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WOODROW WILSON 威尔逊经典演讲问题所



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人物生平简介



伍德罗·威尔逊 (Woodrow Wilson, 1856—1924),其人已经不复存在。今天,我们难以用苍白纸张上的漆黑墨迹来重现其昔日的声光色影,我们只能谦卑地立足于某个有限视角,通过取舍与重组,用落入手头的文字尽力拼贴出我们自认为的历史真实。

视角与建构方式会因人而异,于是,不足为奇的是,殉道者的美誉和投机者的骂名会同时落在威尔逊身上。

威尔逊那做牧师的父亲曾教导他: "一篇好的讲道,首先是传道人在上帝面前有一颗正确的心,这才能产生正确的观念,再用精确的句子、准确的发音,把道讲出来。"父亲对他的影响无疑是深刻的。威尔逊终身笃信宗教,也热爱演讲;他甚至将这看似没关联的两者连系在了一起:宗教保证了他思想的纯正,而演说天赋则让他完美地表达自己的思想。

从1902年起,威尔逊在普林斯顿大学连任两届校长。他开始大刀阔斧地进行改革:设立导师制,加强师生联系;注重通识教育,实施科系弹性化;变革学生生活方式,打破贫富学生之间的界限;设立研究院等等。这所当时名不见经传的大学在他手下开始有了起色。然而,时运不佳,在设立研究院的问题上,威尔逊与校董事会产生颇多摩擦,以致最后他辞去校长之职。他说:"宁可战败千次,也绝不为不光荣的妥协朝三暮四。"可喜的是,威尔逊校长的后继者延续了他的思路,半个多世纪后,普林斯顿大学成为了世界顶尖级学府。

之后,本已是知名教育家的威尔逊从此走上从政的道路。1910

年,威尔逊作为民主党候选人参选新泽西州州长并成功当选。1912年,仅有两年从政经验的他奇迹般地当选了美国第28任总统,在任期间他改革税率,建立联邦储备银行体系,通过了《反托拉斯法》。1917年,他再次当选,这一任期内,他的主要任务是对付第一次世界大战与其后的巴黎和会。他将战事留给军事部门,自己集中力量,用非凡的口才和同样非凡的耐心与毅力,在各种力量间斡旋以求达到某种和解。战争胜利了,在接下来的巴黎和会上,他的演说才华在号召成立国联的一系列演讲中得到极好地展现。因为国联,他得到了诺贝尔和平奖;但同样也因为国联,他不得不在炎热的季节拖着羸弱的身躯周游全美发表演说,试图说服国人支持美国加入国联。在一次演说中,威尔逊终于中风倒下,成为了自己理想与信念的殉道者。1924年2月3日,威尔逊怀着对美国孤立主义政策的深深不满和对他所创立的国联的复杂心情离开了这个世界,享年67岁。也许,他说得很对:成为一个好总统,是一份自杀的使命。

值得一提的是,威尔逊总统有很多"总统之最":他不仅是美国历届总统中学历最高的,也是"学术地位最高"的,他于1919年在普林斯顿大学创立"伍德罗·威尔逊公共关系学院",设立世界第一个国际政治系,至此,作为独立学科的国际政治学和国际关系学正式创立。他还被认为是美国历史上最杰出的六位总统之一;也是三位获得诺贝尔和平奖的总统之一。在其首任就职典礼后威尔逊举行了记者招待会,首开总统与媒体记者面对面对答之先例。他在任职期间,修正了美国宪法,赋予了妇女投票权;他还宣布设立母亲节。在他当政期间,美国才开始制定福利政策,这后来成为美国民政策中最为人熟知的特点。就演说才华而论,他被认为是与林青和里根比肩的;他的文笔同样优美动人,正如他的演说常常被各种情书集选取。威尔逊还是一位对华友好的总统,中华民国成立后,他代表美国在国际上率先表示承认,他担任总统的第一个决定就是否决了对袁世凯的贷款

案, 其理由是: "不应该以国际经济, 干预他国内政。" 细心的读者 也许会留意, 在丁玲的《沙菲女士的日记》里, 就曾提到主人公的 住所里摆放着威尔逊总统的演讲录, 事实上, 在当时的中国, 的确 有很多知识分子曾寄希望于他。只是, 在巴黎和会上, 威尔逊因为 各种原因向日本妥协从而让中国利益受损后, 希望幻灭的部分知识 分子遂将目光转向了苏俄。

First Inaugural Address

March, 1913



There has been a change of government. It began two years ago, when the House of Representatives (众议院) became Democratic by a decisive majority. It has now been completed. The Senate (参议院) about to

assemble will also be Democratic. The offices of President and Vice — President have been put into the hands of Democrats. What does the change mean? That is the question that is uppermost in our minds today. That is the question I am going to try to answer, in order, if I may, to interpret the occasion.

It means much more than the mere success of a party. The success of a party means little except when the Nation is using that party for a large and definite purpose. No one can mistake the purpose for which the Nation now seeks to use the Democratic Party. It seeks to use it to interpret^① a change in its own plans and point of view. Some old things with which we had grown familiar, and which had begun to creep into (悄悄地进入) the very habit of our thought and of our lives, have altered their aspect as we have latterly looked critically upon them, with fresh, awakened eyes; have dropped their disguises and shown themselves alien and sinister. Some new things, as we look frankly upon them, willing to comprehend their real character, have come to assume (呈现出) the aspect^② of things long believed in and familiar, stuff of our own convictions. We have been refreshed by a new insight into our own life.

① interpret 此处的含义是: (根据……) 来表达, 体现; to show one's own ideas of the meaning of (a work of art) in one's performance; 在这句话里的意思是国家借民主党之力在自己的计划与观念上展示出一种变化。

② aspect 此处不可数,意为 appearance; 下文再出现时,为可数,意为 (事态、想法等的)方面。

第一次就职演说

1913年3月



政府的转变开始于两年前,当时,民主党在众议院取得了决定性的大多数席位。现在,这一转变已经完成。即将组阁的参议院同样将是民主党人的天下。总统与副总统之职也已经由民主党所执掌。这一转变的意义何在?这是我们如今要思考的首要问题。这也是我接下来想要努力回答的问题,如果可能的话,我想借此阐明其原委。

这一转变的意义所在远不止于一党之成功。一个政党,除非能为国家所用,以达到一个明确而伟大的目标,否则,其成功之意义将是微不足道的。眼下,对于我们国家借民主党之力试图达到的目标,众人都是心领神会的。国家选用民主党,为的是要实现其在规划与观念上的转变。那些我们早就习以为常的陈规旧俗,已经悄然渗透到我们的思维习惯和生活方式之中;当我们用全新的、警醒的目光,不无挑剔地重新审视它们时,它们变得面目全非;在卸下层层伪饰之后,它们显出一副陌生而阴险的嘴脸来。而一些新事物,当我们坦然相待,愿意去理解它们的实质之时,则逐渐呈现出久为我们所相信和熟知的那些事物的面貌,这才是我们信念之所在。通过一种新的眼光来洞视自己的生活,我们耳目一新。

We see that in many things that life is very great. It is incomparably great in its material aspects, in its body of wealth, in the diversity and sweep of its energy, in the industries which have been conceived (设想,构想出) and built up by the genius of individual men and the limitless enterprise of groups of men. It is great, also, very great, in its moral force. Nowhere else in the world have noble men and women exhibited in more striking forms the beauty and the energy of sympathy and helpfulness and counsel in their efforts to rectify wrong, alleviate (使减轻或缓和) suffering, and set the weak in the way of strength and hope. We have built up, moreover, a great system of government, which has stood through a long age as in many respects a model for those who seek to set liberty upon foundations that will endure against fortuitous (偶然的) change, against storm and accident. Our life contains every^① great thing, and contains it in rich abundance.

But the evil has come with the good, and much fine gold has been corroded. With riches has come inexcusable waste. We have squandered (浪费, 挥霍) a great part of what we might have used, and have not stopped to conserve the exceeding bounty of nature, without which our genius for enterprise would have been worthless and impotent, scorning to be careful, shamefully prodigal (挥霍的, 不吝惜的) as well as admirably efficient. We have been proud of our industrial achievements, but we have not hitherto stopped thoughtfully enough to count the human cost, the cost of lives snuffed out, of energies overtaxed and broken, the fearful physical and spiritual cost to the men and women and children upon whom the dead weight and burden of it all has fallen pitilessly the years through. The groans and agony of it all had not yet reached our ears, the solemn, moving undertone of our life, coming up out of the mines and factories, and out of every home where the struggle had its intimate and familiar seat. ② With

① every: 充分的, 一切可能的: as much (hope, chance, reason, etc.) as possible. 如: There is every prospect of success, 有百分之百成功的希望。

② seat 此处的意思是:场所、所在地。如: The heart is regarded as the seat of the emotions. 心被认为是感情之所在。

我们从很多方面都可以看出这种新生活是极其伟大的。它的物质实力巨大无比,富甲天下,它集各种力量于一身,所向披靡,威力无穷,它的各行各业更是极大繁荣,盛况空前,这些产业都是由个人的天才和集体的无穷创造力所构想并实现的。在道德力量方面,它是同样伟大,并且是极其之伟大的。世上还有何处会有这些如此高尚的男男女女呢?他们在致力于扶正匡误、弥患纾难,扶助弱者,赋予其力量和希望之时,所具有的那种同情心、乐于助人的精神和审慎的品质,展示出了无与伦比的美和力量。不仅如此,我们还建立了伟大的政治体制,它久经考验,在诸多方面都被那些试图将自由建立在经得起偶然变故和大风大浪的基础之上的人奉为楷模。我们的生活里,充满了伟大的事物,应有尽有,极为丰富。

然而,善恶相生相成:如此,真金也多会遭到腐 蚀。不可宽恕的浪费与财富比肩而至。我们创造了为人 称道的高效率,同时,却对谨慎小心嗤之以鼻,还铺张 浪费,遭人耻笑,我们把很大一部分可资利用的资源都 糟蹋了,而且到现在也没有停止这种挥霍并去开始保护 大自然的慷慨馈赠,没有这种资源的话,我们的创业天 赋将变得一文不值,毫无用武之地。一直以来,我们对 自己在工业上取得的佳绩扬扬自得,但时至今日,我们 也不曾足够认真地进行反思,计算一下人们所付出的代 价:人们的生命被扼杀;人们的精力被过度压榨以至于 崩溃; 男男女女甚至于孩子们, 成年累月地承受着无情 地压在他们身上的重担,他们付出的肉体上和精神上的 代价更是骇人听闻的。我们一直以来对这一切所带来的 痛苦呻吟都充耳不闻,然而,我们生活中这些阴沉、今 人感伤的微弱声音却不断地从矿山和工厂里传出来,不 断地从在痛苦中苦苦挣扎的家庭里传出来。与伟大的政

the great Government went many deep secret things which we too long delayed to look into and <u>scrutinize</u> (作详细检查,作仔细观察) with candid, fearless eyes. The great Government we loved has too often been made use of for private and selfish purposes, and those who used it had forgotten the people.

At last a vision has been vouchsafed (赐予,给予) us of our life as a whole. ¹ We see the bad with the good, the debased and decadent with the sound and vital. ² With this vision we approach new affairs. Our duty is to cleanse, to reconsider, to restore, to correct the evil without impairing the good, to purify and humanize every process of our common life without weakening or sentimentalizing (使感伤,为……而感伤) it. There has been something crude and heartless and unfeeling in our haste to succeed and be great. Our thought has been "Let every man look out for himself, let every generation look out for itself," while we reared giant machinery which made it impossible that any but ³ those who stood at the levers of control should have a chance to look out for themselves. We had not forgotten our morals. We remembered well enough that we had set up a policy which was meant to serve the humblest as well as the most powerful, with an eye single to^④ the standards of justice and fair (公平 的,公正的) play, and remembered it with pride. But we were very heedless and in a hurry to be great. We have come now to the sober second thought. The scales of heedlessness have fallen from our eyes. ^⑤ We have made up our minds to square (调整, 改正) every process of our national life again with the standards we so proudly set up at the beginning and have always carried at our hearts. Our work is a work of restoration.

① 这句话的正常语序是: At last a vision of our life as a whole has been vouchsafed. vision 后 修饰语太长,英语句子要避免头重脚轻,所以被移到句末。

② The 加上形容词可以表示一类人或事物。如:the debased 可表示下贱的或品质低劣的人或事物,译为:劣,与后面的 the sound 相对,the sound 表示健全、完好、无瑕疵的事物或健康的人,译为:优; the decadent 可表示堕落、颓废或衰弱的人或事物,译为:枯,与后面的the vital 相对,the vital 表示生机勃勃的人或事物,译为:荣。

③ But 在这里相当于 except,any 为代词,代指某些人。

④ With an eye to 考虑到, 着眼于。

⑤ The scales fell from one's eyes,意为:眼睛的阴翳消掉,发现错误,觉醒,恍然大悟。

府相伴相随的是许多讳莫如深的事物,对此,我们拖延 许久也不敢坦然无畏地去研究、去审视。为我们所热爱 的伟大政府,频繁地遭人利用,以牟取私利;而这些 人,早将人民抛在脑后。

终于,我们被赋予了一种纵观全局的眼光。我们懂 得了善恶相生,优劣相形,枯荣相伴。我们用新眼光看 待新事物。我们的职责是清扫、反思、修复、纠恶扬善 以及使我们共同生活的方方面面都得到净化和人性化, 而不是削弱这一过程,或使它充满感伤。长期以来,我 们急于求成,好大喜功,在做某些事时,我们表现得鲁 莽、残忍而冷漠。我们一直这样想:"让每个人管好自己 这个人,让每代人管好自己这代人",然而与此同时, 我们造就的却是一个庞大的机制,只有那些位高权重、 大权在握的人才有可能"管好自己"。但是我们从来不曾 忘记我们的道德准则。我们清楚地记得,我们着眼干正 义与公平之准则所制定出的政策, 意在扶贫帮困, 也服 务权贵。对此我们曾不无自豪。但是,在我们想一蹴而 就之时,我们是如此匆忙,如此掉以轻心。如今,我们 已经逐渐在冷静地进行再思考。我们的双眼曾被草率所 蒙蔽,现在我们已恍然大悟。我们下定决心,要以我们 在建国之初就如此自豪地建立起来的、我们铭记在心的 那些准则,来调节我们国民生活的各方各面。我们要从 事的是一项复兴的事业。

We have itemized (逐条列举,详细列举) with some degree of particularity (详细, 详尽) the things that ought to be altered and here are some of the chief items. A tariff which cuts us off from our proper part in the commerce of the world, violates the just principles of taxation, and makes the Government a facile instrument in the hand of private interests; a banking and currency system based upon the necessity of the Government to sell its bonds fifty years ago and perfectly adapted to concentrating cash and restricting credits: an industrial system which, take it on all its sides,

financial as well as administrative, holds capital in leading strings, restricts the liberties and limits the opportunities of labor, and exploits without renewing or conserving the natural resources of the country; a body of agricultural activities never yet given the efficiency of great business undertakings or served as it should be through the instrumentality of science taken directly to the farm, or afforded the facilities of credit best suited to its practical needs; watercourses undeveloped, waste places unreclaimed (未开垦的), forests untended, fast disappearing without plan or prospect of renewal, unregarded waste heaps at every mine. We have studied as perhaps no other nation has the most effective means of production, but we have not studied cost or economy as we should either as organizers of industry, as statesmen, or as individuals.

Nor have we studied and perfected the means by which government may be put at the service of humanity, in safeguarding the health of the Nation, the health of its men and its women and its children, as well as their rights in the struggle for existence. This is no sentimental duty. The firm basis of government is justice, not pity.

① take 看待、对待,相当于 consider; on all sides 在各方面。

我们已经逐条详述了有待变革的事物,以下是几项 重要的, 1. 关税, 现行的关税使我们在世界贸易中无法 扮演合适的角色,破坏了公平征税的原则,还使政府沦 为私人牟利之工具: 2. 银行与货币体系: 不得不靠着国 家在50年前出售公债才得以存在的银行与货币体系, 完全顺从干货币紧缩和限制信贷的政策; 3. 工业体制: 全方位地考察现在的工业制度,不论是从金融还是行政 的角度,该制度都操控了资本,束缚了自由,限制了劳 工的工作机会,而且还滥用国家资源,毫不考虑更新与 保护资源: 4. 大量的农业活动从来都不具备大企业所具 有的效率, 也从来不能物尽其才地直接利用科技成果为 自己服务,更没能获得信贷上的便利,以满足其最切实 的需求: 5. 此外, 很多河道尚未开发, 大片荒地也未经 开垦,一座座森林无人照管,因为缺少复兴规划,前景 黯淡,正在迅速消失;各个矿区都是废料成堆,无人打理。 我们对最高效的生产方式的研究,也许是其他国家望尘莫 及的, 但是, 不论是作为企业的组织者、政治家还是个人, 我们都没有研究过生产成本和节约的问题。

我们也没有研究和完善政府可以用来服务于民、保护国民、保护男女老幼的健康以及他们争取生存的种种 权利的各种方法。这绝不是多愁善感之举。政府的坚实 基础是公正,不是怜悯。