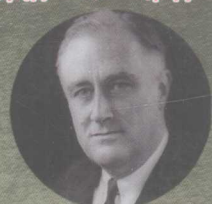
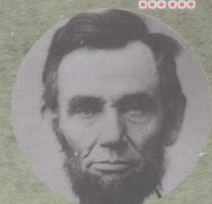




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美国总统 执政和告别演说

Selected administrative & farewell speeches
of the American presidents

精选

汉/英/对/照

王建华/主编

江西出版集团·江西人民出版社



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王建华 主编

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前 言

美国总统的演说历来备受瞩目。因为此类演说不仅反映了美国政府的政策取向,很有研究价值,而且出自于才思敏捷的“演讲撰稿人”之手,颇具审美情趣。从20世纪80年代起,我们开始收集和编译美国总统的演说,在此基础上逐步形成了《美国总统演说文库》。承蒙读者的厚爱 and 江西人民出版社的支持,《美国总统就职演说精选》和《美国总统竞选演说精选》至今畅销不衰。现在摆在您面前的这本《美国总统执政和告别演说精选》,是上述两书的“姐妹篇”。这三本书构成了一个完整的系列,比较全面地反映了美国总统从问鼎白宫、到执掌白宫、再到告别白宫等各个阶段的演说。

顾名思义,“执政演说”就是美国总统在上台执政后为处理国内外事务而发表的演说,一般又可分为内政演说和外交演说两大类。在“内政篇”中,我们按照美国历史的发展轨迹,选取了14位总统在各种场合发表的演说共16篇。其中,既有对美国国内政治问题的论述,如林肯谈内战,肯尼迪谈民权,尼克松谈水门事件,小布什谈反恐,又有对其他重要问题的论述,如关于文官制度改革、托拉斯、资源保护、向贫困开战、信心危机,等等。在“外交篇”中,我们依据国际关系格局和美国外交方针的演变,选取了12位总统

的16篇演说。其中,门罗主义、金元外交、“睦邻”政策、杜鲁门主义和人权外交均为美国外交史上的重要阶段,而威尔逊倡导十四点计划、罗斯福阐述四大自由、肯尼迪面对古巴导弹危机、卡特发动营救人质行动、里根提出星球大战计划和布什指挥“沙漠风暴”行动等等,也早已为人们耳熟能详。

本书的第三部分是“告别篇”,共选取了19位总统的演说,其中包括华盛顿的告别演说、格兰特的最后一篇国情咨文以及尼克松的辞职演说。如果说在发表执政演说时,美国总统必须权衡国内外形势,并考虑国会和两党的压力,因而经常有所保留,那么在“告别演说”中,他就不必有太多的顾忌,因而可以直言不讳。例如华盛顿告诫国人切勿与任何国家永久结盟,艾森豪威尔提醒听众要警惕“军事—工业联合体”,尼克松非但不谈过错、反而大谈自己留下了和平与安全的“遗产”,里根忠告新一届政府要继续摆正“政府和‘我们人民’的关系”,等等,都是很典型的例子。

尽管这些演说展现了美国总统的才思和雄辩,但应当注意的是,无论内政演说、外交演说还是告别演说,无论其辞藻多么华丽、逻辑多么严密、准备得多么周详,这些演说在本质上都代表了美国统治阶级的利益,都受到了时代的制约,并打上了民族的烙印。因此,我们为各篇加上了简

短的注释,希望有助于读者用历史的、分析的和批判的眼光来审视这些演说,并感悟历史道路之曲折、社会发展之艰难、人类前进之不易。

上海社会科学院信息研究所研究员

中国美国史研究会理事

王建华

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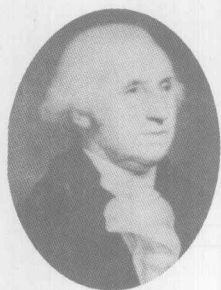
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乔治·华盛顿*

1790年1月8日

第一篇国情咨文

参议院和众议院的同胞们：

我十分高兴地借此机会，祝贺诸位在公共事务上面临良好的形势。最近，又一个重要的州，即北卡罗来纳州，正式接受了合众国宪法。我国的信誉蒸蒸日上，联邦政府受到了日益普遍的尊重，上苍不断赋予我们以和谐、和平与富足，所有这些，都

* 美利坚合众国奠基人，第1任总统（1789—1797）。本篇是在国会两院联席会议上发表的，也是美国历史上的首篇国情咨文。此后，历届总统向国会发表年度国情咨文成为惯例。

△ 第一篇国情咨文 2

George Washington

January 8, 1790

The First Annual Message to the Congress

Fellow-Citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives:

I embrace with great satisfaction the opportunity which now presents itself of congratulating you on the present favorable prospects of our public affairs. The recent accession of the important state of north Carolina to the Constitution of the United States, the rising credit and respectability of our country, the general and increasing good will toward the government of the

预示着国富民强的繁荣景象即将到来。

上届会议决定的种种举措,虽事属创新,任务艰巨,但仍能如我们之所望,并得到了选民的欢迎。在诸位为公众利益重新开始议事之际,回顾过去,不能不为此深受鼓舞。为进一步地实现选民的愿望,不辜负上帝的赐福,还需要诸位在本届重要会议的进程中,发挥爱国热忱、坚定性和智慧,进行冷静和审慎的考虑。

在诸位即将审议的为人们关心的许多问题中,建立联合防御问题需要予以特别重视。做好战争准备是维护和平的最有效的手段。

自由民众,不仅应该武装,还应加以训练。为此,必须制定统一的、周密的计划。为了民众的安全和利益,应要求他们建立更多的工厂,使他们对主要物资,特别是军需物资的要求,不依赖他人。

适当地建立军队是必需的。此事应予以周密考虑。这方面的安排,应在照顾官兵生活舒适的同时,注意节约,此点甚为重要。

Union, and the concord, peace, and plenty with which we are blessed are circumstances auspicious in an eminent degree to our national prosperity.

In resuming your consultations for the general good you can not but derive encouragement from the reflection that the measures of the last session have been as satisfactory to your constituents as the novelty and difficulty of the work allowed you to hope. Still further to realize their expectations and to secure the blessings which a gracious Providence has placed within our reach will in the course of the present important session call for the cool and deliberate exertion of your patriotism, firmness, and wisdom.

Among the many interesting objects which will engage your attention that of providing for the common defense will merit particular regard. To be prepared for war is one of the most effectual means of preserving peace.

A free people ought not only to be armed, but disciplined; to which end a uniform and well—digested plan is requisite; and their safety and interest require that they should promote such manufactories as tend to render them independent of others for essential, particularly military, supplies.

The proper establishment of the troops which may be deemed indispensable will be entitled to mature consideration. In the arrangements which may be made respecting it it will be of importance to conciliate the comfortable support of the officers and soldiers with a due regard to economy.

有理由希望,对某些敌对印第安人部落所采取的安抚措施,已经使我国南部和西部边境的居民免于印第安人的掠夺,但诸位可从我提交的文件中获悉,为保护联邦的这些地区,我们应做好准备,如有必要,就惩罚侵略者。

合众国的利益要求我们,应该拟定出一些有利于我国与其他国家进行交往的规定,根据这些规定,本人能在条件许可的情况下,为公众的福利而履行职责,而其他受聘进行此类工作的人员,亦能依法得到补偿和外交所需的经费。

至于外国人获得我国公民权所需的条件,应该在统一的归化原则下,尽快予以确定,无论从哪方面考虑,这样做都是适当的。

统一合众国的货币和度量衡是一件至关重要的大事,我将及时着手处理此事。

采取一切适当的措施来促进农业、商业和制造业,此点无需赘述;但我依然忍不住要告知各位,对于鼓励引进外国实用的新发明和新技术,发挥人们的技能和才干,应给予同样有效的鼓励。此外,还需改善我国的邮政和邮路,以加强各边远

There was reason to hope that the pacific measures adopted with regard to certain hostile tribes of Indians would have relieved the inhabitants of our southern and western frontiers from their depredations, but you will perceive from the information contained in the papers which I shall direct to be laid before you that we ought to be prepared to afford protection to those parts of the Union, and, if necessary, to punish aggressors.

The interests of the United States require that our intercourse with other nations should be facilitated by such provisions as will enable me to fulfill my duty in that respect in the manner which circumstances may render most conducive to the public good, and to this end that the compensation to be made to the persons who may be employed should, according to the nature of their appointments, be defined by law, and a competent fund designated for defraying the expenses incident to the conduct of foreign affairs.

Various considerations also render it expedient that the terms on which foreigners may be admitted to the rights of citizens should be speedily ascertained by a uniform rule of naturalization.

Uniformity in the currency, weights, and measures of the United States is an object of great importance, and will, I am persuaded, be duly attended to.

The advancement of agriculture, commerce, and manufactures by all proper means will not, I trust, need recommendation; but I can not forbear intimating to

地区的交流。

我也同样相信,诸位也会同意我的意见,即两院应该大力促进科学和文学的发展。在任何国家,知识都是公众幸福最可靠的基础。在我们这样的国家中,社会舆论可以直接对政府的措施作出反应。因此,有相应的知识水平是必不可少的。

知识可以以多种方式维护自由宪法:它可以使那些受托担任公职的人懂得,政府的每一重要目的都会得到民众通情达理的信任;它可以使民众理解并珍惜他们的权利;使他们能预见并预防这些权利可能遭到侵犯;使他们懂得什么是压迫,什么是必须行使的合法权威;使他们懂得,什么是由于不顾他们的困难而加给他们的负担,什么是不可避免的社会需要带来的负担;使他们分清,什么是自由精神,什么是无法无天;使他们懂得珍惜前者,避免后者,联合起来,尊重法律的不可违犯性;并保持警惕,防止人们犯法。

通过资助现有的学院、筹建新的国立大学,或者其他有效办法,是否能很好地

you the expediency of giving effectual encouragement as well to the introduction of new and useful inventions from abroad as to the exertions of skill and genius in producing them at home, and of facilitating the intercourse between the distant parts of our country by a due attention to the post-office and post-roads.

Nor am I less persuaded that you will agree with me in opinion that there is nothing which can better deserve your patronage than the promotion of science and literature. Knowledge is in every country the surest basis of public happiness. In one in which the measures of government receive their impressions so immediately from the sense of the community as in ours it is proportionably essential.

To the security of a free constitution it contributes in various ways—by convincing those who are intrusted with the public administration that every valuable end of government is best answered by the enlightened confidence of the people, and by teaching the people themselves to know and to value their own rights; to discern and provide against invasions of them; to distinguish between oppression and the necessary exercise of lawful authority; between burdens proceeding from a disregard to their convenience and those resulting from the inevitable exigencies of society; to discriminate the spirit of liberty from that of licentiousness—cherishing the first, avoiding the last—and uniting a speedy but temperate vigilance against encroachments, with an inviolable respect to the laws.

Whether this desirable object will be best promoted by affording aids to

促使这一理想目标的实现,须由立法机关作为一项议题予以慎重考虑。

众议院的同胞们:我欣喜地看到,诸位在上届会议上通过了一项表达你们意愿的决定,即必须订立适当的条款来支持公共信用,因为这关系到国家的荣誉和繁荣。我完全赞同这一决定,并完全仰赖诸位竭尽所能,在另一立法机构的善意配合下,制定出真正符合目的的规定。

参众两院的同胞们:我已经指示有关官员,把需要考虑的事项和需要通告的国情信息转达给各位,这样做是我的责任。

为国家谋福利是一个伟大的目标,我们应该铭记在心,并为此作出努力。我国同胞有权从一个自由、高效和平等的政府得到祝福。在完成这一光荣而艰巨的任务时,若能得到诸位的合作,我将心满意足。

秦文勇 译

seminaries of learning already established, by the institution of a national university, or by any other expedients will be well worthy of a place in the deliberations of the legislature.

Gentlemen of the House of Representatives: I saw with peculiar pleasure at the close of the last session the resolution entered into by you expressive of your opinion that an adequate provision for the support of the public credit is a matter of high importance to the national honor and prosperity. In this sentiment I entirely concur; and to a perfect confidence in your best endeavors to devise such a provision as will be truly with the end I add an equal reliance on the cheerful cooperation of the other branch of the legislature.

Gentlemen of the Senate and House of Representatives: I have directed the proper officers to lay before you, respectively, such papers and estimates as regard the affairs particularly recommended to your consideration, and necessary to convey to you that information of the state of the Union which it is my duty to afford.

The welfare of our country is the great object to which our cares and efforts ought to be directed, and I shall derive great satisfaction from a cooperation with you in the pleasing though arduous task of insuring to our fellow citizens the blessings which they have a right to expect from a free, efficient, and equal government.