

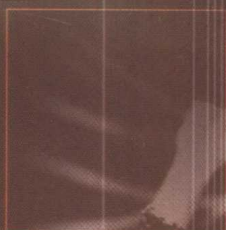
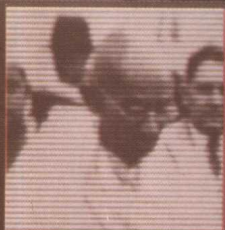
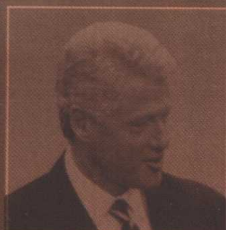
20世纪
著名演讲
文录

英汉对照

Famous
Speeches of
the Twentieth-
Century

裴妮 选编

中国对外翻译出版公司




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20 世纪 著名演讲文录

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Famous Speeches of
 the Twentieth-
Century

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JOHN F. KENNEDY

Los Angeles, 15 July 1960

A new frontier

John F. Kennedy (1917 – 1963), 35th president of the United States. He is the youngest ever elected to the presidency and the first of the Roman Catholic faith.

The American people expect more from us than cries of indignation and attack. The times are too grave, the challenge too urgent, and the stakes too high – to permit the customary passions of political debate. We are not here to curse the darkness, but to light the candle that can guide us through that darkness to a safe and sane future. As Winston Churchill said on taking office some twenty years ago:

‘If we open a quarrel between the present and the past, we shall be in danger of losing the future.’

Today our concern must be with that future. For the world is changing. The old era is ending. The old ways will not do.

All over the world, particularly in the newer nations, young men are coming to power – men who are not bound by the traditions of the past – men who are not blinded by the old fears and hates and rivalries – young men who can cast off the old slogans and delusions and suspicions.

The Republican nominee-to-be,* of course, is also a young man. But his approach is as old as McKinley. His party is the party of the past. His speeches are generalities from Poor Richard's Almanac. Their platform, made up of left-over Democratic planks, has the courage of our old convictions. Their pledge is a pledge to the status quo – and today there can be no status quo.

For I stand tonight facing west on what was once the last frontier. From the lands that stretch 3,000 miles behind me, the pioneers of old gave up their safety, their comfort and sometimes their lives to build a new world here in the West.

They were not the captives of their own doubts, the prisoners of their own price tags. Their motto was not 'every man for himself' – but 'all for the common cause.' They were determined to make that new world strong and free, to overcome its hazards and its hardships, to conquer the enemies that threatened from without and within.

* Richard Nixon.

Today some would say that those struggles are all over – that all the horizons have been explored – that all the battles have been won – that there is no longer an American frontier.

But I trust that no one in this assemblage will agree with those sentiments. For the problems are not all solved and the battles are not all won – and we stand today on the edge of a new frontier – the frontier of the 1960s – a frontier of unknown opportunities and perils – a frontier of unfulfilled hopes and threats.

Woodrow Wilson's New Freedom promised our nation a new political and economic framework. Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal promised security and succour to those in need. But the New Frontier of which I speak is not a set of promises – it is a set of challenges. It sums up not what I intend to offer the American people, but what I intend to ask of them. It appeals to their pride, not their pocketbook – it holds out the promise of more sacrifice instead of more security.

But I tell you the New Frontier is here, whether we seek it or not. Beyond that frontier are uncharted areas of science and space, unsolved problems of peace and war, unconquered pockets of ignorance and prejudice, unanswered questions of poverty and surplus.

It would be easier to shrink back from that frontier, to look to the safe mediocrity of the past, to be lulled by good intentions and high rhetoric – and those who prefer that course should not cast their votes for me, regardless of party.

But I believe the times demand invention, innovation, imagination, decision. I am asking each of you to be new pioneers on that New Frontier. My call is to the young in heart, regardless of age – to the stout in spirit, regardless of party – to all who respond to the scriptural call:

‘Be strong and of good courage; be not afraid, neither be thou dismayed.’

For courage – not complacency – is our need today – leadership – not salesmanship. And the only valid test of leadership is the ability to lead, and lead vigorously. A tired nation, said David Lloyd George, is a tory nation – and the United States today cannot afford to be either tired or tory.

There may be those who wish to hear more – more promises to this group or that – more harsh rhetoric about the men in the Kremlin – more assurances of a golden future, where taxes are always low and subsidies ever high. But my promises are in the platform you have adopted. Our ends will not be won by rhetoric and we can have faith in the future only if we have faith in ourselves.

For the harsh facts of the matter are that we stand on this frontier at a turning-point in history. We must prove all over again whether this nation – or any nation so conceived – can long endure – whether our society – with its freedom of choice, its breadth of opportunity, its range of alternatives – can compete with the single-minded advance of the Communist system.

Can a nation organized and governed such as ours endure?

That is the real question. Have we the nerve and the will? Can we carry through in an age where we will witness not only new breakthroughs in weapons of destruction – but also a race for mastery of the sky and the rain, the ocean and the tides, the far side of space and the inside of men's minds?

Are we up to the task? Are we equal to the challenge? Are we willing to match the Russian sacrifice of the present for the future? Or must we sacrifice our future in order to enjoy the present?

That is the question of the New Frontier. That is the choice our nation must make – a choice that lies not merely between two men or two parties, but between the public interest and private comfort – between national greatness and national decline – between the fresh air of progress and the stale, dank atmosphere of 'normalcy' – between determined dedication and creeping mediocrity.

All mankind waits upon our decision. A whole world looks to see what we will do. We cannot fail their trust; we cannot fail to try.

约翰·肯尼迪

1960年7月15日于洛杉矶

新边疆

约翰·肯尼迪（1917—1963年），美国第三十五任总统，他是美国历史上最年轻的当选总统，也是第一位罗马天主教徒总统。

美国人民期望于我们的，不是愤怒的叫喊和攻击。时代是那么严峻，挑战是那么紧迫，成败的利害是那么大，不允许我们一如往常沉溺于激情的政治辩论之中。我们在这里不是要诅咒黑暗，而是要点亮烛光，引导我们走出黑暗，走向安全、理智的未来。正如温斯顿·丘吉尔大约二十年前就职时所说：

“如果我们在现在与过去之间展开争吵，就有失去未来的危险。”

今天，我们所要关注的就是我们的未来。因为，世界正在变化，旧的时代正在终结。原有的做法已经行不通了。

在世界各地，特别是新近成立的国家，年轻人逐渐掌握权力，他们不受过去传统的束缚，不被过去的恐惧、仇恨和对抗蒙住眼睛，能够抛开旧的口号、误解与猜疑。

当然，共和党的预期提名人^①也是一个年轻人。但是他处理问题的方式就像麦金利那么陈旧。他的党是过去的党。他的演讲是出自老皇历的老生常谈。他们的政纲是炒民主党的冷饭剩菜，他们的勇气在于接过我们旧的信念。他们的许诺是维持现状，而今天已经没有什么现状可以维持了。

我今晚面向西方站的这个地方，曾经是我们最后的边疆。在我背后三千英里的广阔土地上，我们的先辈开拓者放弃他们安全、舒适的生活，有时候牺牲了性命，前来西部建设了一个新世界。

他们不当怀疑的囚徒，不设定代价来困限自己。他们的格言不是“人人为自己”，而是“一切为了共同目标”。他们决心建设一个强大、自由的新世界，克服它的艰难险阻，战胜里里外外威胁他们的敌人。

今天，有人会说，那些斗争都已经结束了，所有疆域都已经探索过了，所有战斗都已经打赢了，美国再也没有边疆地区了。

但是我相信，今天聚集在这里的人，没有一个会同意这种观点。因为，问题并没有全部解决，战斗还没有全部打赢，我们今天是站在一个新边疆的边缘，这就是1960年代的边疆，在这个边疆里，有许多未可知的机会与艰险，和未实现的希望与威胁。

伍德罗·威尔逊总统的“新自由”向全国许诺了一个新的政治和经济框架。富兰克林·罗斯福总统的“新政”许诺给予有需

^① 指尼克松。