

英汉对照

周保国
编译

英国著名演说集

武汉测绘科技大学出版社

British Famous Speeches

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前 言

本演说集共收集了自本世纪初以来英国重要的著名演说词 45 篇,演说者包括本世纪各个时期英国重要的政治家、教会领导人、学者以及英国皇室部分成员。演说的内容从不同侧面反映了本世纪以来英国社会不同时期的发展和变化,具有重要的史料价值,对于我们了解和研究本世纪英国政治、经济、社会、文化生活等各个方面能提供有益的帮助。每篇演说词后附有演说者以及相关背景的简要介绍,以利于读者对演说词的理解。

演说词的撰写与修辞的运用有密切的关系。优秀的演说词不仅思想内容丰富,具有极强的感染力和号召力,同时也往往是语言运用的典范。编译本演说集的目的之一,就是希望给读者提供典型的英语范文,通过研读以提高对英语作品的理解和欣赏能力,进而丰富语言修养。

英国是一个资本主义国家,演说者的立场和观点无疑会受到时代的局限和西方价值观的影响。对此,我们应该按照辩证唯物主义和历史唯物主义的思想方法加以分析和评论。

本演说集中的汉语部分全部由编译者据英文原文译出,编译工作曾得到英国专家 Ged Neary 先生和 Margaret Matthews 女士的热情帮助,在此一并致谢。

编译者

一九九六年十月

于武昌桂子山

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伊丽莎白女王二世 不平凡的一年

JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN

Birmingham, 15 May 1903

I believe in a British Empire and I do not believe in a Little England

I cannot look forward without dread to handing over the security and existence of this great Empire to the hands of those who have made common cause with its enemies, who have charged their own countrymen with methods of barbarism, and who apparently have been untouched by that pervading sentiment which I found everywhere where the British flag floats, and which has done so much in recent years to draw us together. I should not require to go to South Africa in order to be convinced that this feeling has obtained deep hold on the minds and hearts of our children beyond the seas. It has had a hard life of it, this feeling of Imperial patriotism. It was checked for a generation by the apathy and the indifference which were the characteristics of our former relations with our Colonies, but it was never extinguished. The embers were still alight, and when in the late war this old country of ours showed that it was still

possessed by the spirit of our ancestors, and that it was still prepared to count no sacrifice that was necessary in order to maintain the honour and the interests of the Empire, then you found a response from your children across the seas that astonished the whole world by a proof, an undeniable proof, of affection and regard.

Is it to end there? Are we to sink back into the old policy of selfish isolation which went very far to dry and even to sap the loyalty of our colonial brethren? I do not think so. I think these larger issues touch the people of this country. I think they have awakened to the enormous importance of a creative time like the present, and of taking advantage of the opportunities offered in order to make permanent what has begun so well. Remember, we are a kingdom, an old country. We proceed here on settled lines. We have our quarrels and our disputes, and we pass legislation which may be good or bad; but we know that, whatever changes there may be, at all events the main stream will ultimately reach its appointed destination. That is the result of centuries of constitutional progress and freedom.

But the Empire is not old. The Empire is new—the Empire is in its infancy. Now is the time when we can mould that Empire and when we and those who live with us can decide its future destinies. Just let us consider what that Empire is. I am not going tonight to speak of those hundreds of millions of our Indian and native fellow subjects for whom we have become responsible. I consider for the moment only

our relations to that white British population that constitutes the majority in the great self-governing colonies of the Empire. Here in the United Kingdom there are some forty millions of us. Outside there are ten millions of men either directly descended from ancestors who left this country or more probably men who themselves in their youth left this country in order to find their fortunes in our possessions abroad. How long do you suppose that this proportion of population is going to endure? The development of those colonies has been delayed by many reasons — but mainly probably by a more material reason—by the fact that the United States of America has offered a greater attraction to British emigration.

But that has changed. The United States, with all their vast territory, are filling up; and even now we hear of tens of thousands of emigrants leaving the United States in order to take up the fresh and rich lands of our colony in Canada. It seems to me not at all an impossible assumption that before the end of this present century we may find our fellow subjects beyond the seas as numerous as we are at home. I want you to look forward. I want you to consider the infinite importance of this not only to yourselves but to your descendants. Now is the time when you can exert influence. Do you wish that if these ten millions become forty millions they shall still be closely, intimately, affectionately united to you, or do you contemplate the possibility of their being separated, going off each in his own direction, under a separate flag?

Think what it means to your power and influence as a country; think what it means to your position among the nations of the world; think what it means to your trade and commerce—I put that last.

What is the meaning of an Empire? What does it mean to us? We have had a little experience. We have had a war, a war in which the majority of our children abroad had no apparent direct interest. We had no hold over them of any kind, and yet at one time during this war, by the voluntary decision of these people, at least 50 000 Colonial soldiers were standing shoulder to shoulder with British troops, displaying a gallantry equal to their own and the keenest intelligence. It is something for a beginning, and if this country were in danger, I mean if we were, as our forefathers were, face to face some day—Heaven forbid—with some great coalition of hostile nations, when we had with our backs to the wall to struggle for our very lives, it is my firm conviction there is nothing within the power of these self-governing colonies they would not do to come to our aid. I believe their whole resources in men and in money would be at the disposal of the Mother Country in such an event. That is something—something which it is wonderful to have achieved, and which it is worth almost any sacrifice to maintain...

I believe in a British Empire, in an Empire which, though it should be its first duty to cultivate friendship with all the nations of the world, should yet, even if alone, be self-

sustaining and self-sufficient, able to maintain itself against the competition of all its rivals. And I do not believe in a Little England which shall be separated from all those to whom it would in the natural course look for support and affection, a Little England which would then be dependent absolutely on the mercy of those who envy its present prosperity, and who have shown they are ready to do all in their power to prevent its future union with the British races throughout the world.

演说者及背景简介

约瑟夫·张伯伦(1836—1914)在这篇令人难忘的“伯明翰演说”中提倡关税改革。这场运动分裂了保守党,震动了全国,最后导致保守党将权力交给自由党,使其掌权近二十年。

张伯伦早期是一位激进的自由党人。他反对1886年爱尔兰自治法因而导致自由党的分裂和政府的垮台。他随后参加了托利党(即保守党前身),主张贸易保护主义,给关税改革重新正名,目的是想利用特惠关税将英联邦自治领(如加拿大、南非)联合到帝国里面来。

张伯伦的这篇演讲曾引起巨大的轰动。有政治家评论说,“伯明翰演说”是对自由贸易的一个挑战。它就像路德在温顿伯格揭穿教堂的真相一样直截了当,振奋人心。对许多深信帝国主义,并开始从理智上怀疑自由贸易的年轻一代来说,“伯明翰演说”使他们的理想突然具体化了,是呼吁他们紧急行动起来的号角。

关税改革运动对保守党来说是一场灾难。它使自由党人团结起来,并赢得1906年的大选,随后执政近二十年。

张伯伦1906年偏瘫病倒,从此结束了他的政治生涯。

约瑟夫·张伯伦

1903年5月15日 伯明翰

我相信大英帝国，我不相信小英格兰

我不能毫无担心地期待将这个伟大帝国的安全和生存交给与帝国的敌人合作的人手中，交给指责自己的同胞行径野蛮的人手中，交给显然对一种流行的情绪无动于衷的人手中。我发现，这种情绪存在于任何有英国旗帜飘扬的地方。近年来，它为我们的团结一致作出了许多贡献。我用不着去南非以证实这种感情深深地占据着我们海外孩子们的心灵。这种对帝国的爱国之情曾有过艰难的历程。它曾因一代人的漠然和冷淡而受到阻碍。这种漠然和冷淡是过去我们同殖民地之间关系的特征。但是，对帝国的爱国之情决不会因此而被扑灭。它的余烬仍在燃烧。就在不久前的那场战争中，当我们这个古老的国家显示出，她仍然处于我们先辈的爱国精神的支配之中，仍然在为维护帝国的荣誉和利益而准备付出任何牺牲的时候，你们看到了你们在海外的孩子们对此作出的令整个世界震惊的反应。这是一个证据，一个无可否认的对帝国热爱和崇敬的证据。

这种对帝国的爱国精神会就此了结吗？我们会逐渐恢复过去那种自私孤立的、曾经造成我们在殖民地的兄弟们对帝国的忠诚减少甚至完全放弃的旧政策吗？我认为不会。我想，这个国家的人民对这些大是大非的问题会予以高度重视。他们已经认识到了目前这样一个创造性时刻的极端重要性，认