

# S Elected Inaugural Addresses



英 汉 对 照 OF THE  
PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES

## 美国历届总统就职演说精萃

跟美国总统学地道美语，练一流口才

BOOK

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# 美国历届总统 就职演说精华

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# 前言

美国总统就职演说就是就职典礼的重要组成部分。就职演说不仅确定了庆典活动的基调，而且拉开了新政府执政的序幕，所以格外令人瞩目。虽然美国宪法并未明文规定，新当选的总统需发表就职演说，但从1789年以来，每隔四年，历届总统都要借此机会，或表明立场，或阐述政见，或展望未来，或作出许诺，以求弥合分歧、鼓动民心 and 图谋大业。这已经成为美国的一个惯例。

为了确保首次“公开亮相”取得成功，白宫的新主人无不煞费苦心。演说词通常由文理俱佳的“讲稿撰写人”推敲定夺，谋篇布局特别用心，力求逻辑严密，而遣词造句也特别考究，力求语调铿锵，甚至演说者的姿态也需事先演练，以期最大限度地赢得媒体和听众。因此，这些演说既可以展现总统个人的风采，又不乏华章丽句和“政策信息”，具有相当的审美情趣和研究价值。

迄今为止，美国产生了42位总统。其中，有37位是选举出来的，共发表过53篇就职演说或连任演说；另外5位未经选举，而是依据美国宪法接替了亡故或辞职总统的职位，没有发表过就职演说。本书参照美国《时代周刊》、《芝加哥论坛报》和《美国历史杂志》对历届总统的政绩及其影响的评估结果，以美国历史进程为主要线索，并且兼顾演说爱好者、英语学习者和美国问题研究者等多方面人士的需要，从中挑选了25位总统的33篇演说，供读者研究、赏析和品评。

这25位总统大多在美国历史上占有特殊的地位，其演说亦各具特色。其中，华盛顿、林肯、富兰克林·罗斯福是美国人心目中最伟

大的三位总统，他们的演说超越了时空，久为流传。杰斐逊和威尔逊据称是最具文采的总统，而肯尼迪、尼克松和里根是口才最好的总统，他们的演说都显得才气横溢，光彩照人。亨利·亚当斯是美国形成两党后的第一位总统；麦迪逊是唯一一位在执政期间遭遇外敌（英国）入侵的总统；门罗被认为是开创美国外交新格局（门罗主义）的总统；杰克逊是第一位生于“小木屋”并强化了总统制的总统；波尔克是为美国扩张领土最多的总统；格兰特是第一位获得“五星上将”军衔、却也是“政绩较糟糕”的总统；布什是所谓“百年纪念总统”，距华盛顿执政恰好是二百年；而杜鲁门和克林顿，则分别是冷战开始和结束后当选的总统，他们的演说都离不开当时的历史条件。所以应该注意的是，从语言角度来看，尽管这些总统的演说颇具功力，但夹杂着不少冠冕堂皇和言不符实之词；从内容上来看，这些演说与美国乃至世界局势紧密相关，是特定历史时期和特定场合的产物，并明显带有时代的、民族的和阶级的烙印。

本书的英文资料有两个来源：一是美国国会汇编的《美国总统就职演说集：从乔治·华盛顿到理查德·尼克松》（美国政府出版署 1974 年英文版），二是有选择地利用了因特网上的资源，网址是：<http://odur.let.rug.nl/~usa/P/index.htm>，和 <http://www.discovery.com/guides/history/historybuff/presidents/presidents.html>。至于译文，来自于王建华主持编译的《美国历届总统就职演说精选》（江西人民出版社 1989 年版），并在此基础上做了重要的调整、修改和补充。考虑到读者的实际需要，也为了加强全书的完整性和实用性，我们为入选的每位总统都作了扼要介绍，对有关历史事件和重要引语加上了注释，并增加了三个附录。全书承蒙何百华先生拨冗审读和有关译校者慷慨支持，在此一并致谢。

编者

二〇〇〇年十一月

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## 乔治·华盛顿<sup>\*</sup> 首任就职演说

1789年4月30日

## George Washington FIRST INAUGURAL ADDRESS

April 30, 1789

参议院和众议院的公民们：

在人生沉浮中，没有一件事能比本月14日收到根据你们的命令送达的通知更使我焦虑不安。一方面，国家召唤我出任此职，对于她的召唤，我永远只能肃然敬从。而我十分偏爱、并曾选择了隐退，我还满怀奢望，矢志不移，誓愿以此作为暮年归宿。斗转星移，我越来越感到隐退的必要和亲切，因为喜爱之余，我已经习惯，还因为岁月催人渐老，身体常感不适。另一方

**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

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<sup>\*</sup> 华盛顿(1732—1799)，美利坚合众国奠基人之一，第1任总统(1789—1797)，美国历史上唯一以全部选举人票而两次当选的总统。任满后拒绝三连任，传为历史佳话。本篇是在临时首都纽约发表的，表达了他在结束隐退、出山任职时的惶恐心情，和他要在君主大国控制的世界上，进行共和制“实验”的决心。

面，国家召唤我担负的责任如此重大和艰巨，足以使国内最有才智和经验的人度德量力；而我天资愚钝，又无民政管理的实践，应该倍觉自己能力之不足，因此必然感到难以荷此重任。怀着这种矛盾的心情，我唯一敢断言的是，通过正确理解可能产生影响的各种情况来克尽厥职，乃是我忠贞不渝的努力目标。我唯一敢祈望的是，如果我在执行这项任务时因陶醉于往事，或因由衷感到公民们对我高度的信赖，<sup>①</sup>因而过分受到了影响，以致在处理从未经历过的大事时，忽视了自己的无能和消极，我的错误将会由于使我误入歧途的各种动机而减轻，而大家在评判错误的后果时，也会适当包涵产生这些动机的偏见。

既然这就是我在遵奉公众召唤就任现职时的感想，那么，在此宣誓就职之际，如不热忱地祈求全能的

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 citizens 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 pecu-

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① 华盛顿在本次和4年后的连任竞选中，都以100%选举人票当选，这在美国总统选举史上是唯一例外。

上帝就极其失当。因为上帝统治着宇宙，主宰着各国政府，他的神助能弥补人类的任何不足。愿上帝赐福，保佑一个为美国人民的自由和幸福而组成的政府，保佑它为这些基本目的而作出奉献，保佑政府的各项行政措施在我负责之下都能成功地发挥作用。我相信，在向公众利益和私人利益的伟大缔造者献上这份崇敬时，这些话也同样表达了各位和广大公民的心意。没有人能比美国人更坚定不移地承认和崇拜掌管人间事务的上帝。他们在迈向独立国家的进程中，似乎每走一步都有某种天佑的迹象；他们在刚刚完成的联邦政府体制的重大改革中，<sup>②</sup>如果不是因虔诚的感恩而得到某种回报，如果不是谦卑地期待着过去有所预示的赐福的到来，那么，通过众多截然不同的集团的平静思考和自愿赞同来完成改革，这种方式是难以同大多数

liarily 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

② 指通过制宪会议，原来松散的邦联转变成统一的联邦。

政府在组建过程中所采用的方式相比的。在目前转折关头，我产生这些想法确实是深有所感而不能自己。我相信大家会和我怀有同感，即除了仰仗上帝的力量，一个新生的自由政府别无他法能一开始就事事如意。

根据设立行政部门的条款，总统有责任“将他认为必要而妥善的措施提请国会审议”。<sup>③</sup>但在目前与各位见面的这个场合，恕我不进一步讨论这个问题，而只要提一下伟大的宪法，它使各位今天聚集一堂，它规定了各位的权限，指出了各位应该注意的目标。在这样的场合，更恰当、也更能反映我内心激情的做法是不提出具体措施，而是称颂将要规划和采纳这些措施的当选者的才能、正直和爱国心。我从这些高贵品格中看到了最可靠的保证：其一，任何地方偏见或地方感情，任何意见分歧或党派敌视，

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

<sup>③</sup> 参见合众国宪法第二条第三节。

都不能使我们偏离全局观点和公平观点，即必须维护这个由不同地区和利益所组成的大联合；因此，其二，我国的政策将会以纯正不移的个人道德原则为基础，而自由政府将会以赢得民心 and 全世界尊敬的一切特点而显示其优越性。我对国家的一片热爱之心激励着我满怀喜悦地展望这幅远景，因为根据天命和自然进程，在美德与幸福之间，责任与利益之间，恪守诚实宽厚的政策与获得社会繁荣幸福的硕果之间，有着密不可分的统一；因为我们应该同样相信，上帝亲自规定了永恒的秩序和权利法则，它决不可能对无视这些法则的国家慈颜含笑；因为人们理所当然地、满怀深情地、也许是最后一次地把维护神圣的自由之火和共和制政府的命运，系于美国人所遵命进行的实验上。

除了提请各位注意的一般事务外，在当前时刻，根据

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 another, 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

激烈反对共和制的各种意见的性质，或根据引起这些意见的不安程度，在必要时行使宪法第五条授予的权利究竟有多大益处，将留待你们来加以判断和决定。<sup>④</sup>在这个问题上，我无法从过去担任过的职务中找到借鉴，因此我不提具体建议，而是再一次完全信任各位对公众利益的辨别和追求；因为我相信，各位只要谨慎避免作出任何可能危及团结而有效的政府的利益的修订，或避免作出应该等待未来经验教训的修订，那么，各位对自由人特有权利的尊重和对社会和谐的关注，就足以影响大家慎重考虑应在何种程度上坚定不移地加强前者，并有利无弊地促进后者。

除上述意见外，我还要补充一点，而且向众议院提出最为恰当。这条意见涉及到本人，因此宜尽量讲得简短一些。我第一次荣幸地奉召为国效劳时，正值我国为

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 regard for the public harmony will sufficiently influence your deliberations on the question how far the former can be impregably 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

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④ 该条明确规定了提出和批准宪法修正案的途径。

自由而艰苦奋斗之际，我对我的职责的看法要求我必须放弃任何俸禄。<sup>⑤</sup>我从未违背过这一决定。如今，促使我作出这一决定的想法仍然支配着我，因此，我必须拒绝享用任何个人报酬，并认为这对我来说是不适宜的，而不可避免的是，行政部门享有俸金有可能被列入永久性规定。同样，我必须恳求各位，在估算我就任的这个职位所需要的费用时，可以根据我的任期以公共利益所需的实际费用为限。

我已将有感于这一聚会场合的想法奉告各位，现在我就要向大家告辞；但在此之前，我要再一次以谦卑的心情祈求仁慈的上帝给予帮助。因为承蒙上帝的恩赐，美国人有了深思熟虑的机会，以及为确保联邦的安全和促进幸福，用前所未有的一致意见来决定政府体制的意向，既然如此，上帝

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 tranquillity, and dispositions for deciding with unparalleled unanimity on a form of government for the se-

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<sup>⑤</sup> 华班顿任大陆军总司令时，只要求付给他作为总司令的开支金额，而不接受另一笔大约每月 500 美元的额外薪俸。



将同样明显地保佑我们能扩大眼界,稳健地进行协商,并采取明智的措施,而这些都是本届政府取得成功所必不可少的依靠。

curity 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.

王建华 译