



亚伯拉罕·林肯  
赫伯特·胡佛  
德怀特·艾森豪威尔

林登·约翰逊  
理查德·尼克松  
比尔·克林顿

# 美国总统 竞选演说

Selected campaign speeches of  
the American presidents

精选

汉/英/对/照

王建华/主编

江西出版集团·江西人民出版社



## 图书在版编目(CIP)数据

美国总统竞选演说精选: 英汉对照/王建华主编.

—南昌: 江西人民出版社, 2008. 1(2011. 9 重印)

ISBN 978 - 7 - 210 - 03750 - 7

I. 美… II. 王… III. ①英语—汉语—对照读物②总统一演说—汇编—美国

IV. H319. 4: D

中国版本图书馆 CIP 数据核字(2007) 第 195342 号

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江西出版集团  
江西人民出版社 出版发行

南昌市红星印刷有限公司印刷 新华书店经销

2011 年 9 月第 2 版 2011 年 9 月第 1 次印刷

开本: 787 毫米 × 1092 毫米 1/16 印张: 19.75

字数: 250 千

ISBN 978 - 7 - 210 - 03750 - 7 定价: 35.00 元

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江西人民出版社 地址: 南昌市三经路 47 号附 1 号  
邮政编码: 330006 传真电话: 6898827 电话: 6898893(发行部)

网址: [www.jxp-ph.com](http://www.jxp-ph.com)

E-mail: [jxp-ph@tom.com](mailto:jxp-ph@tom.com) web@[jxp-ph.com](http://jxp-ph.com)

(赣人版图书凡属印刷、装订错误, 请随时向承印厂调换)

## 前 言

四年一度的美国总统选举是一道奇特的风景。从春季拉开预选的帷幕,到夏季召开民主、共和两党代表大会,再到秋季展开巡回竞选活动,直到法定的全国大选日(11月第一个星期二),在差不多9个月的时间里,民主、共和两党都不遗余力,其他小党虽为点缀也不甘示弱,而寂寞难耐的独立派人士,也会使尽浑身解数。演讲、集会、民意测验此起彼伏,广告、口号、空头诺言铺天盖地,新闻、谣传、小道消息不胫而走。以致一位美国前总统不无担忧地说:“美国人除了竞选,无所事事。”

本书汇集了美国政界名流为问鼎白宫而发表的演说共26篇。这些演说可分为两类,一类是在政党代表大会上接受总统候选人提名后所发表的演说,另一类是候选人在巡游各地时所发表的演说。前者比较严密,篇幅较长,演说者往往遵照大会的旨意,提出日后的执政口号或施政蓝图,如罗斯福的“新政”,肯尼迪的“新边疆”,约翰逊的“伟大社会”等等;后者篇幅较短,更注重即兴发挥,更具有针对性,如杜鲁门挖苦对手的演说,肯尼迪的辩论演说,里根的广播演说,老布什的庆功演说,等等。但无论属于哪一类,它们的共同目的只有一个,那就是利用一切可以利用的手段,甚至不择手段,使自己立于不败,使对手相形见绌,最大限度地争取选民和赢得选票。

本书是专为广大演说爱好者和所有对美国问题感兴趣的人设计的。它是一个窗口,可以一睹美国竞选者的风采及其驾驭语言的技巧;它是一面镜子,可以折射出美国政坛的激烈倾轧、美国竞选的特点和弊端;它又是一部文献集,可以用历史事实来评判竞选者的言论,并探寻美国两党制的运行轨迹。

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亚伯拉罕·林肯\*

1858 年 8 月 27 日

## 与道格拉斯法官第二次大辩论开场演说

上星期六，道格拉斯法官和我进行了第一次公开辩论。他先说一个小时，我说一个半小时，他再答复半个小时。今天的顺序正好相反。我先说一个小时，他说一个半小时，我再答复半

\* 美国第 16 任总统(1861—1865)，共和党人，曾领导人民投入南北战争，挽救了联邦，重新统一了美国。1865 年遇刺。1858 年，在伊利诺伊州与民主党风云人物斯蒂芬·道格拉斯竞选参议员席位，展开了 7 次“树桩式”大辩论。辩论集中于一个问题：奴隶制。两人在辩论中平分秋色，道格拉斯赢得参议员席位，而林肯也名声大振，为两年后竞选总统做好了准备。

1    ∠    Opening Speech at His Second Debate with Judge Douglas

Abraham Lincoln

August 27, 1858

### *Opening Speech at His Second Debate with Judge Douglas*

On Saturday last, Judge Douglas and my self first met in public discussion. He spoke one hour, I an hour and a half, and he replied for half an hour. The order is now reversed. I am to speak an hour, he an hour and a half, and then I am to reply



个小时。上次在奥塔瓦辩论时,道格拉斯法官在开场演说中向我明确提出了7个问题。我在一个半小时里谈到了他的演说内容,而且我以为,我已经附带回答了他的第一个问题。当时我明确表示,我将回答他的其余问题,唯一条件是他也应回答我提出的同等数量的问题。他对我的建议没有反应。在后来半个小时的答复中,他也只字不提我的建议,而是至少花了一半时间来对付我,好像我曾拒绝回答他的问题。我这样说对他并非不公平。现在我提议,我将回答他的任何问题,条件是他也要回答我的问题,数量不会超过他提出的问题。我给他一个机会作出响应。这位法官一言不发。好,我告诉大家,无论他是否回答我的问题,我都将回答他的问题;我在回答之后,再提一些问题供他考虑。

自从1856年5月共和党在布卢明顿成立以来,我一直认为自己作为党员受到了党纲的约束。我如果在回答任何问题时超出了党纲范围,应当完全由我个人负责。

for half an hour. At Ottawa, in the course of his opening argument, Judge Douglas proposed to me seven distinct interrogatories. In my speech of an hour and a half, I attended to some other parts of his speech, and incidentally, as I thought, answered one of the interrogates then. I then distinctly intimated to him that I would answer the rest of his interrogatories on condition only that he should agree to answer as many for me. He made no intimation at the time of the proposition, nor did he in his reply allude at all to that suggestion of mine. I do him no injustice in saying that he occupied at least half of his reply in dealing with me as though I had refused to answer his interrogatories. I now propose that I will answer any of the interrogatories, upon condition that he will answer questions from me not exceeding the same number. I give him an opportunity to respond. The judge remains silent. I now say that I will answer his interrogatories, whether he answers mine or not and that after I have done so, I shall propound mine to him.

I have supposed myself, since the organization of the Republican party at Bloomington in May, 1856, bound as a party man by the platforms of the party then and since. If in any interrogatories which I shall answer I go beyond the scope of what is within these platforms, it will be perceived that no one is responsible but myself.

说了这些以后,我来逐一回答法官的问题。这些问题已刊登在《芝加哥时报》上。为了不致出错,我把这些问题和我的答案都记了下来。

问题一:“我希望知道,林肯今天是不是和他在1854年时一样,赞成无条件废除《逃奴追缉法》<sup>①</sup>?”

答:我现在不赞成,过去也从来不赞成无条件废除《逃奴追缉法》。

问题二:“我希望他回答,他今天是不是和1854年时一样,反对接纳更多的蓄奴州加入联邦,即使人民需要?”

答:我现在不反对,过去也从来不反对接纳更多的蓄奴州加入联邦。

问题三:“我想知道,他是不是反对接纳一个新的州带了一部被该州人民认为

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<sup>①</sup>1793年曾有过《逃奴追缉法》,1850年重新制订,明确授予奴隶主追回逃奴的权利。

Having said this much I will take up the judged interrogatories as find them printed in the *Chicago Times*, and answer them seriatim. In order that there may be no mistake about it, I have copied the interrogatories in writing, and also my answers to them.

Question 1. “I desire to know whether Lincoln today stands as he did in 1854, in favor of the unconditional repeal of the fugitive-slave law?”

Answer. I do not now, nor ever did, stand favor of the unconditional repeal of the fugitive-slave law.

Q. 2. “I desire him to answer whether he stands pledged today as he did in 1854, against the admission of any more slave States into the Union, even if the people want them?”

A. I do not now, nor ever did, stand pledged against the admission of any more slave States into the Union.

Q. 3. “I want to know whether he stands pledged against the admission of a new State into the Union with such a constitution as the people of that State

订得合理的宪法<sup>①</sup>加入联邦？”

答：我不反对接纳一个新的州带了一部被该州人民认为订得合理的宪法加入联邦。

问题四：“我想知道，他现在是不是主张在哥伦比亚特区废除奴隶制？”

答：我现在不主张在哥伦比亚特区废除奴隶制。

问题五：“我希望他回答，他是不是主张禁止各州之间的奴隶贸易？”

答：我不主张禁止各州之间的奴隶贸易。

问题六：“我希望知道，他是不是主张禁止合众国各准州实行奴隶制，无论是在《密苏里妥协案》规定的界线<sup>②</sup>以北，还是以南？”

答：我如果不是明确地至少也是含蓄地认为，国会有禁止各准州实行奴隶制

<sup>①</sup>指州宪法。

<sup>②</sup>该法案于1820年通过，规定北纬36°30′以北的新领土不准实行奴隶制。

may see fit to make? ”

A. I do not stand pledged against the admission of a new State into the Union with such a constitution as the people of that State may see fit to make.

Q. 4. “I want to know whether he stands today pledged to the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia? ”

A. I do not stand today pledged to the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia.

Q. 5. “I desire him to answer whether he stands pledged to the prohibition of the slave trade between the different States? ”

A. I do not stand pledged to the prohibition of the slave-trade between the different States.

Q. 6. “I desire to know whether he stands pledged to prohibit slavery in all the Territories of the United States, North as well as South of the Missouri Compromise line? ”

A. I am impliedly, if not expressly, pledged to a belief in the right and

的权力和义务。

问题七：“我希望他回答，他是不是反对获得新的领地，除非该领地已禁止了奴隶制？”

答：一般的说，我不反对光明正大地获得领地；具体地说，反对与否要看获得领地以后会不会加重我们之间的奴隶制问题。

好了，我的朋友们，看看这些问答就可以知道，到现在为止，我只不过回答了我不主张这个，或不主张那个。除此以外，法官没有问更多的东西。我是严格按照问题来回答的，并且老老实实回答说，问到我的各点，没有一点是我坚决主张的。但我无意束缚于他的提问形式，而要至少从中挑出几个问题，谈谈我的真实看法。

关于第一个问题——《逃奴追缉法》问题，我过去毫不犹豫地说过，现在也毫不犹豫地，我认为，根据合众国宪法，南方各州人民享有该法规定的权利。这样

duty of Congress to prohibit slavery in all the United States Territories.

Q. 7. “I desire him to answer whether he is opposed to the acquisition of any new territory unless slavery is first prohibited therein? ”

A. I am not generally opposed to honest acquisition of territory; and, in any given case, I would or would not oppose such acquisition, accordingly as I might think such acquisition would or would not aggravate the slavery question among ourselves.

Now, my friends, it will be perceived upon an examination of these questions and answers, that so far I have only answered that I was not pledged to this, that, or the other. The judge has not framed his interrogatories to ask me anything more than this, and I have answered in strict accordance with the interrogatories, and have answered truly that I am not pledged at all upon any of the points to which I have answered. But I am not disposed to hang upon exact form of his interrogatory. I am the really disposed to take up at least some of these questions, and state what I really think upon them.

As to the first one, in regard to the fugitive-slave law, I have never hesitated to say, and I do not now hesitate to say, that I think, under the Constitution of the United States, the people of the Southern States are entitled to a congressional fugitive-slave law. Having said that, I have had nothing to say in regard to the



说了以后,我对现行的《逃奴追缉法》就没有什么要说的了,不过我认为它本来应该那样制定,以便排除异议,不至于减少效力。鉴于目前并不急于修改或修正那条法令,我不愿把它作为有关奴隶制这个大问题的一个新的煽动性问题提出来。

关于第二个问题——我是否主张接纳更多的蓄奴州加入联邦,我非常坦率地告诉你们,要我对那个问题避而不谈,我会感到非常遗憾。我将非常乐于知道再没有一个蓄奴州获准加入联邦;[掌声]但是我必须补充说,任何一个准州如果在作为准州期间把奴隶制排除在外,人民在制订宪法时有公平的机会和干净的土地,不受奴隶制实际存在的影响,居然出乎意外地制订出一部蓄奴宪法,我看没有别的选择,只有让它们加入联邦。

对第三个问题的回答和刚才一样,我认为这个问题和第二个问题相同。

关于第四个问题——在哥伦比亚特区废除奴隶制。对于这个问题,我的主意

existing fugitive-slave law, further than that I think it should have been framed so as to be free from some of the objections that pertain to it, without lessening its efficiency. And in as much as we are not now in an agitation in regard to an alteration or modification of that law, I would not be the man to introduce it as a new subject of agitation upon the general question of slavery.

In regard to the other question, of whether I am pledged to the admission of any more slave states into the Union, I state to you very frankly that I would be exceedingly sorry ever to be put in a position of having to pass upon that question. I should be exceedingly glad to know that there would never be another slave State admitted into the Union; but I must add that if slavery shall be kept out of the Territories during the territorial existence of any given Territory, and then the people shall, having a fair chance and a clear field, when they come to adopt the Constitution, do such an extraordinary thing as to adopt a slave constitution, uninfluenced by the actual presence of the institution among them, I see no alternative if we own the country, but to admit them into the Union.

The third interrogatory is answered by the answer to the second, it being, as I conceive, the same as the second.

The fourth one is in regard to the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia.

已定。我将非常乐于看到哥伦比亚特区废除奴隶制。我以为国会有宪法规定的权力去废除奴隶制。但作为一名国会议员,我将不以我目前的看法来力争在哥伦比亚特区废除奴隶制,除非具备以下条件:第一,要逐步进行;第二,要由特区合格的投票人以多数票通过;第三,要给予不愿废除奴隶制的奴隶主以补偿。有了这三个条件,我承认我将非常乐于看到国会将在哥伦比亚特区废除奴隶制,用亨利·克莱<sup>①</sup>的话来说,“从我们的首都清除民族的污点”。

关于第五个问题——我必须在这儿说,关于废除各州之间的奴隶贸易问题,我可以老老实实在地回答,我目前没有任何主张。我对这个问题没有考虑成熟,还没有资格提出一种主张,并按照这个主张行事。换句话说,这个问题从未突出地摆在我面前,促使我去研究我们到底有没有宪法所赋予的权力这样做。我如果有足够

<sup>①</sup> 辉格党领袖,曾任国务卿、参议员。

In relation to that, I have my mind very distinctly made up. I should be exceedingly glad to see slavery abolished in the District of Columbia. I believe that Congress possesses the constitutional power to abolish it. Yet as a member of Congress, I should not with my present views be in favor of endeavoring to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia unless it would be upon these conditions: First, that the abolition should be gradual; second, that it should be on a vote of the majority of qualified voters in the District; and third, that compensation should be made to unwilling owners. With these three conditions, I confess I would be exceedingly glad to see Congress abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, and, in the language of Henry Clay, “sweep from our capital that foul blot upon our nation.”

In regard to the fifth interrogatory, I must say here that as to the question of the abolition of the slave-trade between the different States, I can truly answer, as I have, that I am pledged to nothing about it. It is a subject to which I have not given that mature consideration that would make me feel authorized to state a position so as to hold myself entirely bound by it. In other words, that question has never been prominently enough before me to induce me to investigate whether we really have the constitutional power to do it. I could investigate it if



时间,就可以研究一下并得出结论,但是我坦率地告诉各位和道格拉斯法官,我还没有这样做过。然而我必须说,即使我认为国会确有宪法赋予的权力去废除各州之间的奴隶贸易,我还是不赞成行使那种权力,除非按照类似我关于在哥伦比亚特区废除奴隶制所提出的那些稳健的原则去做。

关于我是否希望在合众国各准州禁止奴隶制,我已经回答得很完全、很明确,再作任何解释也不能使我的回答变得更清楚。所以,关于是否除非先在新领地禁止奴隶制否则就反对获得任何新领地,我的回答是:除了我已经写下的答案以外,我无法再通过解释或进一步说明来补充任何东西。

其实,在所有这些问题上,法官明白我的意思,而且有我的讲话记录。我想,他本以为我会在一个场合持一些见解,在另一场合又持另一些见解——他本以为我不敢在一个场合说出我在另一场合说过的话。我今天在这儿所说的话,我想是对

I had sufficient time to bring myself to a conclusion upon that subject, but I have not done so, and I say so frankly to you here and to Judge Douglas. I must say, however, that if I should be of opinion that Congress does possess the constitutional power to abolish the slave-trade among the different States, I should still not be in favor of the exercise of that power unless upon some conservative principle as I conceive it, akin to what I have said in relation to the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia.

My answer as to whether I desire that slavery should be prohibited in all the Territories of the United States is full and explicit within itself, and cannot be made clearer by any comments of mine. So I suppose in regard to the question whether I am opposed to the acquisition of any more territory unless slavery is first prohibited therein, my answer is such that I could add nothing by way of illustration, or making myself better understood, than the answer which I have placed in writing.

Now in all this the judge has me, and he has me on the record. I suppose he had flattered himself that I was really entertaining one set of opinions for one place and another set for another place that I was afraid to say at one place what I uttered at another. What I am saying here I suppose I say to a

和伊利诺伊州听众一样强烈倾向于废奴主义的广大听众说的,而且我以为,如果我的话会触犯一些人,使他们与我为敌,那么这些话也会触犯这里的一些听众。

接下来,我要向法官提几个我到目前为止所想到的问题。我准备好新问题以后,还会分批提出。现在我要提问了,只有四个问题。

问题一:如果堪萨斯人民在达到规定的大约9.3万人口之前,使用完全无可非议的手段,通过一部州宪法,并且要求联邦接纳,你会投票赞成接纳吗?

问题二:合众国一个准州的人民,在州宪法制订之前,能违反合众国任何公民的意愿,以任何合法方式把奴隶制排除在其范围之外吗?<sup>①</sup>

问题三:如果合众国最高法院裁定,各州不能把奴隶制排除在该州范围之外,

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<sup>①</sup>这个问题使对手进退两难。因为道格拉斯既主张在新领土是否实行奴隶制问题上实行“人民主权论”,即由人民投票决定;又赞成最高法院对“斯科特判例”的裁定,即认为禁止在准州实行奴隶制为违宪。

vast audience as strongly tending to Abolitionism as any audience in the State of Illinois, and I believe I am saying that which, if it would be offensive to any persons and render them enemies to myself, would be offensive to persons in this audience.

I now proceed to propound to the judge the interrogatories so far as I have framed them. I will bring forward a new installment when I get them ready. I will bring them forward now, only reaching to number four.

Question 1. If the people of Kansas shall, by means entirely unobjectionable in all other respects, adopt a State constitution, and ask admission into the Union under it, before they have the requisite number of inhabitants,—some ninety—three thousand,— will you vote to admit them?

Q. 2. Can the people of a United States Territory, in any lawful way, against the wish of any citizen of the United States, exclude slavery from its limits prior to the formation of a State constitution?

Q. 3. If the Supreme Court of the United States shall decide that States cannot exclude slavery from their limits, are you in favor of acquiescing in, adopting,

你会默认、采纳并沿用这个裁定,把它作为一个政治行动准则吗?

问题四:你赞成获得更多的领地,而不管这会在奴隶制问题上对国家产生怎样的影响吗?

道格拉斯法官在奥塔瓦向我提出问题之前读过一份决议,称这份决议是1854年在斯普林菲尔德首届伊利诺伊州共和党大会上通过的,而特朗布尔法官和我都参加了这次会议。他坚持认为,我和特朗布尔法官,或许还有整个共和党,都对这份决议所包含的原则负有责任;我明白,他提的那些问题就是从这份决议演绎出来的,他想把这份决议用作一份权威材料。

今天我要在这里说,我之所以不回答他的问题,是因为这些问题完全来源于他所读的那份决议;我之所以回答了,是因为道格拉斯法官自以为提出这些问题很适当。我现在不知道,过去也从来不知道,我对那份决议负有什么责任。

and following such decision as a rule of political action?

Q. 4. Are you in favor of acquiring additional territory, in disregard of how such acquisition may affect the nation on the slavery question?

As introductory to these interrogatories which Judge Douglas propounded to me at Ottawa, he read a set of resolutions which he said Judge Trumbull and myself had participated in adopting, in the first Republican State convention, held at Springfield, in 1854. He insisted that I and Judge Trumbull, and perhaps the entire Republican party, were responsible for the doctrines contained in the set of resolutions which he read, and I understand that it was from that set of resolutions that he deduced the interrogatories which he propounded to me using these resolutions as a sort of authority for propounding those questions to me.

Now I say here today that I do not answer his interrogatories because of their springing at all from that set of resolutions, which he read. I answered them because Judge Douglas thought fit to ask them. I do not now, nor ever did, recognize any responsibility upon myself in that set of resolutions.