the end of World War II. Great nations have done much to ensure that the world's economic health remains stable. Although the Bretton Woods system of monetary stability is gone, major institutions such as the WTO, IMF and agreements like NAFTA have increased trade, lowered prices, created new opportunities and on average, decreased poverty.

But the cost of this change is dramatic in some places. The Rust Belt is clear, ugly, evidence that some Americans are the losers in globalization. American presidents, from Nixon, Ford and Carter in the 1970s up through Trump today, have all made efforts to reverse these negative effects – often to no avail. Despite the sometimes flashy efforts of the anti-globalization activists, it seems that globalization is a process that is beyond anyone's control

结论

现在的世界比十年前更为一体化，而且比第二次世界大战结束时更为一体化。伟大的国家为确保世界经济健康保持稳定做了很多工作。尽管布雷顿森林体系的货币稳定性没有了，但世贸组织，国际货币基金组织和北美自由贸易协定等主要机构增加了贸易，降低了价格，创造了新的机会，平均减少了贫困。

但是这种变化的成本在一些地方是很大的。锈带清楚，丑陋，证据表明一些美国人是全球化的输家。美国总统，从 20 世纪 70 年代的尼克松，福特和卡特到今天的特朗普，都努力扭转这些负面影响 - 往往无济于事。尽管反全球化积极分子有时候做出了炫目的努力，但似乎全球化是一个超出任何人的控制的过程

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What do you think? Is it bad for America that so few of the things we buy are made here?

你怎么看？对于美国来说，我们购买的这么少的东西是在这里制造的吗？



Watch Carter's
Crisis of Confidence
Speech



KEY CONCEPTS

Bretton Woods System: An agreement between the leading nations of the world after World War II designed to stabilize the global economy. The US Dollar was set at \$35/oz. of gold and the all nations set a fixed exchange rate for their currencies.

Gold Standard: When a currency is backed by the government in gold. The currency is always worth a certain amount of gold.

Inflation: The slow rise in prices over time.

Stagflation: I situation in which there is high inflation, high unemployment, and low economic growth.

Globalization: The process of increasing connections around the world of communication and trade.

Outsource: When a company attempts to save money by moving a factory to another location where labor is cheaper, or by firing workers and hiring an outside company to do the work for less. Ford building cars in Mexico, or a store hiring a cleaning company instead of their own janitors are examples.

McWorld: Nickname for the aspect of globalization in which certain brands, such as McDonald's become common around the world and supplant local culture with American culture.

关键概念

布雷顿森林体系：二战后世界主要国家之间达成的旨在稳定全球经济的协议。美元定为 35 美元/盎司。黄金和所有国家为其货币设定固定汇率。

黄金标准：当一种货币由政府以黄金支持时。货币总是值得一定量的黄金。

通货膨胀：随着时间的推移，价格缓慢上涨。

暂缓：我处于高通货膨胀，高失业率和低经济增长的情况。

全球化：加强沟通和贸易世界的联系的过程。

外包：当一家公司试图通过将工厂移动到另一个劳动力更便宜的地方，或者解雇工人并聘请外部公司以少工作的方式来节省资金时。墨西哥的福特汽车，或者雇用清洁公司而不是自己的门卫的商店就是例子。

McWorld：全球化方面的绰号，麦当劳等某些品牌在全球变得常见，并且用美国文化取代了当地文化。



BOOKS

No Logo: Taking Aim at the Brand Bullies: Book by Naomi Klein arguing that major corporate brands are bad for the world. It is the unofficial manifesto of the anti-globalization movement.

图书

没有标志：瞄准品牌恶霸：Naomi Klein 的书称，主要的企业品牌对世界不利。这是反全球化运动的非官方宣言。



SPEECHES

Malaise Speech: Speech by President Carter on July 15, 1979 in which he discussed the energy crisis and blamed the problem on a loss of spirit. He was criticized for being overly negative.

重要讲话

玛拉伊斯演讲：1979 年 7 月 15 日卡特总统的讲话，他在会上讨论能源危机，并指出精神损失问题。他被批评过度消极。



PEOPLE AND GROUPS

Jimmy Carter: Democratic governor of Georgia who was elected president in 1976. He served only one term and was defeated by Ronald Reagan in 1980.

Big Three: The three large American automakers based in Detroit, Michigan. Ford, Chrysler and General Motors.

Ronald Reagan: Republican former governor of California who won the presidency in 1980, defeating Jimmy Carter. Reagan was seen as a confidant, optimist who could turn around the nation's struggling economy.

Anti-Globalization Movement: A movement of protesters opposed to many of the aspects of globalization, including the growth of large corporations, environmental impacts, worker safety and pay, cultural degradation, etc.

Social Justice Movement: An aspect of the anti-globalization movement that focuses on human rights, fair trade, worker pay and good government rather than opposing globalization in general.

人和团体

。吉米卡特：1976 年当选格鲁吉亚总统的民主党州长。他只担任过一个任期，并于 1980 年被罗纳德里根击败。

三大：位于密歇根州底特律的三家美国大型汽车制造商。福特，克莱斯勒和通用汽车。

罗纳德里根：共和党前加利福尼亚州州长，1980 年赢得总统职位，击败吉米卡特。里根被认为是一位能够扭转国家经济困境的知己乐观主义者。

反全球化运动：抗议者反对全球化的许多方面，包括大公司的发展，环境影响，工人的安全和工资，文化退化等。

社会正义运动：反全球化运动的一个方面，侧重于人权，公平贸易，工人工资和良好的政府，而不是反对全球化。



EVENTS

Nixon Shock: The decision by Richard Nixon to abandon the gold standard and the Bretton Woods System.

1973 Oil Embargo: OPEC agreed to limit oil shipments to the United States in 1973. This caused a crisis as fuel prices increased dramatically.

Battle in Seattle: Clash between anti-globalization protesters and police in Seattle, Washington in 1999 during the meeting of the World Trade Organization. It was the first large-scale protest against globalization.

Washington DC Protests: Anti-globalization protests in Washington, DC in 2000 and 2002 that included clashes between protesters and police.

活动

尼克松冲击：理查德尼克松决定放弃黄金标准和布雷顿森林体系。

1973 年石油禁运：石油输出国组织同意在 1973 年限制石油运往美国。这引起了一场危机，因为燃料价格大幅上涨。

西雅图之战：1999 年在世界贸易组织会议期间，华盛顿州西雅图的反全球化抗议者与警察之间发生冲突。这是对全球化的第一次大规模抗议活动。

华盛顿特区抗议活动：2000 年和 2002 年在华盛顿举行的反全球化抗议活动，其中包括抗议者与警察之间的冲突。



LOCATIONS

Rust Belt: The region of the country across the Northeast and Midwest that includes the industrial centers of Detroit, Pittsburg, Cleveland, etc. They thrived during the Industrial Revolution of the late 1800s and early 1900s, but have struggled as manufacturing moved overseas.

地点

铁锈带：这个地区遍布东北和中西部，包括底特律，匹兹堡，克利夫兰等工业中心。在 19 世纪末和 20 世纪初的工业革命时期，它们蓬勃发展，但随着制造业向海外转移，它们一直在挣扎。



COURT CASES

Citizens United v. FCC: Supreme court case in 2010 in which the Court decided that corporations have the right to free speech and that laws cannot be passed that restrict corporations from political advertising.

法院案件

公民联合诉美国联邦通信委员会：2010 年最高法院判决，法院判决公司有权言论自由，法律不能通过，限制公司的政治广告。



GOVERNMENT AGENCIES & INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

World Trade Organization (WTO): International organization developed to promote free trade agreements and to serve as a judge for trade disputes between nations.

International Monetary Fund (IMF): A super-bank for the governments of the developing world to help them access funds when private banks were too weak, thus ensuring stability in global markets.

政府机构和国际组织

世界贸易组织 (WTO)：为促进自由贸易协定而发展的国际组织，并担任国家间贸易争端的法官。

国际货币基金组织 (IMF)：发展中国家政府的一个超级银行，在私人银行太弱时帮助他们获得资金，从而确保全球市场的稳定。

3 IS IT BAD FOR AMERICA THAT SO FEW OF THE THINGS WE BUY ARE MADE HERE?



World Bank: A bank that governments in the Third World can use to finance development projects such as constructions of airports, irrigation systems or programs to fight hunger and disease.

Group of Seven (G7): The United States, Canada, United Kingdom, France, Germany, Italy and Japan. With the exception of China, they are the eight largest economies in the world.

Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC): A cartel of the major oil producing nations. They attempt to work together to set production rates and the price of oil on the world market.

Whip Inflation Now (WIN): President Ford's campaign to encourage Americans to voluntarily control spending, wage demands and price increases in order to end the stagflation of the 1970s.

Strategic Petroleum Reserve: Government owned oil located in huge tanks in Louisiana and Texas. The reserve was created in 1977 in case of emergency and could supply the nation with oil for about one month.

North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA): An agreement signed in 1994 between the United States, Canada and Mexico to eliminate tariffs.

世界银行：第三世界各国政府可以用来资助发展项目的银行，如机场建设，灌溉系统或抗击饥饿和疾病的项目。

七国集团（G7）：美国，加拿大，英国，法国，德国，意大利和日本。除中国外，他们是世界八大经济体。

石油输出国组织（欧佩克）：主要石油生产国的卡特尔。他们试图共同努力在世界市场上设定生产率和石油价格。

（WIN）：福特总统鼓励美国人自愿控制支出，工资需求和价格上涨以终结上世纪 70 年代的滞胀的运动。

战略石油储备：政府拥有的石油位于路易斯安那州和德克萨斯州的巨大油罐。这个储备是在 1977 年在紧急情况下建立起来的，可以为国家供应大约一个月的石油。

北美自由贸易协定（北美自由贸易协定）：美国，加拿大和墨西哥于 1994 年签署的关于消除关税的协定。

QUESTION EIGHTEEN



The 1960s were a decade of social upheaval and conflict, but also of hope and reform. The decade that followed, however, saw many examples of failure. The military failed. Presidents failed. Businesses failed. Technologies failed. The national spirit waned.

The catastrophes the nation passed through in the 1970s chastened Americans. We learned that despite our tremendous natural and human resources, success is not inevitable. Past victories do not necessarily guarantee the same in the future. Sometimes hope and good intentions are not enough. Sometimes the best ideas, more honest leaders and greater resolve are found in other countries.

But is this all bad for the country? The 1970s held more failures than Americans were accustomed to, but are we better or worse because of those difficulties? Can nations, like people learn from their mistakes? Did Americans learn from the failures of the 1970s? Are we better able to avoid the same problems in the future? Is there evidence to support this idea?

What do you think? Can failure make us a better country?

20 世纪 60 年代是社会动荡和冲突的十年，也是希望和改革。然而，随后的十年里出现了许多失败的例子。军方失败了。总统失败了。企业失败。技术失败。民族精神在减弱。

20 世纪 70 年代该国经历的灾难使美国人受到了美化。我们了解到，尽管我们拥有巨大的自然和人力资源，但成功并非不可避免。过去的胜利未必一定能保证。有时希望和好意是不够的。有时在其他国家可以找到最好的想法，更诚实的领导者更大的决心。

但这对全国来说都不好吗？20 世纪 70 年代的失败比美国人习惯的要多，但是由于这些困难，我们会更好还是更糟？国家能像人们从错误中学习一样吗？美国人从 20 世纪 70 年代的失败中学到了什么？我们是否能够更好地避免将来出现同样的问题？有证据支持这个想法吗？

你怎么看？失败会使我们成为更美好的国家吗？



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