

· 总统英语演讲全书 ·

THE USA PRESIDENTIAL

INAUGURAL SPEECHES

美国总统就职演说

总统的 战略


施远·主编
陈雯·译



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| 前言 |

历史与未来,战争与和平,教育与发展……世界名人以敏锐的才思和雄辩阐述了人类所共同面临的问题,使得这些演说精彩异常。

这一套书以双语的形式呈现给读者,既能满足读者欣赏原汁原味英语的需求,又能够让读者在把握世界局势的同时,学到最具感召力的演讲技巧。

这套双语演讲书系一共有四本,分别是《名校之声——美国总统世界名校演说》《危机中的声音——世界名流金融危机演说》《总统的论战——美国总统竞选辩论》《总统的战略——美国总统就职演说》。

《名校之声——美国总统世界名校演说》,收录了美国第31任至第44任总统(第41任总统乔治·赫伯特·布什除外;有一些不是此总统任内的演说,因为其具有的广泛影响力,也搜集在内)在世界名校的著名演说。演说大部分内容涉及教育、人才培养等方面的问题,少量内容涉及政治、外交、科技、军事等方面的问题。这些演说时间跨度达半个多世纪,所以具体的内容跟当时的国际政治形式密切相关,读者在阅读时,要特别注意这一点。

《危机中的声音——世界名流金融危机演说》,遴选了十篇国际重量级金融名流的精彩演说。金融危机给世界带来了震撼,

成为举世关注的焦点。国际风云人物,包括奥巴马、萨科齐、蒙代尔、索罗斯等,他们各自从多个维度和层面对这场席卷全球的金融危机进行了深入的分析 and 精彩的演说。相信他们极具权威性的论点,以及对全球未来经济格局的展望,能够带给所有人足够的思考和镇定。当然,百家之言,定会有从各自不同立场和角度出发所带来的局限性,这一点读者在阅读时,要特别谨慎。

《总统的论战——美国总统竞选辩论》,选取了数十篇美国总统精彩的竞选辩论。他们用纯熟规范的语言,论述了内政、外交、经济、教育、社会保障、婚姻、医疗等各方面的问題,展现了他们严密的逻辑、雄辩的口才和治国的方略,也为我们了解美国社会发展的轨迹、施政方针和世界热点问题,提供了翔实的素材。同时也可大大提高我们的英语口语表达能力和辩论技巧。

《总统的战略——美国总统就职演说》,遴选了数十篇美国总统精彩的就职演说。就职演说,是美国总统踏上政治舞台的开场白。他们借此表明立场,阐述政见,许下诺言,意图鼓动民心,实现其英雄梦想。他们纯熟规范的语言、严密的逻辑、斐然的文采和治国的方略,不仅是忠诚、智慧和野心的生动写照,更反映出美国政治、经济、社会和历史演变的轨迹,但也暴露了因其时代的阶级的历史局限性而导致的夸夸其谈和冠冕堂皇。

在本书系的编译过程中,我们严格遵循了以下两条基本原则:一、科学性强。无论是何种思想模式、价值观念或意识形态,但其论述必须是科学而严谨的。二、实用性强。大部分的演讲内容涉及历史和现代的经济社会等情况,可使读者更真实地了解过去,把握现在,展望未来。但是由于水平有限,编译之中难免有不足之处,在此深表歉意,并恳请广大读者不吝指正!

编者

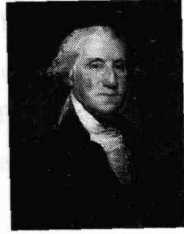
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George Washington

April 30, 1789

Fellow-Citizens of the Senate and of the House of Representatives:

Among the vicissitudes incident to life no event could have filled me with greater anxieties than that of which the notification was transmitted by your order, and received on the 14th day of the present month. On the one hand, I was summoned by my country, whose voice I can never hear but with veneration and love, from a retreat which I had chosen with the fondest predilection, and, in my flattering hopes, with an immutable decision, as the asylum of my declining years—a retreat which was rendered every day more necessary as well as more dear to me by the addition of habit to inclination, and of frequent interruptions in my health to the gradual waste committed on it by time. On the other hand, the magnitude and difficulty of the trust to which the voice of my country called me, being sufficient to awaken in the wisest and most experienced of her citi-

zens a distrustful scrutiny into his qualifications, could not but overwhelm with despondence one who inheriting inferior endowments from nature and unpracticed in the duties of civil administration ought to be peculiarly conscious of his own deficiencies. In this conflict of emotions all I dare aver is that it has been my faithful study to collect my duty from a just appreciation of every circumstance by which it might be affected. All I dare hope is that if, in executing this task, I have been too much swayed by a grateful remembrance of former instances, or by an affectionate sensibility to this transcendent proof of the confidence of my fellow-citizens, and have thence too little consulted my incapacity as well as disinclination for the weighty and untried cares before me, my error will be palliated by the motives which mislead me, and its consequences be judged by my country with some share of the partiality in which they originated.

Such being the impressions under which I have, in obedience to the public summons, repaired to the present station, it would be peculiarly improper to omit in this first official act my fervent supplications to that Almighty Being who rules over the universe, who presides in the councils of nations, and whose providential aids can supply every human defect, that His benediction may consecrate to the liberties and happiness of the people of the United States a Government instituted by themselves for these essential purposes, and may enable every instrument employed in its administration to execute with success the functions allotted to his charge. In tendering this homage to the Great Author of every public and private good, I assure myself that it expresses your sentiments not less than my own, nor those of my fellow-citizens at large less than either. No people can be bound to acknowledge and adore the Invisible Hand which conducts the affairs of men more than those of the United

States. Every step by which they have advanced to the character of an independent nation seems to have been distinguished by some token of providential agency; and in the important revolution just accomplished in the system of their united government the tranquil deliberations and voluntary consent of so many distinct communities from which the event has resulted can not be compared with the means by which most governments have been established without some return of pious gratitude, along with an humble anticipation of the future blessings which the past seem to presage. These reflections, arising out of the present crisis, have forced themselves too strongly on my mind to be suppressed. You will join with me, I trust, in thinking that there are none under the influence of which the proceedings of a new and free government can more auspiciously commence.

By the article establishing the executive department it is made the duty of the President "to recommend to your consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient." The circumstances under which I now meet you will acquit me from entering into that subject further than to refer to the great constitutional charter under which you are assembled, and which, in defining your powers, designates the objects to which your attention is to be given. It will be more consistent with those circumstances, and far more congenial with the feelings which actuate me, to substitute, in place of a recommendation of particular measures, the tribute that is due to the talents, the rectitude, and the patriotism which adorn the characters selected to devise and adopt them. In these honorable qualifications I behold the surest pledges that as on one side no local prejudices or attachments, no separate views nor party animosities, will misdirect the comprehensive and equal eye which ought to watch over this great assemblage of communities and interests, so, on an-

other, that the foundation of our national policy will be laid in the pure and immutable principles of private morality, and the preeminence of free government be exemplified by all the attributes which can win the affections of its citizens and command the respect of the world. I dwell on this prospect with every satisfaction which an ardent love for my country can inspire, since there is no truth more thoroughly established than that there exists in the economy and course of nature an indissoluble union between virtue and happiness; between duty and advantage; between the genuine maxims of an honest and magnanimous policy and the solid rewards of public prosperity and felicity; since we ought to be no less persuaded that the propitious smiles of Heaven can never be expected on a nation that disregards the eternal rules of order and right which Heaven itself has ordained; and since the preservation of the sacred fire of liberty and the destiny of the republican model of government are justly considered, perhaps, as deeply, as finally, staked on the experiment entrusted to the hands of the American people.

Besides the ordinary objects submitted to your care, it will remain with your judgment to decide how far an exercise of the occasional power delegated by the fifth article of the Constitution is rendered expedient at the present juncture by the nature of objections which have been urged against the system, or by the degree of inquietude which has given birth to them. Instead of undertaking particular recommendations on this subject, in which I could be guided by no lights derived from official opportunities. I shall again give way to my entire confidence in your discernment and pursuit of the public good; for I assure myself that whilst you carefully avoid every alteration which might endanger the benefits of an united and effective government, or which ought to await the future lessons of experience, a reverence for the characteristic rights of freemen and a re-

gard for the public harmony will sufficiently influence your deliberations on the question how far the former can be impregnably fortified or the latter be safely and advantageously promoted.

To the foregoing observations I have one to add, which will be most properly addressed to the House of Representatives. It concerns myself, and will therefore be as brief as possible. When I was first honored with a call into the service of my country, then on the eve of an arduous struggle for its liberties, the light in which I contemplated my duty required that I should renounce every pecuniary compensation. From this resolution I have in no instance departed; and being still under the impressions which produced it, I must decline as inapplicable to myself any share in the personal emoluments which may be indispensably included in a permanent provision for the executive department, and must accordingly pray that the pecuniary estimates for the station in which I am placed may during my continuance in it be limited to such actual expenditures as the public good may be thought to require.

Having thus imparted to you my sentiments as they have been awakened by the occasion which brings us together, I shall take my present leave; but not without resorting once more to the benign Parent of the Human Race in humble supplication that, since He has been pleased to favor the American people with opportunities for deliberating in perfect tranquility, and dispositions for deciding with unparalleled unanimity on a form of government for the security of their union and the advancement of their happiness, so His divine blessing may be equally 'conspicuous' in the enlarged views, the temperate consultations, and the wise measures on which the success of this Government must depend.

乔治·华盛顿^①

1789年4月30日

参议院和众议院的同胞们：

在跌宕起伏的人生中，令我感到最为焦虑的事情，莫过于在本月14日收到你们的委任令。一方面，祖国召唤我就任此职，对此我永远心怀崇敬和感恩。但我偏偏选择了隐退，并希望在隐退中安度余生。日复一日，我越来越感到隐退的必要，并且也已习惯退居幕后。岁月催人老，身体也常常使我感到力不从心。另一方面，这一职责如此重大而艰巨，就连那些经验丰富的有识之士都会觉得难以胜任。而我天资愚笨，也没有管理政府的实践经验，理应备觉能力匮乏。怀着这种矛盾的心情，我唯一敢向你们保证的便是，我一定会仔细地审时度势，一切从实际出发。如果我在执行这项任务的过程中，因过分依赖过去的经验，或因感恩于公民们对我的高度信任而受到太大影响，以致在处理重大的、从未尝试过的事务时，并未考虑到自己能力有限，并持有偏见，我希望我的错误会因为是由于良好的初衷而有所减轻，而大家在评判我的行为时，也能适当地予以谅解。

既然现在我遵从公众的召唤，发表就职感言，那么，借此机会，我虔诚地向全能的上帝祈福，就再合适不过了。上帝统治着宇宙，主宰着各国政府，上帝的神助能弥补人类的任何不足。祈求上帝赐福，保佑一个为美国人民的自由和幸福而组建的政府，保佑他为这些基本的目的所做出的奉献，保佑政府成功地发挥其各项措施的作用。我坚信，向公众利益和个人利益的伟

^① 美利坚合众国的第1任总统(1789—1797)。1792年，他再次当选总统，并以满票当选。连任两届后，他发表了著名的《告别书》，拒绝再连任。此举被传为历史佳话。

大缔造者献上这份崇高的敬意,不仅是我个人感情的流露,也是广大人民的意见。美国人比任何人都更坚定不移地相信和崇拜这只掌管人间事务的“看不见的手”。美国在迈向独立国家的每一步进程中,似乎都在某种天佑的庇护之下;在刚刚完成的联邦政府体制的重大改革中,如果不是因虔诚的感恩而得到某种回报,如果不是从历史中看到了即将到来的幸福而心怀谦恭地期待,我们众多不同的集团不可能平静权衡、自愿支持来完成改革,这是组建大多数政府所采用的方式所无法比拟的。在目前重要的历史关头,我之所以产生这些想法,确实是深有所感,不能自己。我相信大家会和我怀有同感,只有仰仗上帝的力量,一个新生的、自由的政府才能走向繁荣昌盛。

根据行政部门的设立条款,总统有责任“将他认为必要的妥当的措施提请国会审议”^①。此时,在各位面前,恕我不深入讨论这个问题,我只想提一下使我们今天齐聚一堂的伟大宪法。它限制了各位的权利范围,指出了各位应该注意的事项。在这种场合,不应提及具体措施,而更为恰当、也更能表达我内心感受的做法是,感谢将要规划和采纳这些措施的当选者的才能、正直和爱国心。从这些可敬的品格中,我听到了最可靠的誓言:一方面,任何地方偏见或地方感情,任何意见分歧或党派仇视,都无法让我们丧失全局观和公平理念,让我们违背集体利益;另一方面,国家应当建立在刚正不阿的个人道德原则之上,而杰出又自由的政府是深得民心并为全世界所尊敬的。我对国家的热爱使我完全有理由满怀憧憬,因为根据经济与自然界的发展规律,美德与幸福、责任与利益、恪守诚信宽厚的政策与获得社会繁荣的幸福是密不可分,相互统一的,这是亘古不变的真理;因为我们应该同样相信,既然上帝亲自制订了永恒的秩序和法则,他绝不可能容忍背离这些法则的国家;因为最终人们还是理所当然地、深信不疑地把维护神圣的自由之火和

^① 参见美国宪法第二条第三款。

共和制政府命运的赌注,押在了美国人进行的实验上。

除了提请各位注意的一般事项,当前,对于激烈反对共和制的各种意见的性质,或因这些反对引起的不安,在必要时行使宪法第五条授予的权力究竟有多大好处,将留待你们加以判断并做出决定。在这个问题上,从我过去担任过的职务中并无可借鉴之处,因此我不提具体建议,而是再一次完全信任公众的鉴别力和对公共利益的追求;因为我相信,各位只要谨慎处之,避免采取任何行动而危及团结而高效的政府利益,或令我们遭受后悔莫及的教训,那么,加之对自由人特有权利的尊重和对社会和谐的关注,大家就能仔细斟酌,明白应该怎样坚定不移地加强前者,促进后者。

除上述意见外,我还要补充一点,这一点向众议院提出最为适宜。这条意见涉及本人,因此我会尽量简而言之。我第一次荣幸地奉召为国效劳时,我们的国家正在为争取自由而抗争,对于我的职位的理解,促使我放弃任何俸禄。我一直信守这一决定,时至今日,依然如此。因此,我必须谢绝享有任何个人薪酬,薪酬对我来说并不合适。然而,行政部门享有薪酬有可能成为永久性规定,这是不可避免的趋势。既然如此,我必须恳请各位,在计算我的任职所需要的费用时,可以根据我的任期内公共利益所需的实际费用为限。

有感于这一聚会场合的想法,我已向各位表明,告别之前,我要再一次以谦恭的心情祈求仁慈的上帝赐福。因为承蒙上帝的恩赐,美国人有了慢慢酌量、酝酿美好和平的机会,以及为确保联邦的安全和追求幸福,在决定政府体制的问题上达成了前所未有的一致;既然如此,上帝的恩惠也能推而广之,帮助我们和平协商,并采取明智行事,这样,我们的政府才能取得成功。



John Adams
March 4, 1797

When it was first perceived, in early times, that no middle course for America remained between unlimited submission to a foreign legislature and a total independence of its claims, men of reflection were less apprehensive of danger from the formidable power of fleets and armies they must determine to resist than from those contests and dissensions which would certainly arise concerning the forms of government to be instituted over the whole and over the parts of this extensive country. Relying, however, on the purity of their intentions, the justice of their cause, and the integrity and intelligence of the people, under an overruling Providence which had so signally protected this country from the first, the representatives of this nation, then consisting of little more than half its present number, not only broke to pieces the chains which were forging and the rod of iron that was lifted up, but frankly cut asunder the ties which had bound them, and launched into an ocean of uncertainty.

The zeal and ardor of the people during the Revolutionary War, supplying the place of government, commanded a degree of order sufficient at least for the temporary preservation of society. The Confederation which was early felt to be necessary was prepared from the models of the Batavian and Helvetic confederacies, the only examples which remain with any detail and precision in history, and certainly the only ones which the people at large had ever considered. But reflecting on the striking difference in so many particulars between this country and those where a courier may go from the seat of government to the frontier in a single day, it was then certainly foreseen by some who assisted in Congress at the formation of it that it could not be durable.

Negligence of its regulations, inattention to its recommendations, if not disobedience to its authority, not only in individuals but in States, soon appeared with their melancholy consequences—universal languor, jealousies and rivalries of States, decline of navigation and commerce, discouragement of necessary manufactures, universal fall in the value of lands and their produce, contempt of public and private faith, loss of consideration and credit with foreign nations, and at length in discontents, animosities, combinations, partial conventions, and insurrection, threatening some great national calamity.

In this dangerous crisis the people of America were not abandoned by their usual good sense, presence of mind, resolution, or integrity. Measures were pursued to concert a plan to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty. The public disquisitions, discussions, and deliberations issued in the present happy Constitution of Government.