



双语译林

英汉双语对照

美国大选电视辩论集

TV Debates of the U.S. Presidential Election

王瑞泽 编译

译林出版社

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TV Debates of 2008 U.S. Presidential Election

2008 年美国大选电视辩论

Democratic Presidential Candidates Debate at Drexel University

DATE: October 30, 2007.

120 minutes in length from 9:00 PM Eastern time to 11:00 PM.

LOCATION: Drexel University in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

PARTICIPANTS: Senator Joe Biden (DE);

Senator Hillary Clinton (NY);

Senator Christopher Dodd (CT);

Former Senator John Edwards (NC);

Representative Dennis Kucinich (OH);

Senator Barack Obama (IL) and;

Governor Bill Richardson (NM)

MODERATORS: Tim Russert, MSNBC ANCHOR

Brian Williams, MSNBC ANCHOR

BROADCASTER: This is the Decision 2008 Special—the Democratic Presidential Candidates Debate, from Drexel University in Philadelphia. Here is Williams.

WILLIAMS: And from the Drexel campus in Philly, good evening.

Brian Williams with Tim Russert.

We have thanked our hosts for this evening. We have thanked the candidates for being here.

Senator Obama, we'll begin with you.

You gave an interview to The New York Times over the weekend pledging in it to be more aggressive, to be tougher in your campaign against your chief rival for the nomination, the leader among Democrats so far, Senator Clinton, who is here next to you tonight.

德雷塞尔大学民主党初选辩论

时间:2007年10月30日,东部时间晚上9点至11点,时长120分钟

地点:宾夕法尼亚州费城,德雷塞尔大学

人物:特拉华州参议员乔·拜登

纽约州参议员希拉里·克林顿

康涅狄格州参议员克里斯托弗·多德

纽约州前参议员约翰·爱德华兹

俄亥俄州众议员丹尼斯·库齐尼奇

伊利诺伊州参议员巴拉克·奥巴马

新墨西哥州州长比尔·理查德森

主持人:蒂姆·拉瑟特,微软全国有线电视公司主播

布莱恩·威廉姆斯,微软全国有线电视公司主播

广播员:这里是“决策2008特别节目”——民主党总统候选人辩论,从位于费城的德雷塞尔大学现场直播。下面有请威廉姆斯。

威廉姆斯:布莱恩·威廉姆斯会同蒂姆·拉瑟特在费城的德雷塞尔大学校园向大家说一声“晚上好”。

我们已经谢过了今晚的主办方。我们已经谢过了来到这里的候选人。

奥巴马参议员,我们将从你开始。

上周末你接受了《纽约时报》的采访,采访中你发誓要在竞选对你争取提名的主要对手采取更具有进攻性、更加强硬的手段,而你的主要竞争对手是迄今为止民主党候选人中的领跑者克林顿参议员,今晚她就站在你旁边。

To that end, Senator, you said that Senator Clinton was trying to sound Republican, trying to vote Republican on national security issues, and that was, quote, “bad for the country and ultimately bad for the Democrats.” That is a strong charge, as you’re aware.

Specifically, what are the issues where you, Senator Obama, and Senator Clinton have differed, where you think she has sounded or voted like a Republican?

SEN. OBAMA: Well, first of all, I think some of this stuff gets overhyped. In fact, I think this has been the most hyped fight since Rocky fought Apollo Creed¹, although the amazing thing is I’m Rocky in this situation. (Laughter.)

But look, we have big challenges. We’re at war. The country is struggling with issues like rising health care. We’ve got major global challenges like climate change. And that’s going to require big meaningful change, and I’m running for president because I think that the way to bring about that change is to offer some sharp contrasts with the other party. I think it means that we bring people together to get things done. I think it means that we push against the special interests that are holding us back, and most importantly, I think it requires us to be honest about the challenges that we face.

It does not mean, I think, changing positions whenever it’s politically convenient.

And Senator Clinton in her campaign, I think, has been for NAFTA previously, now she’s against it. She has taken one position on torture several months ago and then most recently has taken a different position. She voted for a war, to authorize sending troops into Iraq, and then later said this was a war for diplomacy.

I don’t think that—now, that may be politically savvy, but I don’t think that it offers the clear contrast that we need. I think what we need right now is honesty with the American people about where we would take the

参议员,为此目的你说克林顿参议员正在试图使自己听上去像位共和党人士,在关系到国家安全问题上正在试图投票赞成共和党人,引用你的话说就是“不利于国家,并最终不利于民主党人”。就像你意识到的那样,这是一种很强烈的指责。

具体来说,你们二人——奥巴马参议员和克林顿参议员——在哪些地方存在分歧?在哪些地方你认为她听起来像一位共和党人或者投共和党人的票?

奥巴马参议员:好的,首先,我认为一些材料被媒体过分夸大了。事实上,我认为本次竞选是继洛奇大战阿波罗·克里德之后被渲染得最厉害的一次争斗,尽管有趣的是在这场争斗中我是洛奇。(笑声)

但是请大家注意,我们面临着重大挑战。我们国家正处于战争状态。我们国家正在被诸如医疗卫生费用节节攀升这样的问题所困扰。我们面临着重大的全球性问题,比如气候变化的挑战。所有这些都要我们来一次实质性的大变革,而我竞选总统是因为我认为实现那种变革的方法将使我们和共和党形成鲜明的对比。我认为,这意味着我们应该把人民团结起来完成变革。我认为,这意味着我们拒绝令我们止步不前的特殊利益的诱惑,最重要的是,我认为这要求我们面对挑战必须诚实以待。

我认为这并不意味着我们可以随着政治气候的变化而改变政治立场。

我认为克林顿参议员在其竞选活动中先前赞成北美自由贸易协定,而现在又反对它。几个月前她在虐囚事件上是一种态度,而就在最近她的态度发生了180度的大转弯。她曾经投票赞成对伊拉克发动战争,赞成派遣军队到伊拉克,而后来她又说这是一场外交战争。

她那样做在政治上也许是明智之举,但现在我不认为那会提供给我们所需要的清晰对比。我认为我们现在需要的是对美国人民真诚以待,告诉美国人民我们将要把美国带向何方。而我正在试图以这样的

country. That's how I'm trying to run my campaign. That's how I will be as president.

WILLIAMS: Senator Clinton, rebuttal?

SEN. CLINTON: Well, I don't think the Republicans got the message that I'm voting and sounding like them. If you watched their debate last week, I seemed to be the topic of great conversation and **consternation**, and that's for a reason, because I have stood against George Bush and his failed policies.

They want to continue the war in Iraq; I want to end it. The Republicans are waving their sabers and talking about going after Iran. I want to prevent a rush to war. On every issue from health care for children to an energy policy that puts us on the right track to deal with climate change and make us more secure, I have been standing against the Republicans, George Bush and Dick Cheney, and I will continue to do so. And I think Democrats know that.

WILLIAMS: Senator, thank you.

Tim Russert.

RUSSERT: Senator Edwards, you issued a press release, your campaign, and the headline is "Edwards to Clinton: American People Deserve the Truth, Not More Double-Talk on Iran." What double-talk are you suggesting that Senator Clinton's been engaging in on Iran?

SEN. EDWARDS: Well, first, good evening. (Chuckles.) It's wonderful to be here. Let me talk a little bit about what I see as the choice that voters have. I think that from my perspective, President Bush over the last seven years has destroyed the trust relationship between America and its president. In fact, I think he's destroyed the trust relationship between the president of the United States and the rest of the world. And I think it is crucial for Democratic voters and **caucus-goers** to determine who they can trust, who's honest, who's sincere, who has integrity.

And I think it's fair, in that regard, to look at what people have said. Senator Clinton says that she believes she can be the candidate for change,

方式来开展我的竞选活动。如果成为未来的美国总统,我也将以这样的方式任职。

威廉姆斯:克林顿参议员,反驳吗?

克林顿参议员:好的,我不认为共和党人得到消息说我正在像他们一样投票和宣传。如果你看了上周他们的辩论,你会发现我似乎成了他们议论和恐惧的头号人物,这是有理由的,因为我坚决反对乔治·布什及其失败的政策。

共和党人想继续我们在伊拉克的战争,而我想终止这场战争。共和党人正在挥舞着他们的刀剑谈论着如何追击伊朗,而我想要阻止贸然发动战争。从孩子们的医疗问题到把我们送入正轨来应对气候变化、使我们更感安全的能源策略问题,在每一个问题上我一直坚决和共和党人、和乔治·布什以及迪克·切尼唱对台戏,而且我将一如既往地这么做下去。我认为民主党人对此心知肚明。

威廉姆斯:谢谢你,参议员。

有请蒂姆·拉瑟特。

拉瑟特:爱德华兹参议员,你发表了你的竞选新闻稿,标题是“爱德华兹致克林顿:在伊朗问题上美国人民应该知道真相而不是更多模棱两可的话”。请问,你所指的克林顿参议员在伊朗问题上发表的模棱两可的话是什么?

爱德华兹参议员:好的,首先,大家晚上好。(咯咯笑)在这里的感觉真好。让我谈一下我所说的选民的选择问题。从我的观点看,我认为过去7年来布什总统已经毁坏了美国人民和总统之间的信任关系。事实上,我认为他已经毁坏了美利坚合众国总统和世界其他地方的信任关系。因此,我认为关键是民主党选民和政党核心成员们必须决定他们能够相信谁,谁是诚实的,谁是真诚的,而谁又是正直的。

在这一点上,我认为公平的做法是看看人们都说了些什么。克林顿参议员说她相信自己能够成为变革的代言人,但是她却为华盛顿哥

but she defends a broken system that's corrupt in Washington, D.C. She says she will end the war, but she continues to say she'll keep combat troops in Iraq and continue combat missions in Iraq. To me, that's not ending the war; that's the continuation of the war.

She says she'll stand up to George Bush on Iran. She just said it again. And in fact, she voted to give George Bush the first step in moving militarily on Iran, and he's taken it. Bush and Cheney have taken it. They've now declared the Iranian Revolutionary Guard a terrorist organization and a **proliferator** of weapons of mass destruction. I think we have to stand up to this president.

And then finally she said in our last debate that she was against any changes on Social Security—benefits, retirement age or raising the cap on the Social Security tax. But apparently it's been reported that she said privately something different than that. And I think the American people, given this historic moment in our country's history, deserve a president of the United States that they know will tell them the truth, and won't say one thing one time and something different at a different time.

RUSSET: Do you stand behind the word “double-talk”?

SEN. EDWARDS: I do.

RUSSET: Senator Clinton.

SEN. CLINTON: Well, I think that anyone who's looked at my record of 35 years fighting, for women and children and people who feel invisible and left out in this country, knows my record. I fought for expanded education and health care in Arkansas. I helped to bring health care to 6 million children while in the White House. And now, in the Senate, I've been standing up against the Republicans on everything from preventing them from privatizing Social Security to standing up against President Bush's veto of children's health.

You know, I have a long record of standing up and fighting, and I take on the special interests. I've been taking them on for many years. And I think all you have to do is go back and—and read the media to know that.

伦比亚特区腐败的、残破的政治体系辩护。她说她将结束这场战争,但是她接着又说她将让作战部队继续留在伊拉克并让他们继续在那里执行战斗任务。对我而言,那不是结束战争,而是战争的继续。

她说她将反对乔治·布什在伊朗问题上的立场,她刚才又说了一遍。但事实上,她投票支持布什为其对伊朗动武迈出第一步提拱了支持,而布什笑纳了她的“礼物”,布什和切尼都笑纳了她的“礼物”。他们现在已经宣布伊朗的革命卫队是一个恐怖组织并拥有大规模杀伤性武器生产基地。我认为我们必须坚决反对这样的总统。

最后,在我们上次的辩论中她说她反对对社会保障体系,包括社会福利、退休年龄进行任何改革,也反对提高社会保险税。但是有报道说她显然在私下里讲过和上面不同的话。我认为在我国历史上这个具有重大历史意义的时刻,美国人民值得拥有的是这样一位总统:人民知道他将告诉他们真相,而不是此一时这么说而彼一时又那么说。

拉瑟特:你支持“模棱两可”说?

爱德华兹参议员:我支持。

拉瑟特:有请克林顿参议员。

克林顿参议员:好的,我认为任何一位看过我 35 年来为妇女儿童以及那些自认为在美国被遗忘或被忽略的人而奋斗的历史的人,都会清楚我的言行记录。我在阿肯色州的时候为拓宽教育和医疗覆盖面而奋斗,我在白宫时为 600 万儿童争取到医疗服务,现在在参议院我在所有事情上都反对共和党的做法,从阻止他们将社会保障私有化到坚决反对布什总统否决给予儿童医疗服务。

你知道我曾长期站出来反对共和党,并且抵制特殊利益集团,多年来我一直抵制他们。我认为你们最好回去读读当年媒体的报道就知道我所说属实了。

But on specific issues I've come out with very specific plans.

With respect to Social Security, I do have a plan. It's called start with fiscal responsibility. That's what we were doing in the 1990s, and we had Social Security on a much better path than it is today because of the irresponsible spending policies of George Bush and the Republican Congress.

If there are some of the long-term challenges that we need to address, let's do it in the context of having fiscal responsibility, and then let's put together a bipartisan commission and look at how we're going to deal with these long-term challenges. But I am not going to balance Social Security on the backs of seniors and hardworking middle-class Americans. Let's start taking the tax cuts away from the wealthy. Let's take away the no-bid contracts from Halliburton² before we start imposing a trillion-dollar tax increase on the elderly and on middle-class workers. I don't think that's necessary.

So I have a very specific plan. My friends may not agree with it, but I've been saying it and talking about it for many months.

RUSSET: We're going to get to Social Security in a little bit, but I want to stay on Iran, Senator Clinton.

As you know, you voted for the Kyl-Lieberman amendment, the only member on the stage here who did that. Senator, Jim Webb of Virginia said it is for all practical purposes mandating the military option, that it is a clearly worded sense of Congress that could be interpreted as a declaration of war.

Why did you vote for that amendment, which would—calls upon the president to structure our military forces in Iraq with regard to the capability of Iran?

SEN. CLINTON: Well, first of all, I am against a rush to war. I was the first person on this stage and one of the very first in the Congress to go to the floor of the Senate back in February and say George Bush had no authority to take any military action in Iran.

Secondly, I am not in favor of this rush for war, but I'm also not in

但是在具体问题上我提出了非常具体的方案。

关于社会保障体系,我的确有一个计划,叫做“从财政责任做起”。那其实是我们在上世纪90年代就做的事情,当时我们的社会保障体系比现在的要好得多,原因是现在乔治·布什和共和党控制的国会采取了不负责任的乱花钱政策。

假如我们有一些长期挑战需要解决的话,那么首先让我们从财政责任做起,然后组成一个两党委员会看看如何解决这些长期性的挑战。但是我不打老年人和辛苦工作的美国中产阶级的主意,以求得社会保障体系账户的平衡。让我们首先从取消富人税收优惠入手。在开始向老年人以及中产阶级劳动者增加几十亿美元的税收之前,让我们先取消哈里伯顿公司不经招标而得到的合同。我认为增加劳动者的税收是不必要的。

因此我有一个非常具体的方案。我的朋友们也许不赞成这个方案,但是几个月来我一直在宣扬它、谈论它。

拉瑟特:我们将拿出一点时间来探讨社会保障问题,不过现在我还想继续停留在伊朗问题上,克林顿参议员。

如你所知,你投票赞成《凯尔—利波曼修正案》,你是站在这个台上唯一投赞成票的人。参议员,来自弗吉尼亚州的吉姆·韦伯说《凯尔—利波曼修正案》实际上是在批准军事行动,很显然它是文字化了的国会意志,可以理解为一种宣战。

为什么你投票赞成那个修正案?它将——它要求总统根据伊朗的军事能力安排我们在伊拉克的军事力量。

克林顿参议员:首先,我反对贸然宣战。2月回到参议院,我说布什无权对伊朗采取任何军事行动;我是今天站在这个台上的人当中第一个这么说的,而且在整个国会中,我也是最早这么说的人之一。

第二,虽然我对本次贸然宣战并不赞成,但是我也不赞成无所作

favor of doing nothing. Some may want a false choice between rushing to war—which is the way the Republicans sound; it's not even a question of whether, it's a question of when and what weapons to use—and doing nothing. I prefer vigorous diplomacy, and I happen to think economic sanctions are part of vigorous diplomacy. We use them with respect to North Korea. We use them with respect to Libya. And many of us who voted for that resolution said ~~that~~ this is not anything other than an expression of support for using economic sanctions with respect to diplomacy.

You know, several people who were adamantly opposed to the war in Iraq, like Senator Durbin, voted the same way I did and said at the time that if he thought there was even the pretense that could be used from the language in that non-binding resolution to give George Bush any support to go to war, he wouldn't have voted for it. Neither would I.

So we can argue about what is a non-binding sense of the Senate, and I think that we are missing the point, which is we've got to do everything we can to prevent George Bush and the Republicans from doing something on their own to take offensive military action against Iran. I'm prepared to pass legislation that—with my colleagues who are here in the Congress, to try to get some Republicans to join us, to make it abundantly clear that sanctions and diplomacy are the way to go; we reject and do not believe George Bush has any authority to do anything else.

RUSSET: Senator Dodd, you said that vote was a justification for war in Iran.

SEN. DODD: Well, Tim, I believe that this issue is going to come back to haunt us. We all learned, some of us here painfully, back in 2002 that by voting for an authorization regarding Iraq, that despite the language of that resolution, which called for diplomacy at the time, this administration used that resolution, obviously, to pursue a very aggressive action in Iraq.

I'm of a view here—what you didn't learn back in '02, you should have learned by now. And you don't have to just listen to this resolution. There's been a series of drumbeats by this administration, by Dick Cheney, by the

为。有些人也许想在贸然宣战和无所作为之间作不明智的选择；贸然宣战是共和党人发出的信号，这甚至不是是否动武，而是何时动武以及如何动武的问题。我偏好使用有力的外交手段，而且我偶然想到，经济制裁也算是一种有力的外交手段。我们用这些手段对付朝鲜，我们用这些手段对付利比亚。我们当中很多对那个决议投赞成票的人说，这不过是对在外交方面使用经济制裁表示支持。

你知道，一些坚定反对伊拉克战争的人，比如德宾参议员，和我一样投了赞成票。当时德宾说，假如他认为在那个无约束的决议中哪怕有一句托词可被用来支持乔治·布什宣战，他都不会投赞成票。我也不会。

因此我们可以就参议院的“无约束”意识是怎样的展开辩论，并且我认为我们会偏离重点，那就是我们必须采取一切可以采取的措施来制止乔治·布什和共和党人一意孤行地对伊朗实施攻击性的军事行动。我已准备好通过一项立法——和现场我的国会同事一道，并努力说服一部分共和党人加入进来——这条法律将清晰地表明经济制裁和外交手段是正确的方法；我们反对也不相信乔治·布什有任何权力做出其他任何选择。

拉瑟特：多德参议员，你说过那次投票为对伊朗开战找到了正当的理由。

多德参议员：好的，蒂姆。我相信这个问题将来还会回来纠缠我们。回首 2002 年我们在伊拉克问题上投票支持授权（给总统宣战），我们所有人都从中得到了教训，现场一些人甚至从中得到了痛苦的教训，那就是尽管在协议中有呼吁用外交手段解决当时问题的辞令，很显然政府仍然利用该协议去采取侵略伊拉克的行动。

这里我要谈一下我的观点——假如你在 2002 年没有学到那个教训的话，那么你现在应该学到了。你不必对该决议言听计从。一直以来就从政府那里、从迪克·切尼那里、从总统那里以及从明显倾向于对伊