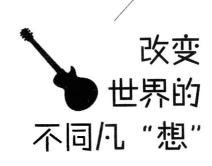


人类历史凝结出的伟大声音 千年沧桑锻造出的不朽思想





【美】戴尔・卡耐基等 著 艾柯 译

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CHAPTER 1 伟大的声音 Great Voice

杰斐逊首任就职演说

[美]托马斯·杰斐逊 艾柯 译

我们经历了一段时期的辩论,当时,大家讨论得很热烈,竞相奔走。初识的人,对自由思考不习惯,不习惯把心中的想法自由地说出来或写出来,刚见这种情形时,可能面面相觑。而现在经全在法院的规定加以公布,大家当然会会在法院的规定加以公布,大家当然会会在法院的意旨之下,妥善安排,并且团结一致,为共同利益而努力信息。这位一项神圣的原则,即大多数人的意志,虽然在任任少数人的意志,虽然在任何数人的意志必须合理,才能切实可行;而且少数不有这些权利,必须受到法律的平等保护,如果加以侵犯,便和应当团结起来,齐心协力,在相处中应恢成为平均之。因为如果没有它们,自由,甚至生活本身,都以是是是一个人类流血甚多。因为如果没有它们,自由,甚至生活本身,和性摒弃不同是是大多。因为如果没有它们,我们已经把宗教上的偏执性已经使人类流血甚多、受苦良久。如此是是一个人类流血甚多。以及所造成的酷烈,这种偏执性已经使人类流血甚多、以及所造成的酷烈,是是数励政治上的偏执性,而且其专横与邪恶以及所造成的酷烈,是是数励政治,与宗教裁判所导致的后果不相上下,那么,我们的追求,与宗教裁判所导致的后果不相上下,那么,我们是微乎其微。当旧世界经历痛苦和激变时,当感怒的人备受痛苦和激变时,当感怒的人备受痛苦和激变时,当感怒的人者受痛苦和激变时,当感怒的人者是

由血腥与屠杀寻找他们丧失已久的自由时, 那如滚滚浪涛般的震撼将 会波及遥远而和平的彼岸。每个人对此事的感觉与恐惧的程度各异, 对有关安全措施的意见也发生分歧,这没有什么好奇怪的。但是,意 见的差异并非说明原则的差异。与我们遵守同一原则的弟兄们,曾被 冠以各种各样的称号。我们都是共和党人,我们都是联邦同盟会员。 如果我们当中有人想解散这一联邦,或者想改变它的共和体制,我们 也不会干扰他们,这样做就为安全树立了标志,表明只要理智能够自 由地进行对抗,即使是错误亦是可以容许的。我当然知道有些诚实的 民众担心共和政府不够强大有力,但是一个诚实的爱国者,当这个被 寄以世界上最美好希望的政府正在成功地进行试验之时,仅因一种理 论上的、虚幻的疑惧,就以为这个政府可能连生存的能力都没有,就 因此放弃这个一直确保我们自由和安全的政府吗? 我想肯定不会。相 反,我相信这个政府是世界上最强大的政府,在这个政府的管理下, 无论什么人, 一听到法律的召唤, 就会飞奔而来响应法律的号召, 而 且会对处理侵犯公共秩序的行为,如同处理自己的私事—样。有时人 们说,一个人想自我约束是不可靠的。那么,让别人去管理他们就 能变得可靠吗?或者我们是否曾见过天使幻化成国王的身份来管理人 们?我们让历史来回答这个问题。

因此,我们应该凭借着勇气和信心,继续维持我们自己那种联邦共和的原则,拥护联邦和代议制政府。由于自然环境和大洋的阻隔,我们幸免遭受全球四分之一地区那种毁灭性的浩劫;我们具有高尚的品格,对别人的堕落忍无可忍;我们拥有天赐沃土,足以养活千世万代的子孙;我们有一种观念,坚信在发挥我们自己的才能上,在取得我

们自己勤劳的成果上,在深受我们同胞的尊敬与信赖上(这种尊敬与信赖不是由门第造成的,而是来自我们行为的结果和他们的体会),都拥有同等的权利;我们有善良敦厚的宗教,虽然派别不同,可是所有教派都以正直、守信、节制、感恩和仁爱来感化人;我们承认和崇拜统领万物的上帝,上帝的所作所为证明,它乐于看见人类现世的幸福和死后更大的幸福——我们有了这些恩赐,还需要什么才能使我们的民族幸福欢欣呢?各位同胞,我们还需要一种事物,那就是一个睿智和简朴的政府,它防止人们相互为敌,它让人们自由地从事各自的工作,并不断取得进步,它对人们辛勤劳动的成果从不巧取豪夺。这些就是一个优良政府的重要条件,也是我们要取得完满幸福的生活所必需的条件。

同胞们,我就要开始执行这神圣的职责,这种职责包含你们所珍视的一切,因此,我认为你们应当了解,我所认为的良好政府的要旨是什么,以及构成我们施政方针的各个方面。下面我将向大家简单地陈述,只讲一般原则,而不讲其所有范畴:要给予人人平等和公正的待遇,不管其地位、宗教或政治信仰如何;与所有的国家和平共处,相互通商,并保持真诚的友谊,但不跟任何国家结盟,以免引起争端;维护各州政府的所有权利,使之成为处理内政的最适宜的行政机构和抵制反对联邦共和趋势最有力的屏障;根据宪法保持全国政府的活力,作为对内和平与对外安全的最后堡垒;注重维护人民的选举权,因为独立战争时留下的弊端没有和平的补救办法,而对那些弊端,能采取的一种温和而安全的矫正手段就是人民的选举权;坚决服从多数人的决定,共和政体的主要原则就在于此,若非如此,便只好诉诸武

力,专制的主要原则和直接起源就在于此;保留纪律严明的民兵,作为和平时期和战争初期最好的依靠,以待接替正式军队;实行文权高于军权的政策;压缩政府开支,减轻人民的经济负担;如实清偿我们的债务,审慎地维护公众的信心;促进农业发展,鼓励以商辅农;传播知识并以公众理智的判断作为谴责所有弊端的依据;保障宗教自由及出版自由,并以人身保护令和公平选出的陪审团进行审判,来确保人身自由。在独立战争时期和革新时期,这些原则成为照耀我们道路、指引我们前进步伐的星宿。我们先哲的智慧,我们英雄的鲜血,都曾为了实现这些原则而无私奉献。它们应当成为我们政治信念的纲领、公民教育的教科书、检测我们为信任者工作的试金石;如果一时的错误或惊惶导致违背了这些原则,我们应该赶快回头,重新走上这唯一的一条通往和平、自由和安全的大道……



First Inaugural Address

Thomas Jefferson

• • •

During the contest of opinion through which we have passed the animation of discussions and of exertions has sometimes worn an aspect which might impose on strangers unused to think freely and to speak and to write what they think; but this being now decided by the voice of the nation, announced according to the rules of the Constitution, all will, of course, arrange themselves under the will of the law, and unite in common efforts for the common good. All, too, will bear in mind this sacred principle, that though the will of the majority is in all cases to prevail, that will to be rightful must be reasonable; that the minority possess their equal rights, which equal law must protect, and to violate would be oppression. Let us, then, fellow–citizens, unite with one heart and one mind. Let us restore to social intercourse that harmony and affection without which liberty and even life itself are but dreary things. And let us reflect that, having banished from our land that religious intolerance under

which mankind so long bled and suffered, we have yet gained little if we countenance a political intolerance as despotic, as wicked, and capable of as bitter and bloody persecutions. During the throes and convulsions of the ancient world, during the agonizing spasms of infuriated man, seeking through blood and slaughter his longlost liberty, it was not wonderful that the agitation of the billows should reach even this distant and peaceful shore; that this should be more felt and feared by some and less by others, and should divide opinions as to measures of safety. But every difference of opinion is not a difference of principle. We have called by different names brethren of the same principle. We are all Republicans, we are all Federalists. If there be any among us who would wish to dissolve this Union or to change its republican form, let them stand undisturbed as monuments of the safety with which error of opinion may be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it. I know, indeed, that some honest men fear that a republican government can not be strong, that this Government is not strong enough; but would the honest patriot, in the full tide of successful experiment, abandon a government which has so far kept us free and firm on the theoretic and visionary fear that this Government, the world's best hope, may by possibility want energy to preserve itself? I trust not. I believe this, on the contrary, the strongest Government on earth. I believe it the only one where every man, at the call of the law, would fly to the standard of the law, and would meet invasions of the public order as



his own personal concern. Sometimes it is said that man can not be trusted with the government of himself. Can he, then, be trusted with the government of others? Or have we found angels in the forms of kings to govern him? Let history answer this question.

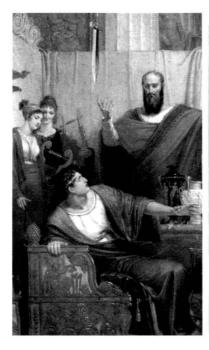
Let us, then, with courage and confidence pursue our own Federal and Republican principles,

our attachment to union and representative government. Kindly separated by nature and a wide ocean from the exterminating havoc of one quarter of the globe; too high-minded to endure the degradations of the others; possessing a chosen country, with room enough for our descendants to the thousandth and thousandth generation; entertaining a due sense of our equal right to the use of our own faculties, to the acquisitions of our own industry, to honor and confidence from our fellow-citizens, resulting not from birth, but

from our actions and their sense of them; enlightened by a benign religion, professed, indeed, and practiced in various forms, yet all of them inculcating honesty, truth, temperance, gratitude and the love of man; acknowledging and adoring an overruling Providence, which by all its dispensations proves that it delights in the happiness of man here and his greater happiness hereafter—with all these blessings, what more is necessary to make us a happy and a prosperous people? Still one thing more, fellow–citizens—a wise and frugal Government, which shall restrain men from injuring one another, shall leave them otherwise free to regulate their own pursuits of industry and improvement, and shall not take from the mouth of labor the bread it has earned. This is the sum of good government, and this is necessary to close the circle of our felicities.

About to enter, fellow-citizens, on the exercise of duties which comprehend everything dear and valuable to you, it is proper you should understand what I deem the essential principles of our Government, and consequently those which ought to shape its administration. I will compress them within the narrowest compass they will bear, stating the general principle, but not all its limitations. Equal and exact justice to all men, of whatever state or persuasion, religious or political; peace, commerce and honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none; the support of the State governments in all their rights, as the most competent

administrations for our domestic concerns and the surest bulwarks against antirepublican tendencies; the preservation of the General Government in its whole constitutional vigor, as the sheet anchor of our peace at home and safety abroad; a jealous care of the right of election by the people—a mild and safe corrective of abuses which are lopped by the sword of revolution where peaceable remedies are unprovided; absolute acquiescence in the decisions of the majority, the vital principle of republics, from which is no appeal but to force, the vital principle and immediate parent of despotism; a well-disciplined militia, our best reliance in peace and for the first moments of war till regulars may relieve them; the supremacy of the civil over the military authority; economy in the public expense, that labor may be lightly burthened; the honest payment of our debts and sacred preservation of the public faith; encouragement of agriculture, and of commerce as its handmaid; the diffusion of information and arraignment of all abuses at the bar of the public reason; freedom of religion; freedom of the press, and freedom of person under the protection of the habeas corpus, and trial by juries impartially selected. These principles form the bright constellation which has gone before us and guided our steps through an age of revolution and reformation. The wisdom of our sages and blood of our heroes have been devoted to their attaimment. They should be the creed of our political faith, the text of civic instruction, the touchstone by which to try the services of those we trust; and should we wander from them in moments of error or of alarm, let us hasten to retrace our steps and to regain the road which alone leads to peace, liberty and safety \cdots





我有一个梦想

[美]马丁・路徳・金 艾柯 译

我很高兴今天和你们一起,为争取自由,参加这次将永垂我国史册的 最伟大的示威集会。

一百年前,一位伟大的美国人——今天我们就站在他的雕像下——正式签署了《解放宣言》。这项重要法令的颁布,如一座伟大的灯塔,照亮了当时挣扎于不义之火焚烤下的数百万黑奴的希望;它像欢快的破晓曙光,结束了黑人陷于囹圄的漫漫长夜。

然而,整整一百年过去了,我们却仍然得面对这个悲惨的现实:黑人依然得不到自由;整整一百年过去了,黑人依然被种族隔离的镣铐和种族歧视的锁链羁绊着,举步维艰;整整一百年过去了,在物质繁荣的汪洋大海之中,黑人却依然独自生存在贫穷的孤岛之上;整整一百年过去了,黑人依然在美国社会的阴暗角落里向隅而泣,在自己的土地上却依然流离失所。因此,我们今天来到这里,把这种骇人听闻的情况公布于众。