

舌尖上的对决

美国大选辩论战

主编◎王丹 陈畅





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主编:王丹陈畅



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在美国每逢大选,总统竞选的电视辩论是最受社会民众期待与关注的活动之一。从电视直播技术趋于成熟的 20 世纪 60 年代起,美国就率先展开了候选人在电视上公开亮相,并公开辩论的惯例。首次电视辩论始于 1960 年,当年的参与者是尼克松与肯尼迪,那一年美国三大电视网共主办了四场电视辩论,这四场辩论确立了电视辩论的基本形式,一直沿用至今。做为总统竞选活动非常重要的环节之一,电视辩论备受关注,因为选民可以通过电视直播看到总统候选人的表现和领导才能。

就美国大选电视辩论的沿革而言,从 20 世纪 80 年代开始,美国大选电视辩论取消了自 1960 年以来的候选人 8 分钟演讲的程序,直接进入到问答环节,并开始限制每场的辩题,自 1992 年起,每次的第二场总统辩论都采用"市民会议"的方式进行,提问者都是经过抽样挑选的自由选民,此举扩大了民主选举的基础。自 1996 年开始,打破了自 1960 年以来媒体提问参与大选的惯例,除了第二场"市民会议"之外,其余的两场由主持人全程负责问题的提出,以及把握辩论的全过程。

美国大选电视辩论通常在全民选举日的前一个月举行,是候选人充分展示政治主张和个人魅力的好机会。因为决定每届辩论以至大选胜败的,不仅仅是未来总统的各种美妙承诺,更关键的是种种综合因素给选民留下的印象。

本书的主要内容是 2012 年美国大选过程中的四场电视辩论——三场总统候选人辩论和一场副总统候选人辩论。总统候选人奥巴马和罗姆尼的三场"一对一"的辩论,主要围绕美国的内政与外交政策展开,辩题包括就业问题、联邦赤字、医疗保险、社会保障、政府职责、女性公平、国家安全、移民政策和外交政策等。副总统候选人拜登和瑞安的辩论主要围绕军事、医疗保险、税收、就业、宗教等问题展开。在公开辩论中,谁能在观众面前表现得更好或赢得更积极的评价,谁就更有赢得竞选活动的胜算。可以说,在这四场激烈的交锋中,四个人的表

现都可圈可点,都明确地表达了个人的施政纲领和原则。此外,编者对每场辩 论中的每个辩题都进行了客观的点评,以帮助读者抓住要旨。

本书作为英语学习读物,全面再现2012年美国大选电视辩论的全程,可以 使读者更进一步了解美国大选,了解美国总统候选人,了解美国的政治制度和 社会生活。本书规范的译文可以帮助读者练习翻译, 更准确地把握辩论的内容。 本书注释的单词或短语可以帮助读者扫清阅读障碍、注释中对提及的一些重要 人物、标志事件、美国法规等都进行了简要介绍,读者可以在学习语言的同时, 开阔视野,增长知识。尤其值得一提的是,本书提供四场电视辩论的视频下载, 读者可以身临其境地边看、边听、边学、体验与众不同的现场效果。

对于英语学习者而言,阅读辩论类的素材,对于日常生活及特定场合的应 用是十分必要的。通过学习本书,读者会了解,辩论前应该对辩题进行充分地 准备,这样才能清楚地表明自己的立场并应对对手的攻击。辩论中应该选择简明、 清晰的语言,这样才能使听众抓住要点。辩论时语速要快,使用的语言要犀利。 精准,这样可以在气势上强过对手。当然,在辩论中,语言的逻辑性更为重要, 否则无法控制整个辩论全局,失去气势,受制于对手。同时,在辩论过程中使 用不同的修辞手法,可以使辩论具有欣赏性,例如排比、反复、反问、比喻等 修辞方法的使用,可以强化辩题内容并增强说服力。

美国大选电视辩论,向读者展示的是美国社会的方方面面,向读者展示的 是参与者严密的逻辑和雄辩的口才,是非常好的英语语言学习素材。相信学习 这本书, 读者会收获颇丰。

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The First Obama-Romney Presidential Debate 奥巴马和罗姆尼的第一场辩论



辩论时间: 2012年10月3日

辩论地点:科罗拉多州丹佛大学

辩论双方:贝拉克·奥巴马 VS 米特·罗姆尼

主 持 人: 吉姆·莱勒

主要辩题:就业问题;联邦赤字;应得权益;医疗保险;政府职责,政府执政 能力

舌尖上的对决——美国大选辩论战

Introduction

JIM LEHRER: Good evening from the Magness Arena at the University of Denver in Denver, Colorado. I'm Jim Lehrer of the PBS News Hour, and I welcome you to the first of the 2012 presidential debates between President Barack Obama, the Democratic nominee, and former Massachusetts Governor Mitt Romney, the Republican nominee. This debate and the next three—two presidential, one vice-presidential—are sponsored by the Commission on Presidential Debates.

Tonight's 90 minutes will be about domestic issues, and will follow a **format** designed by the commission. There will be six roughly 15-minute segments, with two-minute answers for the first

question, then open discussion for the remainder of each segment. Thousands of people offered suggestions on segment subjects of questions via the Internet and other means, but I made the final selections, and for the record, they were

not submitted for approval to the commission or the candidates.

The segments, as I announced in advance, will be three on the economy and one each on health care, the role of government, and governing, with an emphasis throughout on differences, specifics and choices. Both candidates will also have two-minute closing statements.

The audience here in the hall has promised to remain silent. No cheers, applause, boos, hisses—

Jim Lehrer 吉姆·莱勒,1934年5月出生于美国堪萨斯州,美国公共广播公司(PBS)著名主持人。他也曾主持2004年和2008年的总统辩论。

PBS 美国公共广播公司 (Public Broadcasting Service) 的缩拼,是美国的一个公共电视机构,成立

开场白

吉姆·莱勒:大家晚上好,这里是位于科罗拉多州丹佛大学的麦格尼斯体育馆。我是美国公共广播公司《新闻时刻》节目的主持人吉姆·莱勒。欢迎大家收看2012年度第一场总统辩论,参加辩论的双方是民主党候选人贝拉克·奥巴马总统,共和党候选人前马萨诸塞州州长米特·罗姆尼。这场辩论和接下来的三场辩论——两场总统辩论,一场副总统辩论,都是由总统辩论委员会赞助的。

今晚 90 分钟的辩论将谈论国内问题,并遵循由委员会拟定的模式。辩论分为 6 个部分,每个部分大约 15 分钟,在每个部分,辩论双方首先要用两分钟

来回答我提出的问题, 然后可以在剩下的时间内展开自由辩论。 很多人通过网络和其他方式向我们建议是一部分的主题,但是 我作出最终选择,并 记录下来,慎重起见,

那些问题没有呈送给委员会或者候选人,并获得他们的批准。

我要事先宣布一下,今天辩论的论题有三个是关于经济的,一个是关于医疗保险的,一个是关于政府的职责,一个是政府执政能力,重点强调各自的差异、特性和选择。两位总统候选人都有两分钟的总结发言。

在座的各位观众你们已经承诺过要保持沉默。在辩论的过程中,不能欢呼,

于1969年,总部位于弗吉尼亚州阿灵顿县。 format n. 方式,样式

boo n. 嘘声

hiss n. 嘶嘶声

鼓掌,喝倒彩,发出嘘声,以及其他分散注意力的噪音,这样我们才能很好地集中精力去听两位候选人都说了什么。 不过现在我们可以来点儿呐喊声,让我们欢迎奥巴马总统和罗姆尼州长的到来!(欢呼,掌声)

欢迎两位的到来。

辩题 1: 就业问题

吉姆·莱勒:下面,让我们从第一个部分——经济这个话题开始。我们先来谈谈就业吧。关于如何去创造新的就业机会,对此你们两人看法的最大区别在哪里?你们有两分钟时间——你们每个人都有两分钟的准备时间。投币已经决定谁先来发言,总统先生,你先来吧。

贝拉克·奥巴马总统:好的,非常 感谢你,吉姆,这是我的荣幸。我还要 感谢罗姆尼州长和丹佛大学的盛情款待。

今晚我想提出的观点很多,但最重要的一个是——20年前,我成为这个世界上最幸运的男人,因为米歇尔·奥巴马嫁给我了。(笑声)所以,亲爱的,我只想祝你结婚纪念日快乐,我只想让你知道一年之后我不会再在4000万民众面前为你庆祝了。(笑声)

4年之前我们经历了自经济大萧条 以来最糟糕的经济危机。我们失去了数 以百万计的工作岗位。我们的汽车工业 处于崩溃的边缘。我们的金融体系已处 于冻结状态。但是因为美国人民的乐观 精神和坚定的信心,我们已经开始为恢 复经济而努力奋斗了。

在过去的 30 个月里, 我们已经在一些私营行业创造了 500 万个工作机会。 汽车产业的轰鸣声又归来了, 房地产也 among other noisy distracting things—so we may all concentrate on what the candidates have to say. There is a noise exception right now, though, as we welcome President Obama and Governor Romney. (Cheers, applause.)

Gentlemen, welcome to you both.

Topic 1: Jobs

JIM LEHRER: Let's start the economy, segment one. And let's begin with jobs. What are the major differences between the two of you about how you would go about creating new jobs? You have two minutes—each of you have two minutes to start. The coin toss has determined, Mr. President, you go first.

PRESIDENT BARACK OBAMA: Well, thank you very much, Jim, for this opportunity. I want to thank Governor Romney and the University of Denver for your hospitality.

There are a lot of points that I want to make tonight, but the most important one is that 20 years ago I became the luckiest man on earth because Michelle Obama agreed to marry me. (Laughter.) And so I just want to wish, Sweetie, you happy anniversary and let you know that a year from now, we will not be celebrating it in front of 40 million people. (Laughter.)

Four years ago we went through the worst financial crisis since the Great Depression. Millions of jobs were lost. The auto industry was on the brink of collapse. The financial system had frozen up. And because of the **resilience** and the determination of the American people, we've begun to fight our way back.

Over the last 30 months, we've seen 5 million jobs in the private sector created. The auto industry

has come roaring back and housing has begun to rise. But we all know that we've still got a lot of work to do. And so the question here tonight is not where we've been but where we're going. Governor Romney has a perspective that says if we cut taxes, skewed towards the wealthy, and roll back regulations that we'll be better off.

I've got a different view. I think we've got to invest in education and training. I think it's important for us to develop new sources of energy here in America, that we change our tax code to make sure that we're helping small businesses and companies that are investing here in the United States, that we take some of the money that we're saving as we wind down two wars to rebuild America and we reduce our deficit in a balanced way that allows us to make these critical investments.

Now, it ultimately is going to be up to the voters, to you, which path we should take. Are we going to double down on **the top-down economic policies** that helped to get us into this mess, or do we embrace a new economic patriotism that says, America does best when the middle class does best? And I'm looking forward to having that debate.

MR. LEHRER: Governor Romney, two minutes.
MR. ROMNEY: Thank you, Jim. It's an honor to be here with you, and I appreciate the chance to be with the president. I am pleased to be at the University of Denver, appreciate their welcome and also the presidential commission on these debates.

And congratulations to you, Mr. President, on your anniversary. I'm sure this was the most romantic place you could imagine here—here with me, so I—(laughter)—congratulations.

开始回暖。但是我们都知道仍然有许多 工作需要我们去做。所以今晚的问题不 应该是我们已经做得怎么样,而是我们 的发展潜力和发展前景。罗姆尼州长的 一个看法是,他说如果我们削减了税收, 政策向富人倾斜,终止过去的规则,那 么我们今天的境况会更好。

但是我对此有不同的看法。我认为 我们必须在教育和培训方面投资。我认 为对我们来说重要的是在美国发展新能 源,而这能帮助我们改变税收政策,以 确保那些小公司和企业能够在美国的本 土投资。我们把平复两场战争所节约下 来的资金用以重建美国,用一种平衡的 方式减少了财政赤字,这使得我们能够 作出一些关键性的投资。

现在,最终还是将由投票者——你们来决定我们应该走哪条路。大家是愿意双倍下注去选择那个自上而下的、使我们陷入这种困境的经济政策,还是伸出双手热情拥抱一种新爱国主义的经济政策?当我们的中产阶级发挥出最佳作用的时候,往往是美国最繁荣昌盛的时候。我十分期待这样的辩论。

莱勒先生:罗姆尼州长,两分钟时间。 罗姆尼先生:谢谢吉姆。今晚与诸 位在一起我深感荣幸,非常荣幸有机会 与总统一起出席今晚的辩论会。也非常 高兴来到丹佛大学,感谢你们的热烈欢 迎,同时也要感谢总统辩论委员会。

总统先生,祝贺你的结婚周年纪念日。我肯定这里是你能够想到的最浪漫的地方——和我在一起,所以我——(笑声)——祝福你。

perspective n. 看法 skew v. 歪曲, 偏离 roll back (计划等) 终止 wind down 逐步缩減 two wars 指阿富汗和伊拉克两场战争。 the top-down economic policies 自上而下 的经济政策 很明显,这是一个很棘手的问题。 在过去的几年间,我有机会结识了来自 于全国各地的人民。我在俄亥俄州的代 顿遇到了一位妇女, 她紧紧地抓住我的 手臂,问我:"5月以来我就开始失业了, 你能帮助我吗?"

昨天安在丹佛参加了一个集会,一

位抱着小孩儿的妇女朝着她走过 去, 并问她:"安, 在过去的3年 里我的丈夫得到了4个工作机会, 但都是兼职的。不过他刚刚丢掉了 最近得到的那个工作, 我们现在无 家可归了。你能帮助我们吗?"

答案当然是可以, 我们可以 帮助他们, 我们将采用一种不同 的方法, 既不是我们现在正在实 行的方法, 也不是总统先生所描述的那 种自上而下的、为富人减税的方法— 这并不是我想要采取的方案。

我的方案共有五个基本部分。第一, 让我们的国家实现能源自给, 让北美实 现资源自给。这将创造大约400万个工 作机会。第二, 开放更多的贸易, 尤其 开放在拉丁美洲的贸易。第三,保证我 们的人民拥有他们取得成功所需要的全 部技能, 保证他们能上世界上最好的学校。 我们现在距离这个目标还很远。第四,平 衡我们的预算。第五,扶持小企业。

正是这些小企业创造了美国的就业 机会。在过去的4年间,小企业的领导 者已经认定美国可能不再适合他们开展 新的业务了, 因为新企业的开设数量已 经降到了过去30年来的最低值。而我知 道如何使小企业迅速成长, 如何雇佣更 多的劳动力。

This is obviously a very tender topic. I've had the occasion over the last couple of years of meeting people across the country. I was in Dayton, Ohio, and a woman grabbed my arm, and she said, I've been out of work since May. Can you help me?

Ann yesterday was a rally in Denver, and a woman came up to her with a baby in her arms and



said, Ann, my husband has had four jobs in three years, part-time jobs. He's lost his most recent job, and we've now just lost our home. Can you nous ex maintanthe ma e chelp us?

And the answer is yes, we can help, but it's going to take a different path, not the one we've been on, not the one the president describes as a top-down, cut taxes for the rich. That's not what I'm going to do.

My plan has five basic parts. One, get us energy independent, North American energy independent. That creates about four million jobs. Number two, open up more trade, particularly in Latin America. Number three, make sure our people have the skills they need to succeed and the best schools in the world. We're far away from that now. Number four, get us to a balanced budget. Number five, champion small business.

It's small business that creates the jobs in America. And over the last four years small-business people have decided that America may not be the place to open a new business, because new business startups are down to a 30-year low. I know what it takes to get small business growing again, to hire people.

tender adj. 棘手的, 难对付的 Ann 安, 指罗姆尼的妻子。

champion v. 支持 startup n. 启动, 开办

舌尖上的 对决

Now, I'm concerned that the path that we're on has just been unsuccessful. The president has a view very similar to the view he had when he ran four years ago, that a bigger government, spending more, taxing more, regulating more—if you will, trickledown government would work. That's not the right answer for America. I'll restore the vitality that gets America working again.

Thank you.

MR. LEHRER: Mr. President, please respond directly to what the governor just said about trickledown—his trickle-down approach. He's—as he said yours is.

president obama: Well, let me talk specifically about what I think we need to do. First, we've got to improve our education system. And we've made enormous progress drawing on ideas both from Democrats and Republicans that are already starting to show gains in some of the toughest-to-deal-with schools. We've got a program called Race to the Top that has prompted reforms in 46 states around the country, raising standards, improving how we train teachers. So now I want to hire another hundred thousand new math and science teachers and create 2 million more slots in our community colleges so that people can get trained for the jobs that are out there right now. And I want to make sure that we keep tuition low for our young people.

When it comes to our tax code, Governor Romney and I both agree that our corporate tax rate is too high. So I want to lower it, particularly for manufacturing, taking it down to 25 percent. But I also want to close those loopholes that are

而现在,我更关心我们现在正在执行的方案恰恰是不成功的。我们总统现在的观点与4年前他竞选总统时的观点非常相似——一个更大的政府,开销更大,税收更高,监管更多——如果大家愿意接受这样的观点,那么涓滴式的政府将发挥作用。而这并不是解决美国问题的正确方法。而我将恢复大家的生机活力,使得美国再次蓬勃发展。

谢谢大家!

莱勒先生.总统先生,请直接回答 州长刚才所说的涓滴式政府的理论,州 长说你所采用的方式是涓滴式的理论。

奥巴马总统:嗯,让我明确地谈谈我认为大家需要做的事情吧。首先,我们必须改善我们的教育体制。利用共和党与民主党所提出的教育理论,我们已经取得了极大的进步,在学校教育中的一些最难处理的教育理念上已经显现出成果。我们有一个名为"力争上游"的计划,已经在全国46个州推进了教育改革,提高了教育水准,改善了我们培训教育的方法。所以,现在我想再聘任10万名数学和科学教师,我还要在我们的社区大学多创造200万个人学名额,以便让人们获得那些已经出现的工作岗位所必需的培训。此外,我还要确保针对年轻人所收的学费保持低收费的标准。

当然当我们提及税收政策的时候, 我和罗姆尼州长都认同我们的企业税率 有点儿过高。所以我要降低我们的税率, 尤其是制造业方面的税率,我要把它降 到 25%。但是,与此同时,我也要解决

trickle-down adj. 涓滴式的。指一个体制中给予上层人的利益会传递给较低阶层的人。

Race to the Top "力争上游"计划,奥巴马政府启动的一个国家竞赛,用来激励各州展开卓有成效的教育改革,采取措施提高教师的教学技能并将优秀教师

公平地分配于每个学校,建立学生成长的数 据库系统,制定严格的学业评价标准等。

slot n. 职位

loophole n. 漏洞, 逃避的手段

奥巴马和罗姆尼的第一场辩论

那些税务上的漏洞, 为那些将工作岗位

输往海外的公司提供刺激 政策。我要为那些在美国 本土投资的企业提供税收 减免政策。而对于能源, 我和罗姆尼州长都持相同 意见,我们必须发展美国 的能源制造。

而石油和天然气生产量也将比我们多年来所处的状态

要好。但是同时我也坚信我们已经看到了 未来能源来源的前景,像风能、太阳能和 生物燃料能源,并在这些方面进行投资。

因此, 所有的这些都会成为现实。 而现在为了让大家去实践它, 我们必须 减少我们的财政赤字, 所以我敢确信今 晚我们要讨论的一个话题, 就是我们如 何处置我们的税收政策,我们不仅要确 保用一种负责任的方式减少我们的开支, 而且还要有足够的税收保证国家的投资。 就这一方面而言,我与罗姆尼州长的意 见不太统一, 因为罗姆尼州长经济政策 的重点是,需要减免5万亿美元的税收, 再加上布什政府所减少的税收项目,所 以这又是1万亿美元。此外还有额外的 2万亿美元——军方还没有提出来的额 外的防务开支。加起来就是8万亿美元。 我认为这场竞选活动中最核心的问题是 我们要如何来支付, 在不转嫁美国中产 阶级开支的情况下, 我们需要减少赤字, 进行投资。

莱勒先生:你们两人都已经说了很多不同的执政理念,下面我们将通过一种我们能够理解的具体的方式来理解这些观念。但是,首先我想问一下罗姆尼先生,对于总统先生刚才所说的那些观

giving incentives for companies that are shipping

jobs overseas. I want to provide tax breaks for companies that are investing here in the United States. On energy, Governor Romney and I, we both agree that we've got to boost American energy production.

And oil and natural gas production are higher than they've been in years. But I also believe that we've got to look at the energy source of the future, like wind and solar and **biofuels**, and make those investments.

So, all of this is possible. Now, in order for us to do it, we do have to close our deficit, and one of the things I'm sure we'll be discussing tonight is, how do we deal with our tax code, and how do we make sure that we are reducing spending in a responsible way, but also how do we have enough revenue to make those investments? And this is where there's a difference because Governor Romney's central economic plan calls for a \$5 trillion tax cut, on top of the extension of the Bush tax cuts, so that's another trillion, and \$2 trillion in additional military spending that the military hasn't asked for. That's \$8 trillion. How we pay for that, reduce the deficit and make the investments that we need to make without dumping those costs on the middle-class Americans I think is one of the central questions of this campaign.

MR. LEHRER: Both of you have spoken about a lot of different things, and we're going to try to get through them in as specific a way as we possibly can. But first, Governor Romney, do you have a question that you'd like to ask the president directly about

biofuel n. 生物燃料 (如木材、煤炭、石油、天然气、酒精等)

舌尖上的对决

something he just said?

MR. ROMNEY: Well, sure. I'd like to clear up the record and go through it piece by piece. First of all, I don't have a \$5 trillion tax cut. I don't have a tax cut of a scale that you're talking about. My view is that we ought to provide tax relief to people in the middle class. But I'm not going to reduce the share of taxes paid by high-income people. High-income people are doing just fine in this economy. They'll do fine whether you're president or I am.

The people who are having the hard time right now are middle-income Americans. Under the president's policies, middle-income Americans have been buried. They're—they're just being crushed. Middle-income Americans have seen their income come down by \$4,300. This is a—this is a tax in and of itself. I'll call it the economy tax. It's been crushing. The same time, gasoline prices have doubled under the president, electric rates are up, food prices are up, health care costs have gone up by \$2,500 a family.

Middle-income families are being crushed. And so the question is how to get them going again, and I've described it. It's energy and trade, the right kind of training programs, balancing our budget and helping small business. Those are the—the cornerstones of my plan.

But the president mentioned a couple of other ideas, and I'll just note: first, education. I agree, education is key, particularly the future of our economy. But our training programs right now, we got 47 of them housed in the federal government, reporting to eight different agencies. **Overhead** is overwhelming. We got to get those dollars back to the states and go to the workers so they can create their own pathways to getting the training they need for

点, 你有问题想直接向总统提问吗?

罗姆尼先生:嗯,当然有。我想更正一下刚才总统所提到的观点,并逐条解释。首先,我并没有要减免5万亿美元税收的打算,我要减免的税收根本没有达到你们所谈论的那个程度。我的观点是我们应该为中产阶级减税,但是我也没有打算要减免那些应该由高收入人群所承担的税。高收入人群在这方面做得很好。不管谁是总统,他们都做得很棒。

那些现在正处于困境中的人们就是美国的中产阶级。以总统先生的政策来看,美国的中产阶级已经被他毁掉了。他们正在垮掉。美国的中产阶级已经可以看到他们的收入少了 4300 美元。这本身就是一种税收。我把它称之为经济税收,而这种税收也已垮掉了。与此同时,在总统先生的领导下,汽油的价格翻了一倍,电力价格上涨,食品价格上升,而每个家庭的医疗保险费用也已经增长了 2500 美元。

中产阶级家庭也被击垮了。所以现在的问题是如何使他们再次发挥作用,而 关于这一点我已经为大家描述过了。也就 是通过能源、贸易和恰当的培训计划,来 平衡我们的预算,资助小企业,而这些也 是——是我计划中的最重要部分。

但是,总统先生还提到了很多其他的观念,我将一一为大家阐明。首先,教育问题。我同意教育是关键,特别是它关系到我国未来的经济发展。但是我们当下的培训计划共设了47个培训机构,覆盖了整个联邦政府,需要同时向8个不同的机构汇报。间接费用实在是让人不知所措。我们可以把这些钱分拨

cornerstone n. 最重要部分

overhead n. 间接费用,日常开支