

## 图书在版编目(CIP)数据

美国总统就职演说精选:汉英对照/王建华主编.

南昌:江西人民出版社,2009.5

ISBN 978-7-210-03751-4

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 195343 号

### 美国总统就职演说精选(汉英对照)

王建华 主编

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

2009年5月第2版 2009年5月第2次印刷

开本:787毫米×1092毫米 1/16 印张:20

字数:250千 印数:5001-9000册

ISBN 978-7-210-03751-4 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

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(赣人版图书凡属印刷、装订错误,请随时向承印厂调换)

## 前言

名人演说,尤其是处在历史转折关头的名人演说,总是韵味无穷,令人爱不释手。本书收录的24任美国总统的28篇就职演说,大半可以归入此类。

作为入主白宫后的首次公开亮相,美国历届总统都要借此机会表明立场,阐述政见,抚今追昔,以求鼓动民心 and 图谋大业。因此,这些演说既可独立成篇,反映当时的美国国情和国策,又可融为一集,展现美国政治、经济、社会和历史演变的轨迹。另一方面,既然是当选后的首次重要演说,历届总统必然在遣词造句上斟酌推敲,力求语调铿锵、逻辑严密、文理并茂,以留传后世。正因为这个缘故,这些演说不仅能反映总统个人的风采,而且不乏名篇佳句,在文学上自有不可忽视的地位。

为使内容更精炼,我们剔除了个别任期短暂、政绩较差因而影响不大的总统,删去了少数平淡无味或内容雷同的演说,而尽量保留处于重要历史时期、政绩斐然和富于文采的总统的演说。此外,为加强本书的可读性、整体性和实用性,我们对入选的每位总统扼要作了介绍,对演说辞适当加了注释。

应当指出,本书收录的各篇演说虽可供欣赏、参考和研究,但须注意它们不可避免地打上了民族和阶级的烙印,并受到了时代的制约。冠冕堂皇之词在演说中俯拾即是,粉饰搪塞、言不符实甚至诬蔑歪曲之处也时有所见。但这不应成为我们在阅读此书时的障碍。如果我们以历史的、科学的和分析的眼光加以审视,就不难做到开卷有益。

在编译过程中,承蒙多方协助,特此谨表谢忱。其中,尤其应提到王寅、卢野鹤、蔡鹏鸿、陈丕琮、葛一峰、陈维安、朱明权、方任等同志为翻译演说付出了艰辛的劳动;姜文彬先生不顾高龄,为本书校对了大部分译稿;何百华先生热情参加了翻译、校对、审订等多方面工作。此外,上海社会科学院情报研究所国外研究室全体同志,尤其是董进泉和谈谷铮同志,上海社会科学院图书馆诸慧同志,为本书的编译提供了宝贵的支持和帮助。当然,对于书中可能存在的、本不该有的疏误,应由编译者本人负责,并恳请广大读者不吝指正。

上海社会科学院信息研究所研究员  
中国美国史研究会理事  
王建华

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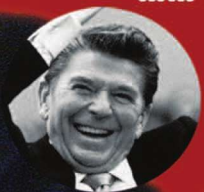




约翰·肯尼迪  
富兰克林·罗斯福  
理查德·尼克松



罗纳德·里根  
比尔·克林顿  
巴拉克·奥巴马



# 美国总统 就职演说

Selected inaugural speeches of  
the American presidents

精选

汉/英/对/照

王建华/主编  
江西人民出版社





乔治·华盛顿\*

1789年4月30日<sup>①</sup>

## 首任就职演说

参议院和众议院的同胞们：

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

\* 美利坚合众国奠基人，首任总统（1789—1797）。美国历史上唯一以全部选举人票两次当选的总统。任满后拒绝三连任，传为历史佳话。本篇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。

① 就职典礼原定3月4日在临时首都纽约举行，由于交通不便，华盛顿4月中旬才接到当选通知，所以不得不延至4月30日举行。

△ 首任就职演说 2

George Washington

April 30, 1789

### *First Inaugural Address*

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



职,对于她的召唤,我永远肃然敬从。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,理应倍觉能力之不足。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,恪尽厥职,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,或因由衷感激公民们对我高度的信赖,因而受到过多影响,以致在处理从未经历过的重要事项时,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。

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 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.

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上帝就极其失当。因为上帝统治着宇宙,主宰着各国政府,它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民众的意见。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>①</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

<sup>①</sup>指通过制宪会议,原本松散的邦联转变为统一的联邦。

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

来完成改革,这种方式是难以同大多数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>①</sup>。但在目前与各位见面的这个场合,恕我不进一步谈论这个问题,而只提一下伟大的宪法,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、正义感和爱国心。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

<sup>①</sup>参见合众国宪法第二条第三款。

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

歧或党派敌视,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,因为根据自然的法理和发展趋势,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,它绝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项,在当前时刻,根据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

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 decide how far an exercise of the occasional power delegated by the fifth article of the Constitution is rendered expedient at the present juncture



力究竟有多大益处<sup>①</sup>,将留待你们加以判断和决定。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。这条意见涉及本人,宜尽量讲得简短一些。我第一次荣幸地奉召为国效劳时,正值我国为自由而艰苦奋斗之际,我对我的职责的看法要求我放弃任何俸禄。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

<sup>①</sup>该条规定了提出和批准宪法修正案的途径。

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 impreguably 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

个人俸禄,俸禄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;但在此以前,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。

王建华 译

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.





约翰·亚当斯\*

1797 年 3 月 4 日

## 就职演说

首先,当有识之士第一次认识到,美利坚不可能在无限制屈从于外国立法机构与主张完全独立之间采取中庸之道时,他们并不惧怕必须下定决心抵抗强大的海军和陆军,而是担忧在我国广大领土上,实行何种政体来管理全国及其各个部分,这一问题必然会引起争论和分歧。但是,这个国家的代表人物,

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\* 美国第 2 任总统(1797—1801),美国形成两党后第一次由政党提名参加竞选的总统,也是最长寿的美国总统之一(享年 90 岁)。本篇发表于临时首都纽约。

John Adams

March 4, 1797

### *Inaugural Address*

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

当时人数还不到现在的一半,凭着纯洁的意向、正义的事业、人民的团结和智慧,一开始就在格外护佑这个国家的上帝的照拂下,不仅砸碎了正在炼制的锁链和向他们举起的铁棍,而且毅然切断了捆绑他们的绳索,开始向动荡不定的海洋进发。

在革命战争期间,<sup>①</sup>人民的热诚和热情奠定了政府的地位,他们要求形成至少足以暂时维持社会的某种秩序。人民最初感到有必要建立邦联时,是根据巴达维亚和海尔维希的邦联模式进行筹备的。<sup>②</sup>它们是历史上仅有的、详细而确凿地实行邦联制的例子,而且无疑也是到那时为止全人类曾经考虑采用邦联制的唯一例子。但是,考虑到美国与它们在许多具体问题上的显著区别,例如在这些国家,邮

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①指 1775—1783 年美国独立战争。

②巴达维亚系雅加达旧称,指 17 世纪荷属东印度群岛;海尔维希指 13 世纪末在永久同盟基础上形成的瑞士邦联,今为瑞士西北部一地区。

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

差在一天之内便可从政府所在地抵达边陲,因此,邦联国会的某些筹备者必然预见到这种政体不可能持久。

很快,不仅有一些人,而且有一些州,开始无视政府的规定和不听政府的建议。这些现象即便不是反抗政府的权威,也造成了令人忧郁的后果——意志普遍消沉、州与州互相猜忌和倾轧、海运和商业衰落、必要的制造业失去信心、土地和农产品价格普遍下降、国家信用和个人信用遭到鄙视、对外事务欠考虑以及对外信誉丧失,终于出现了种种不满、仇恨、结帮、偏激的集会和骚乱,这些都预示着某种全国性浩劫的到来。<sup>①</sup>

在此危急时刻,美国人并没有失去惯有的良知、镇静、决心和正直。他们想方

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<sup>①</sup>各地不断爆发起义,规模最大的是由参加过独立战争的军人谢斯领导的农民起义,促使美国领导人建立起强有力的联邦政府。

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