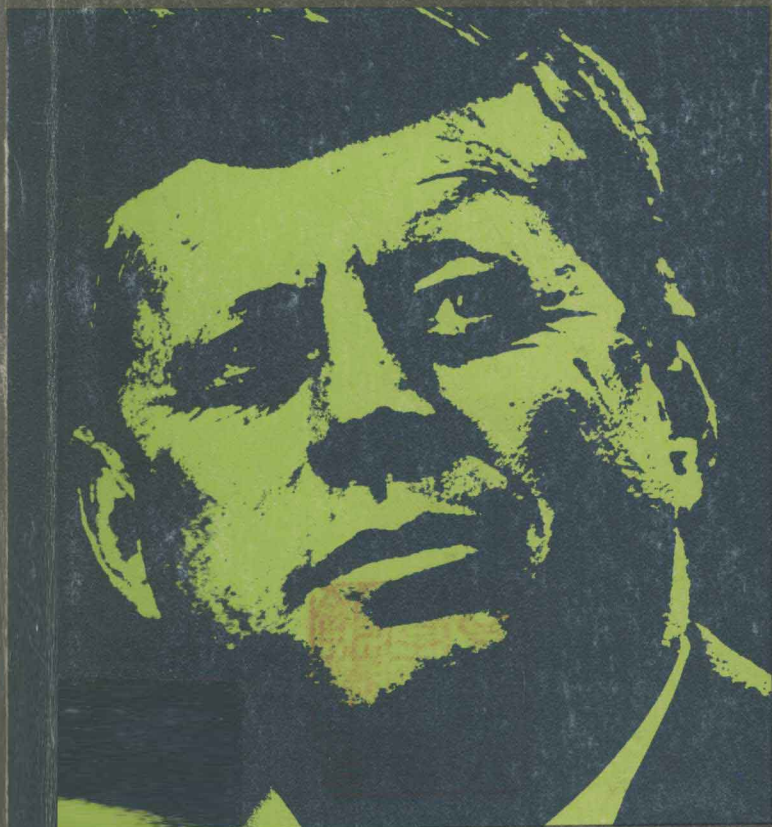


# 甘迺迪

湯新楣譯

講演選萃



FIVE GREAT SPEECHES

by John F. Kennedy

甘 廼 廸

江苏工业学院图书馆  
藏书章

中 英 對 照

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## The Inaugural Address.

January 20, 1961

Fellow citizens:

We observe today not a victory of party but a celebration of freedom — symbolizing an end as well as a beginning — signifying renewal as well as change. For I have sworn before you and Almighty God the same solemn oath our forebears prescribed nearly a century and three-quarters ago.

The world is very different now. For man holds in his mortal hands the power to abolish all forms of human poverty and all forms of human life. And yet the same revolutionary beliefs for which our forebears fought are still at issue around the globe — the belief that the rights of man come not from the generosity of the state but from the hand of God.

## 就 職 講 演

一九六一年一月二十日

各位公民：

我們今天所慶祝的並不是一次政黨的勝利，而是一次自由的慶典，象徵着一項結束，也是一項開始，表示更新和變革。因為我已在你們和全能的上帝面前作了莊嚴的誓言，那正是我們祖先將近一世紀又四分之三以前所擬定的。

現今世界已經很不同了。因為人在自己血肉之軀的手中握有足以消滅一切形式的人類貧困和一切形式的人類生命的力量。可是我們祖先所奮鬥維護的那些革命的信念，仍在全球爭論之中。那信念就是認定人權並非來自政府的慷慨施與，而是上帝所賜。

## *Inaugural Address*

We dare not forget today that we are the heirs of that first revolution. Let the word go forth from this time and place, to friend and foe alike, that the torch has been passed to a new generation of Americans — born in this century, tempered by war, disciplined by a hard and bitter peace, proud of our ancient heritage — and unwilling to witness or permit the slow undoing of those human rights to which this nation has always been committed and to which we are committed today at home and around the world.

Let every nation know, whether it wishes us well or ill, that we shall pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe to assure the survival and success of liberty.

This much we pledge — and more.

To those old allies whose cultural and spiritual origins we share, we pledge the loyalty of faithful friends. United, there is little we cannot do in a host of cooperative ventures. Divided, there is little we can do — for we dare not meet a powerful challenge at odds and split asunder.

To those new states whom we welcome to the ranks of the free, we pledge our word that one form of colonial control shall not have passed away merely to be replaced by a far more iron tyranny. We shall not always expect to find them supporting our view. But we shall always hope to find them strongly supporting their own freedom — and to remember that, in the past, those who foolishly sought power by riding the back of the tiger ended up inside.

我們今天不敢忘記我們是那第一次革命的後裔。讓我們從此時此地向我們的朋友和仇敵同樣的致詞，這支火炬已傳交新一代的美國人，他們出生在本世紀，經歷過戰爭的鍛鍊，受到過一項冷酷而艱苦的和平的訓練，以我們的古代傳統自豪，而且不願目擊或容許人權逐漸被褫奪，對於這些人權我國一向力予維護，現今在本國和全世界也要力予維護。

應讓每一國家知道，不管它願意我們好或願意我們壞，我們要付出任何代價，忍受任何重負，應付任何艱辛，支持任何朋友，反對任何敵人，以確保自由的存在與成功。

這是我們所力予保證的——而且還不止此。

對於那些和我們享有同一文化和精神根源的悠久盟邦，我們保證給你們信義之交的忠誠。若能團結，則在許多合作的計劃中幾乎無事不能做到。倘若分裂，我們則無可作為，因為我們若意見分歧，各行其是，便不敢應付强有力的挑戰。

對於那些我們歡迎其參與自由國家行列的各新國，我們要提出保證，絕不讓一種方式的殖民統治的消失，僅只是為另一種遠較嚴酷的暴政所代替。我們不能常常期望他們會支持我們的觀點，但我們卻常常希望他們能堅強支持他們自身的自由，並應記取，在過去，那些愚蠢得要騎在虎背上以壯聲勢的人，結果則被虎所吞噬。

## *Inaugural Address*

To those peoples in the huts and villages of half the globe struggling to break the bonds of mass misery, we pledge our best efforts to help them help themselves, for whatever period is required — not because the communists may be doing it, not because we seek their votes, but because it is right. If a free society cannot help the many who are poor, it cannot save the few who are rich.

To our sister republics south of our border, we offer a special pledge — to convert our good words into good deeds — in a new alliance for progress — to assist free men and free governments in casting off the chains of poverty. But this peaceful revolution of hope cannot become the prey of hostile powers. Let all our neighbors know that we shall join with them to oppose aggression or subversion anywhere in the Americas. And let every other power know that this Hemisphere intends to remain the master of its own house.

To that world assembly of sovereign states, the United Nations, our last best hope in an age where the instruments of war have far outpaced the instruments of peace, we renew our pledge of support — to prevent it from becoming merely a forum for invective — to strengthen its shield of the new and the weak — and to enlarge the area in which its writ may run.

Finally, to those nations who would make themselves our adversary, we offer not a pledge but a request: that both sides begin anew the quest for peace, before the dark powers of destruction unleashed by science engulf all humanity in planned or accidental self-destruction.

對於那些住在佈滿半個地球的茅屋寒村中，力求打破集體貧困桎梏的各民族，我們保證決以最大的努力助其自助，不管需要多少時間，這並非因為共產黨會要那樣做，也不是爲了我們需求他們的選票，而是由於那樣做是正當的。自由社會若不能幫助衆多的窮人，它也就不能保全那少數的富人。

對於我國邊界以南的各姊妹共和國，我們提供一項特殊的保證：把我們說的好話變成好的行動，在新的進步同盟中，援助自由人和自由政府來擺脫貧困的枷鎖。但這種和平革命的希望不應成爲敵對國家的犧牲品。所有我們的鄰邦都該知道，我們將與他們聯合以反對在美洲任何地區的侵畧或顛覆。並讓別的國家都知道，西半球的事西半球自己會管。

對於聯合國這個各主權國家的世界性議會，在今天這個戰爭工具的進步速度已超過和平工具的進步速度之時代中，它是我們最後的、最好的希望，我們願重申我們支持的保證：阻止它變成僅供爲謾罵的講壇，強化其對於新國弱國的保護，並擴大其權力所能運用的領域。

最後，對於那些寧願和我們爲敵的國家，我們所要提供的不是保證，而是要求：雙方重新開始尋求和平的努力，不要等到科學所釋出的危險破壞力量在有意或無意的自我毀滅中吞噬了全體人類。

## *Inaugural Address*

We dare not tempt them with weakness. For only when our arms are sufficient beyond doubt can we be certain beyond doubt that they will never be employed.

But neither can two great and powerful groups of nations take comfort from our present course — both sides overburdened by the cost of modern weapons, both rightly alarmed by the steady spread of the deadly atom, yet both racing to alter that uncertain balance of terror that stays the hand of mankind's final war.

So let us begin anew — remembering on both sides that civility is not a sign of weakness, and sincerity is always subject to proof. Let us never negotiate out of fear. But let us never fear to negotiate.

Let both sides explore what problems unite us instead of belaboring those problems which divide us.

Let both sides, for the first time, formulate serious and precise proposals for the inspection and control of arms — and bring the absolute power to destroy other nations under the absolute control of all nations.

Let both sides seek to invoke the wonders of science instead of its terrors. Together let us explore the stars, conquer the deserts, eradicate disease, tap the ocean depths and encourage the arts and commerce.

Let both sides unite to heed in all corners of the earth the command of Isaiah — to “undo the heavy burdens . . . (and) let the oppressed go free.”

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我們不敢以示弱去誘惑他們。因為只有當我們的武力毫無疑問已告充足時，我們纔能毫無疑問地確信永遠不致使用武力。

可是這兩個强有力的國家集團，誰也不能對現行的途徑放心——雙方都因現代武器支出浩繁感到不勝負擔，雙方都對於致命的原子力量不斷展開而發生應有的驚駭，可是雙方都在競謀改變那不穩定的恐怖均衡，此種均衡足以阻止人類最後從事戰爭。

因此讓我們重新開始，雙方都應記住謙恭並非示弱的徵象，而誠意則永遠須要驗證。讓我們永不因畏懼而談判。但讓我們永不要畏懼談判。

讓雙方探究能使我們團結一起的是什麼問題，而不要虛耗心力於使我們分裂的問題。

讓雙方首次製訂有關視察和管制武器的嚴正而確切的建議，並且把那足以毀滅其他國家的絕對力量置於一切國家的絕對管制之下。

讓雙方尋求去開發科學的神奇而不是科學的恐怖。讓我們聯合去探究星球，克服沙漠，消除疾病，開發海洋的深處，並鼓勵藝術和商務。

讓雙方攜手在世界各個角落聽取以賽亞的命令，去「卸下沉重的擔負……（並）讓被壓迫者得自由。」

## *Inaugural Address*

And if a beachhead of cooperation may push back the jungle of suspicion, let both sides join in creating a new endeavor, not a new balance of power, but a new world of law where the strong are just and the weak secure and the peace preserved.

All this will not be finished in the first one hundred days. Nor will it be finished in the first one thousand days, nor in the life of this Administration nor even perhaps in our lifetime on this planet. But let us begin.

In your hands, my fellow citizens, more than mine, will rest the final success or failure of our course. Since this country was founded, each generation of Americans has been summoned to give testimony to its national loyalty. The graves of young Americans who answered the call to service surround the globe.

Now the trumpet summons us again — not as a call to bear arms, though arms we need — not as a call to battle, though embattled we are — but a call to bear the burden of a long twilight struggle, year in and year out, “rejoicing in hope, patient in tribulation” — a struggle against the common enemies of man: tyranny, poverty, disease and war itself.

Can we forge against these enemies a grand and global alliance, North and South, East and West, that can assure a more fruitful life for all mankind? Will you join in that historic effort?

In the long history of the world, only a few generations have been granted the role of defending freedom in its hour

如果合作的據點能夠建立，猜疑的莽叢便能夠遏制，讓雙方聯合作一次新的努力，不是追求新的權力均衡，而是建立一個新的法治世界，在那世界上強者公正，弱者安全，和平也得以保持。

凡此種種不會在最初的一百天中完成。也不會在最初的一千天中完成，不會在本政府任期中完成，甚或也不能在我們生存於地球上的期間完成。但讓我們開始。

同胞們，我們的方針最後成功或失敗，不僅僅在我身上，更操在你們手中。自從我國建立以來，每一代的美國人都會應召以證驗其對國家的忠誠。響應此項召喚而服軍役的美國青年人的墳墓遍佈在全球各處。

現在那號角又再度召喚我們——不是號召我們肩起武器，雖然武器是我們所需要；不是號召我們去作戰，雖然我們準備應戰；那是號召我們年又一年不斷的從事一種勝敗未分的鬭爭，「在希望中有喜樂，在患難中有忍耐」，這是一場對付人類共同敵人如暴政、貧困、疾病、以及戰爭本身的鬭爭。

我們能否結成一個宏大遍及東西南北的全球性聯盟來對付這些敵人，來確保全人類享有更為豐碩的生活？你們是否願意參與這歷史性的努力？

在世界的悠久歷史中，只有很少幾個世代的人獲有這種在自由遭遇最大貽危時從事保衛的責任。我決不在這責任之前退

## *Inaugural Address*

of maximum danger. I do not shrink from this responsibility — I welcome it. I do not believe that any of us would exchange places with any other people or any other generation. The energy, the faith, the devotion which we bring to this endeavor will light our country and all who serve it — and the glow from that fire can truly light the world.

And so, my fellow Americans: ask not what your country can do for you — ask what you can do for your country.

My fellow citizens of the world: ask not what America will do for you, but what together we can do for the freedom of man.

Finally, whether you are citizens of America or citizens of the world, ask of us here the same high standards of strength and sacrifice which we ask of you. With a good conscience our only sure reward, with history the final judge of our deeds, let us go forth to lead the land we love, asking His blessing and His help, but knowing that here on earth God's work must truly be our own.