

英美政治家经典演讲词赏析

# JAMES EARL CARTER

## 卡特 经典演讲词赏析

Selected Addresses of James Earl Carter

查明建 主编

莫翩翩 侯艺涵 译编 赏析



湖北长江出版集团  
长江文艺出版社

SELECTED ADDRESSES OF  
JAMES EARL  
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## 图书在版编目(CIP)数据


卡特经典演讲词赏析(英汉对照)/(美)卡特著;莫翩翩,侯艺涵译. —武汉:长江文艺出版社,2011.7

(英美政治家经典演讲词赏析)

ISBN 978-7-5354-4866-8

I. 卡… II. ①卡…②莫…③侯… III. ①英语—汉语—对照读物②卡特,J.—演讲—汇编 IV. H319.4;D

中国版本图书馆 CIP 数据核字(2011)第 014866 号

策 划  长江出版集团湖北天一国际文化有限公司

公司地址 武汉市雄楚大街 268 号湖北出版文化城 C 座 6 楼

公司网址 <http://www.cjcb-ty.com>

E - mail [hb\\_tianyi@yahoo.com.cn](mailto:hb_tianyi@yahoo.com.cn)

书 名 卡特经典演讲词赏析(英汉对照)

策 划 唐 瑾

主 编 查明建

著 者 (美)卡特

译 者 莫翩翩 侯艺涵

责任编辑 刘 星

出版发行 长江文艺出版社(武汉市雄楚大街 268 号 邮编:430070)

发行电话 027-87679087 87679362 传真:027-87679980 87679300

网 址 <http://www.cjlap.com>

集团地址 湖北长江出版集团(武汉市雄楚大街 268 号湖北出版文化城 邮编:430070)

集团网址 <http://www.cjcb.com.cn>

印 刷 湖北新华印务有限公司

开 本 680 毫米×1020 毫米 1/16

印 张 12.5

字 数 122 千字

版 次 2011 年 7 月第 1 版 2011 年 7 月第 1 次印刷

标准书号 ISBN 978-7-5354-4866-8

定 价 19.00 元

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(图书出现印装问题,本社负责调换)

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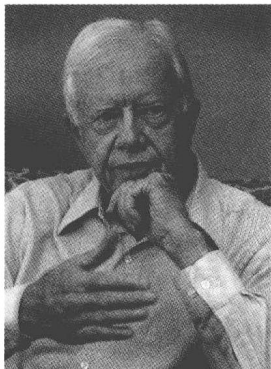
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## 人物生平简介



詹姆斯·厄尔·卡特（James Earl Carter, Jr, 又称吉米·卡特，1924年10月1日—），是美国的第39任总统。

卡特于1943年在马里兰州美国海军军官学校学习，随后便加入海军服役。他退役回家乡后，开始经营卡特农场、卡特仓库等业务，并从事政治活动。1962年至1966年卡特担任佐治亚州参议员，后任佐治亚州州长。1977年，他经过艰苦的竞选战以微弱优势击败福特总统，出任美国第39任总统。

在外交事务方面，虽然卡特标榜的国际人权得到各方重视，但他的主要成就却是更为实际的忍耐外交。卡特在执政时期，把巴拿马运河的管理权交还给了巴拿马，同时还实现了同中华人民共和国的关系正常化，中美两国正式建立了外交关系。卡特在埃及与以色列的和谈及戴维营协议的签署中起到了重要作用。1980年他争取连任败给里根。卸任后，卡特频繁出访世界各地，担任了国际和平协调人的角色。即便是在退休后陷入财政困境须靠写书还债，卡特夫妇仍一起创办了卡特中心，致力于协调国际冲突。上世纪80年代的海地危机经卡特的斡旋而和平解决，为他赢得了巨大的国际声望。卡特也是美国历任总统中访问古巴的第一人，为改善美古关系起到了积极的作用。此外，卡特夫妇还积极筹划和参与全球范围内的无家可归者和穷人的住房工程。

卡特离开白宫时，曾被认为是政绩最差的美国总统之一。但是卸任以后，卡特为世界民主和人权事业贡献良多，成为了最受尊敬的卸任总统。

## Our Nation's Past and Future

July 15, 1976



*In accepting the Democratic Party's nomination for President, Mr. Carter told the Democratic National Convention meeting at Madison Square Garden in New York City on July 15, 1976.*

My name is Jimmy Carter, and I'm running for President.

It's been a long time since I said those words the first time, and now I've come here after seeing our great country to accept your nomination.

I accept it, in the words of John F. Kennedy, with a full and grateful heart and with only one obligation: to devote every effort of body, mind and spirit to lead our party back to victory and our nation back to greatness.

It's a pleasure to be here with all you Democrats and to see that our Bicentennial celebration<sup>①</sup> and our Bicentennial convention has been one of decorum and order without any fights or free-for-alls (混战). With this kind of a united Democratic Party, we are ready, and eager, to take on (迎击) the Republicans—whichever Republican Party they decide to send against us in November.

Nineteen seventy-six will not be a year of politics as usual. It can be a year of inspiration and hope, and it will be a year of concern, of quiet and sober reassessment of our nation's character and purpose.

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① 1776年7月4日，大陆会议在费城正式通过《独立宣言》，美国独立。

## 我们国家的过去与未来

1976年7月15日



在接受民主党的总统提名时，卡特先生在民主党全国大会上的发言，1976年7月15日于纽约麦迪逊广场花园。

我的名字叫吉米·卡特，我正在竞选总统一职。

我第一次说这两句话是在很久之前了，目睹着我们的国家接受了你们的提名之后，我终于来到了这里。

怀着一颗饱满而感恩的心，带着唯一的使命，我借用约翰·F·肯尼迪的话来接受这一提名：我要尽我身、心、灵的每一份力，领导我党重获胜利、领导我们的国家再塑辉煌。

很高兴能和各位民主党人一道，在这里见证我们两百年的庆典，并见证我们两百年来的习俗已经成为毋庸置疑的礼仪和秩序之一。在这样一个团结的民主党之中，我们已准备好并跃跃欲试，来迎击共和党人——无论十一月份来同我们竞争的是怎样一个共和党。

1976年并不会成为一个普通的政治年份。它可以成为充满灵感与希望的一年，有重要意义的一年，对我们国家特性和目的进行冷静的重新评估的一年。它已经成

It has already been a year when voters have confounded (使困惑) the experts. And I guarantee you that it will be the year when we give the government of this country back to the people of this country.

There is a new mood in America. We have been shaken by a tragic war abroad<sup>①</sup> and by scandals and broken promises at home<sup>②</sup>. Our people are searching for new voices and new ideas and new leaders.

Although government has its limits and cannot solve all our problems, we Americans reject the view that we must be reconciled to failures and mediocrity (中庸), or to an inferior quality of life. For I believe that we can come through this time of trouble stronger than ever. Like troops who have been in combat, we have been tempered in the fire; we have been disciplined, and we have been educated.

Guided by lasting and simple moral values, we have emerged idealists without illusions, realists who still know the old dreams of justice and liberty, of country and of community.

This year we have had thirty state primaries (州预选) —more than ever before—making it possible to take our campaign directly to the people of America; to homes and shopping centers, to factory shift lines and colleges, to beauty parlors and barbershops, to farmers' markets and union halls.

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① 1961年5月,美国在越南南方发动“特种战争”;1975年4月30日,北越攻占西贡,南越政权覆灭,越南战争结束。越南战争历时近12年,美军死亡5.8万人,受伤30万人,耗费4000多亿美元。越南战争给美国人民造成了无法估量的心灵创伤。

② 水门事件(Watergate scandal,或译水门丑闻)是美国历史上最不光彩的政治丑闻之一。其对美国本国历史以及整个国际新闻界都有着长远的影响。在1972年的总统大选中,为了取得民主党内部竞选策略的情报,1972年6月17日,以美国共和党尼克松竞选班子的首席安全问题顾问詹姆斯·麦科德(James W. McCord, Jr.)为首的5人闯入位于华盛顿水门大厦的民主党全国委员会办公室,在安装窃听器并偷拍有关文件时,当场被捕。由于此事,尼克松于1974年8月8日宣布将于次日辞职,从而成为美国历史上首位辞职的总统。

了选民令专家困惑的一年。我向你们保证，这一年将会成为我们把这个国家的政府归还给其人民的一年。

在美国流露着新的情绪。我们被一场国外的悲剧战争所撼动，国内又出现了丑闻和背弃的诺言。我们的人民在寻找新的声音、新的思想和新的领导人。

尽管政府有所受限、无法解决所有的问题，但我们美国抵制那种必须向失败和中庸妥协的观点，也绝不接受生活质量的降低。因为我相信我们能够度过这场困境变得更加强大。我们也经历过烈火的煅烧，就像战斗过的军队；我们纪律严明，训练有素。

在简单而持久弥新的道德价值指引下，我们中不乏那并不耽于幻想的理想主义者，他们仍然怀着对公正和自由、国家和社区的古老梦想。

这一年我们已经进行了 30 场州预选——比以往都要多——使得美国人能够直接地参与竞选：既可在家也可在购物中心，在工厂的生产线、大学、美容院、美发店、农贸市场和工会大厅。

This has been a long and personal campaign—a humbling experience, reminding us that ultimate political influence rests not with the power brokers but with the people. This has been a time of tough debate on the important issues facing our country. This kind of debate is part of our tradition, and as Democrats we are heirs to a great tradition.

I have never met a Democratic President, but I have always been a Democrat.

Years ago, as a farm boy sitting outdoors with my family on the ground in the middle of the night, gathered close around a battery radio connected to the automobile battery and listening to the Democratic conventions in far-off cities, I was a long way from the selection process. I feel much closer to it tonight.

Ours is the party of the man who was nominated by those distant conventions and who inspired and restored this nation in its darkest hours—Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Ours is the party of a fighting Democrat who showed us that a common man could be an uncommon leader—Harry S. Truman.

Ours is the party of a brave young President who called the young at heart, regardless of age, to seek a “New Frontier”<sup>①</sup> of national greatness—John F. Kennedy.

And ours is also the party of a great-hearted Texan who took office in a tragic hour and who went on to do more than any other President in this century to advance the cause of human rights—Lyndon Johnson.

Our Party was built out of the sweatshops of the old Lower East Side<sup>②</sup>, the dark mills of New Hampshire, the blazing hearths of Illinois,

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① 新边疆，即美国第35届总统肯尼迪提出的施政方针，要求美国人民探索和解决“新边疆”以外面临的各种问题。

② 下东区位于纽约市曼哈顿区沿东河南端一带，是犹太移民聚居地。

这是一次漫长的、个人的竞选——它是一次使人谦逊的经历，提醒我们：最终的政治影响取决于人民而非政治捐客。这是一次关乎我们国家重要问题的艰难辩论。这种辩论也是我们传统的一部分，作为民主党人，我们继承了这一伟大的传统。

我未曾遇见过一位民主党总统，但我一直是一名民主党人。

多年前，我还是一个牧场少年，一个午夜，我和家人一起在屋外的场地上，围坐在一台接有电动车电池的收音机旁，收听远方城市里的民主党大会。那时候我还感觉选举过程遥不可及，而今晚却近在咫尺。

在那几场久远的大会上，我们的民主党提名了一位总统，他在最黑暗的日子里激励并修复了这个国家——他就是富兰克林·D·罗斯福。

我们的党里有一位斗士，他向我们展示了一个普通人也能成为不平凡的领导人——他就是哈里·S·杜鲁门。

我们的党里有一位勇敢而年轻的总统——是心态而非年龄上的年轻——他追求着国家强盛的“新边疆”——这位就是约翰·F·肯尼迪。

我们的党里还有一位豪迈的德克萨斯人，他在危急关头上任，并且可谓是本世纪为促进人权的事业贡献最多的总统——他就是林顿·约翰逊。

我们党的建立，离不开古旧的下东区的血汗工厂，新罕布什尔州的黑磨坊，伊利诺伊州燃烧的壁炉，宾夕

the coal mines of Pennsylvania, the hard-scrabble farms of the southern coastal plains, and the unlimited frontiers of America.

Ours is the party that welcomed generations of immigrants—the Jews, the Irish, the Italians, the Poles, and all the others, enlisted them in its ranks and fought the political battles that helped bring them into the American mainstream.

And they have shaped the character of our party.

That is our heritage. Our party has not been perfect. We have made mistakes, and we have paid for them. But ours is a tradition of leadership and compassion and progress.

Our leaders have fought for every piece of progressive legislation, from RFD<sup>①</sup> and REA<sup>②</sup> to Social Security and civil rights. In times of need, the Democrats were there.

But in recent years our nation has seen a failure of leadership. We have been hurt, and we have been disillusioned. We have seen a wall go up that separates us from our own government.

We have lost some precious things that historically have bound our people and our government together. We feel that moral decay has weakened our country, that it is crippled (削弱, 使瘫痪) by a lack of goals and values, and that our public officials have lost faith in us.

We have been a nation adrift (漂泊的, 漫无目的的) too long. We have been without leadership too long. We have had divided and deadlocked (陷入僵局) government too long. We have been governed by veto too long. We have suffered enough at the hands of a tired and worn-out administration without new ideas, without youth or vitality,

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① 民主力量联合会 (Rassemblement des Forces Démocratiques-RFD)。

② 农村电气化管理局 (Rural Electrification Administration-REA)。

法尼亚州的煤矿，南部沿海平原贫瘠的农场，还有美国无边的疆境。

我们党欢迎所有移民的后裔——犹太人、爱尔兰人、意大利人、波兰人等等，对他们视如己出，并为帮助他们汇入美国的主流社会而发起政治斗争。

他们也在塑造我党特征的过程中起到了不可或缺的作用。

这便是我党的传统。当然民主党不尽完美。我们犯过错误，也为此付出了代价。但是我们党秉承着领导、慈悲、进步的传统。

我们的领导为每一项进步性立法而奋斗，从民主力量联合会和农村电气化管理局，到社会福利和公民权利。民主党人总能在紧要关头出现。

但近些年，我们国家的领导力却颇为萎靡。我们遭到了伤害，我们的理想也破灭了，眼睁睁看着一堵高墙耸立，将我们与政府隔开。

我们丢失了一些在历史上曾将我们的人民与政府紧密联系在一起的珍贵东西。我们感受到，道德衰退已经削弱了我们的国家，而这正是由于缺乏目标与价值观而造成的，甚至连我们的政府工作人员都对我们失去了信心。

许久以来，我们作为一个国家涣散无力，群龙无首；我们的政府分歧甚重，长陷僵局；我们被否决所桎梏。在一个疲软残破、缺乏新意、毫无活力、没有远见、对美国人民缺乏信心的政府的管理之下，我们深受

without vision and without the confidence of the American people. There is a fear that our best years are behind us. But I say to you that our nation's best is still ahead.

Our country has lived through a time of torment (折磨). It is now a time for healing. We want to have faith again. We want to be proud again. We just want the truth again.

It is time for the people to run the government, and not the other way around.

It is the time to honor and strengthen our families and our neighborhoods and our diverse cultures and customs.

We need a Democratic President and a Congress to work in harmony for a change, with mutual respect for a change. And next year we are going to have that new leadership. You can depend on it!

It is time for America to move and to speak not with boasting and belligerence (好战性) but with a quiet strength, to depend in world affairs not merely on the size of an arsenal (军械库) but on the nobility of ideas, and to govern at home not by confusion and crisis but with grace and imagination and common sense. Too many have had to suffer at the hands of political economic elites who have shaped decisions and never had to account for mistakes or to suffer from injustice.

When unemployment prevails, they never stand in line looking for a job. When deprivation results from a confused and bewildering (令人困惑的) welfare system, they never do without food or clothing or a place to sleep. When the public schools are inferior or torn by strife (冲突, 不和), their children go to exclusive private schools. And when the bureaucracy is bloated and confused, the powerful always manage to discover and occupy niches of special influence and privilege. An unfair tax structure serves their needs. And tight secrecy always seems to prevent reform.

其害。难免有一种恐惧认为，美国最好的时光已经一去不返了。但是我想对你们说，美国的辉煌时代还在前头。

我们的国家已经饱经磨难。现在是时候该治愈了。我们想要重塑信念。我们想要重获自豪。我们想要认识真理。

是时候该让人民来运行政府了，而不是反其道而行之。

是时候该敬重并巩固我们的家庭、邻里和我们多元的文化及习俗。

我们需要一个民主党总统，能够和国会一道，为作出改变而和谐共事、互相尊重。在往后的一年里，我们将塑造这种全新的领导力。请诸位放心！

是时候了，美国应当怀着沉着的力量，而不是带着夸耀和好战去行动和发言；在世界事务上应当基于崇高的理念，而不是仅仅基于军备规模；在国内管理上应当展现慈悲、发挥想象、运用常识，而非一团混乱、危机四起。许多人不得不在政治经济精英们的统治之下饱受摧残，这些精英们只管做决策，却不为错误承担责任，也从未受过不公的待遇。

当失业大行其道时，这些精英们从来不用为找工作望眼欲穿；当混乱而令人迷惑的福利体系造成匮乏时，这些精英们却从不愁吃穿、不用担心无家可归；当公立学校由于利益争斗变得破败时，精英们的孩子却上着高级的私立学校；当官僚机构浮夸无序时，当权者们总能想方设法找到并占有一席之地、坐享势力与特权。一个不公的税务体系供养着他们，而密不透风的保密措施似乎总能阻碍变革的发生。

All of us must be careful not to cheat each other. Too often unholy, self-perpetuating (能使自身永久存在的) alliances have been formed between money and politics, and the average citizen has been held at arm's length<sup>①</sup>.

Each time our nation has made a serious mistake the American people have been excluded from the process. The tragedy of Vietnam and Cambodia, the disgrace of Watergate, and the embarrassment of the CIA revelations could have been avoided if our government had simply reflected the sound judgment and good common sense and the high moral character of the American people.

It is time for us to take a new look at our own government, to strip away (除去, 揭掉) the secrecy, to expose the unwarranted (无根据的) pressure of lobbyists (说客), to eliminate waste, to release our civil servants from bureaucratic chaos, to provide tough management, and always to remember that in any town or city the mayor, the governor, and the President represent exactly the same constituents (选民).

As a governor, I had to deal each day with the complicated and confused and overlapping and wasteful federal government bureaucracy. As President, I want you to help me evolve an efficient, economical, purposeful, and manageable government for our nation. Now, I recognize the difficulty, but if I'm elected, it's going to be done. And you can depend on it!

We must strengthen the government closest to the people. Business, labor, agriculture, education, science, and government should not struggle in isolation from one another but should be able to strive toward mutual goals and shared opportunities. We should

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① at arm's length 表示交易各方相互没有关系或不具有共同利益, 他们之间有“一臂之遥”。