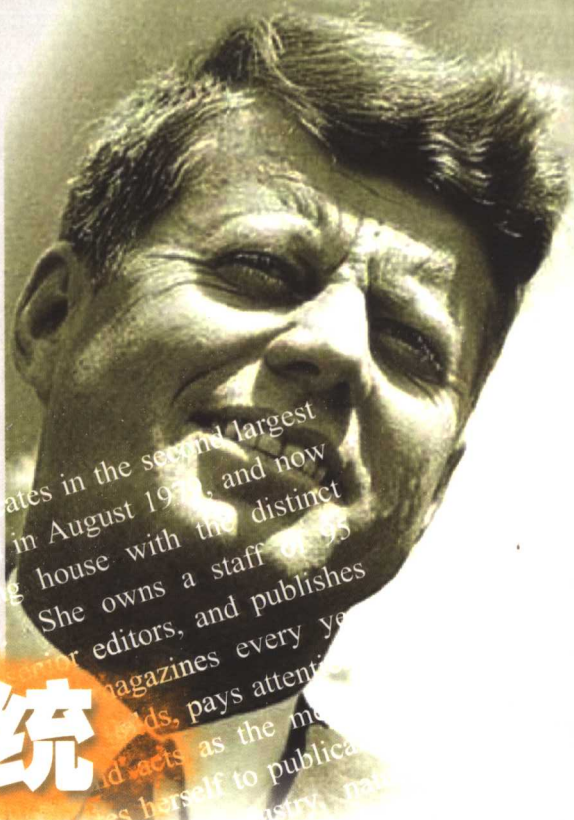


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天津科学技术出版社



# 美国总统

## 演讲集萃

总主编 崔永禄  
本书主编 孙毅兵 卞建华

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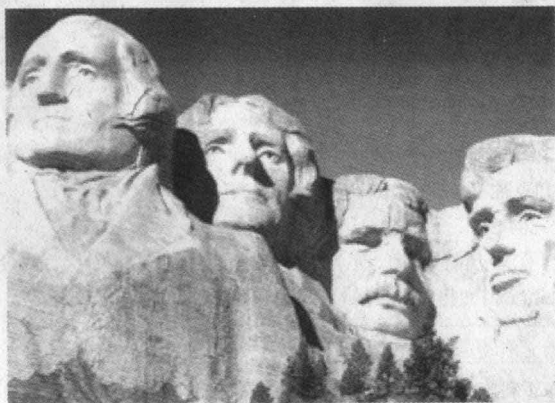
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# 美国总统演讲集萃

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## 前 言

这本《美国总统演讲集萃》集中了自美国成立以来最重要的美国总统演说，其中有美国总统的就职演说、连任演说、卸职演说、在重大事件发生时的演说以及到我国访问时发表的演说，等等。

美国总统每4年选举一次。新总统的上任都要宣誓就职，同时要发表演说。他们的演说大都反映了当时的国内外重大问题，讨论内政外交，检查以往政策的失误，制定今后的施政方针，激励和动员美国的各种力量去克服困难和实现宏伟的目标。由于他们所处的地位，从他们的演说中我们可以看到他们对时代的把握和历史感，也可以看到他们的政治才干、人格魅力和演说的才能。从他们的演说中也可以看到美国的成长、发展和变化，看到美国的历史，看到美国一个侧面的真实。

美国总统中最令人折服的恐怕要算是华盛顿、林肯和富兰克林·罗斯福了。华盛顿是美国首任总统，他上任时国内困难重重，对于总统这一重任他有“谨慎与恐惧之感”，但他的勇气和无私的品格赢得了全国人民的尊敬。他在演讲中所说的“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”成了个人品德和国家政策制定的格言。林肯以无比的勇气面对南方奴隶主挑起的内战，他恳求人们“不要对任何人怀有恶意，要对所有人怀有善意”，他解放了黑奴，维护了国家的统一，为美国的发展奠定了基础。富兰克林·罗斯福则身处20世纪30年代的经济萧条时期，他以无畏

的精神实行改革，使美国经济得到恢复发展。他在演说中表现出的不惧困难的勇气和力量，他提出的口号“我们惟一的恐惧就是恐惧本身”，至今仍给人们以巨大的鼓舞。

与美国有关的重大历史事件发生时，经常会有总统演说体现美国对这些事件的态度和反应，以及所要采取的行动。第一次世界大战时威尔逊要求国会对德国宣战以及对成立国联的建议，珍珠港事件之后罗斯福要求国会对日本宣战，与中国恢复外交关系时尼克松的讲演，以及“9·11”事件之后布什发表的反对恐怖主义的演说，无不是世界发展转折关头的真实记录。阅读他们的演说，我们可以身处历史之中，听得见枪声炮火，听得见历史车轮的轰鸣。

美国成立两百多年，到现在已经发展成为世界上的超级大国。美国总统的特殊位置，使我们能从他们的演说中得到一个独特的视角，以观察时代风云的变化，透视近代世界历史的变迁，体味一种“君临天下”的气魄。当然，美国总统的许多观点并非我们所赞成的，在阅读他们的演说时，我们要有清醒的头脑，要有分析的观点。

美国总统们的演说体现了一种制度，一种文化，有其特殊的历史背景，有其强烈的意识形态。尤其在当代国际政治文化冲突都十分剧烈的背景下，我们可以对其进行欣赏，但不可简单认同。因此对于每一篇演说，我们都尽可能地提供背景，在一些情况下我们还提出了自己的看法。不过多数情况下，我们只对文字做了一些注释，其余留待读者自己做出分析判断。

总统的演说大多经过精心准备，文字多次修改，语言精炼，修辞讲究，每一篇都可以说是优美动人的散文。每篇演说都言之有物，针对性强，这是这些演说的最突出的特点。有的说理性强，

给人以启迪，发人深思；有的动之以情，情深意切，令人感慨；有的充满挑战，激励人们奋勇前进；有的则对历史功过进行反省，促使人们开启深刻的思考。其文字的考究，修辞的功效，节奏的优美，使这些演说具有了相当的文学价值。这也是我们编选这些演说的重要原因之一。

我们的工作，意在对读者有益。但鉴于我们的水平和能力，不足之处在所难免。愿广大读者不吝指正。

编者

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# FIRST INAUGURAL ADDRESS

*George Washington*

*In the City of New York*

*Thursday, April 30<sup>1</sup>, 1789*

【原文】



**F**ellow-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<sup>2</sup>. On the one hand, I was summoned by my country, whose voice I can never hear but with veneration<sup>3</sup> and love, from a retreat which I had chosen with the fondest predilection<sup>4</sup>, and, in my flattering hopes, with an immutable<sup>5</sup> decision, as the asylum<sup>6</sup> 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<sup>7</sup> into his qualifications, could not but overwhelm with despondence<sup>8</sup> one who (inheriting inferior endowments from nature and unpracticed in the duties of civil

administration) ought to be peculiarly conscious of his own deficiencies<sup>9</sup>. 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<sup>10</sup>, and have thence too little consulted my incapacity as well as disinclination<sup>11</sup> for the weighty and untried cares before me, my error will be palliated<sup>12</sup> 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<sup>13</sup> supplications to that Almighty Being<sup>14</sup> who rules over the universe, who presides in the councils of nations, and whose providential<sup>15</sup> 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<sup>16</sup> 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<sup>17</sup> the tranquil deliberations<sup>18</sup> 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<sup>19</sup> gratitude, along with an humble anticipation of the future blessings which the past seem to presage<sup>20</sup>. 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<sup>21</sup>." 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<sup>22</sup> 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<sup>23</sup>, 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<sup>24</sup>, 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<sup>25</sup> union between virtue and happiness; between duty and advantage; between the genuine maxims of an honest and magnanimous<sup>26</sup> policy and the solid rewards of public prosperity and felicity<sup>27</sup>; since we ought to be no less persuaded that the propitious<sup>28</sup> 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<sup>29</sup>. 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<sup>30</sup> 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<sup>31</sup> 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 impregnably<sup>32</sup> 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<sup>33</sup>. 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<sup>34</sup> 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<sup>35</sup> 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.

## 【背景与赏析】



乔治·华盛顿 (George Washington, 1732—1799) 美国第一任、第一、二届总统 (1789—1797)。1732 年 2 月 22 日出生于弗吉尼亚州一个种植园主家庭, 他从父母和同父异母的哥哥那里继承了弗吉尼亚有教养的人所必须具备的道德、风度和必要的知识。1753 年, 法国士兵入侵俄亥俄州弗吉尼亚的领土。次年, 22 岁的华盛顿被委任为陆军中尉, 参加了在美洲的英法战争, 1758 年, 26 岁的华盛顿已经在战争中经历了九死一生, 赫赫有名, 他被称为“最勇敢的人”。此后几年, 作为一名上校, 华盛顿统率一支只有 300 名弗吉尼亚人的队伍, 肩负着保卫 350 英里边界的艰难任务。1775 年, 美国独立战争爆发, 在费城召开的第二次大陆会议上, 华盛顿因其丰富的作战经验和坚强的意志而被选举为总司令, 统率集合在坎布里奇待命的美国民兵。经过 6 年的艰苦作战, 1781 年, 华盛顿在法国帮助下, 迫使英军主力在约克敦投降。1783 年 3 月下旬, 英美签署和平协议。4 月 19 日战争结束, 独立战争整整进行了 8 年。战争结束后, 华盛顿时年 51 岁, 他辞去军职, 向部队告别。1787 年, 立宪大会在费城召开, 华盛顿以其高超的调解才能和崇高威望促成了一个更有力的政府的组成, 随后, 华盛顿被选举团一致投票选举为美国第一任总统。1789 年 4 月 30 日, 在万众瞩目中, 华盛顿迈着坚定而庄重的步伐走上就职的阳台, 他手按《圣经》, 在大法官的主持下, 进行了庄严的宣誓。

华盛顿曾让美国军队团结在一起, 曾把各个殖民地团结起来, 曾使大陆会议团结一致, 有效发挥作用。他本来可以成为皇帝, 他也能当选皇帝。没有华盛顿, 就没有今天的美利坚合众国, 他是美国的国父。他那举足轻重、不可或缺的地位与功绩, 他那无与伦比领袖风范及崇高的人格与威信, 使他成为美国总统名单上惟一比政府本身更重要的人物。

作为美利坚合众国的首位总统，他肩负起组建联邦政府机构的责任。他心胸宽广，把美国第一流的人物都收入他的政府。为了确立政府的威信，他力求从人的才能和品德来判断选举人才。他对各部官员的选择有两个条件：第一要受到人们的欢迎和爱戴，第二要对人民有影响力，二者缺一不可。面对政府内阁中的党派之争，他总是冷静地用超人的智能加以调解，对待联邦党人和共和党人的论争，他希望能不带偏见的将对美国有利的观点集中起来。他不想压制别人的意见。他对别人过人的才干，毫无卑劣的嫉妒之心，他把当代最伟大的政治家团结在自己周围，使之造福国家。他主张为人处事要襟怀坦白、光明磊落。

这篇就职演说是在美国临时首都纽约召开的参、众两院联席会议上发表的。在演说中，不乏妙言佳句和精彩段落，华盛顿所作的“在自己创立的政府的领导下”去保护这个新国家的“民主与自由”的誓言，已成为范文和警句，流传于世，其修辞和文字上的功力，也使其在美国文学史上具有不可低估的价值。

站在对自己抱有殷切期望的参议院和众议院成员们面前，华盛顿首先表达了自己对肩负总统重任的焦虑不安，又不得不选择听从祖国召唤的矛盾心情。他说：“祖国召唤我的声音所包含的巨大而艰难的使命，即使是对国内最明智、最富有经验的贤明之士来说，也势必对这样的重任怀有谨慎与恐惧之感，时时考虑自己是否有资格担此重任。”他说明自己意欲引退的本意，用“岁月催人渐老，身体常感不适”这种人们容易理解的自然原因拉近了与听众的距离，使众人备感亲切和信任。然后，表明自己为国尽职尽责的决心，进而说出一旦工作失误敬请原谅的谦辞，给听众留下了一个无意功名利禄的谦谦君子的形象。接着，他向“全能的上帝”表达自己的崇敬之情，并乞求上帝赐福于年轻的美利坚合众国，他申明，“除了上帝的恩佑，一个新生的自由政府别无他法能一开始就事事如意”。这样，既团结了信仰上帝的民众，又为本人以后工作中难免存在的不足之处找到了遁词，措辞非常独特。



他号召每位公民珍视新生的共和国。他称共和国为“赋予美国人民的一次实践”。随后，他提到了宪法修正案，并着重称颂维护宪法利益之人，巧妙地 from 另一角度提出了对国民的希望。华盛顿指出“必须维护”美利坚这个“由不同地区和利益组成的大联合”；他认为，美国政府将会以广泛地获得民众的拥戴和全世界尊敬的特点显示其优越性。同时，他要求国会成员避免对宪法做出任何可能危及团结、有效的政府利益的修订，避免做出尚需实践检验的修订，要尊重人权，关注社会和谐。他庄严宣布“我必须拒绝对我不相适应的任何所有个人津贴”，显示出高洁的个人志向，这是很得民心的，为美国后来的政治家树立了一个克己奉公的典范。

从语言上看，这篇演说比较突出的特点有以下 3 个方面。一是大词、长词、抽象词的运用。例如 *vicissitude*、*veneration*、*predilection*、*despondence*、*congenial* 等。这些词汇的大量使用，使语言更为正式、稳重。二是句子结构正规、各种分句的层次比较复杂，句子长度大大高于普通文章。例如，篇中第 2 句话由 88 个词组成，第 3 句话由 69 个词组成；第二段第一句话有 104 个词，第 4 句话有 91 个词；第 3 段第 4 句话有 94 个词，最后一句话有 140 个词；最后一段只有一句话，共 112 个词。这些长句虽长，但结构谨严，庄重严肃，丝毫没有拖沓冗长之感，意义表达完整，行文庄重。三是排比句、对偶（或平行）结构以及被动语态的运用。例如：第 3 段中的排比句“*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...* (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)”等，读来有一气呵成、情感强烈、气势磅礴之感。再如，演说开头第一句话，采用比较状语从句和被动语态，使行文语气得到加强，并增强了演说内容的客观性。整篇演说就像一位循循善诱的长者，以其委婉曲折、娓娓动听却又毫不含糊的语言提