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RICHARD M. NIXON

尼克松 经典演讲词赏析

Selected Addresses of Richard M. Nixon

查明建 主编

赵婧 田雪隽 译编 赏析

· 英汉对照 ·



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SELECTED ADDRESSES OF
RICHARD M.
NIXON

理查德·尼克松
经典演讲词赏析

查明建 主编 赵婧、田雪隽 译编、赏析

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人物生平简介



理查德·M·尼克松（1913年1月9日—1994年4月22日），美国第37任、第46、47届总统，任职时间为1969年1月20日到1974年8月9日，所属党派为共和党。

尼克松出生于美国加利福尼亚州洛杉矶附近的约巴林达镇，父亲是百货店老板。他是美国历史上第一个出任总统的加利福尼亚人。

1934年，尼克松获惠蒂尔学院学士学位。1937年，获杜克大学法学士学位。毕业后先当律师，后入海军，升为海军上校。1946年和1948年，两次当选众议院议员。1950年，当选参议员议员。1952年和1956年，两次当选副总统。1959年竞选总统失败后，先后在洛杉矶和纽约从事律师工作。1968年重返政坛，当选为美国总统，1973年连任。1974年8月，因“水门事件”被迫辞去总统职务，成为美国第一位因发生丑闻、为逃避国会弹劾而辞职的总统。

执政期间，尼克松对内的目标是抑制通货膨胀，重振美国经济。对外政策上提出“尼克松主义”，宣布要以“伙伴关系”、“实力”、“谈判”三原则作为尼克松主义的三个支柱。尼克松主义是美国的全球战略从进攻转为防守的标志，是美国力图继续称霸世界但又力量不足的表现。

1972年2月，尼克松对中国进行了为期一周的访问，成为访问中国的第一位美国总统。这也是美国总统第一次访问一个与美国没有正式外交关系的国家。访华期间，中美两国政府发表了著名的《上海公报》，为打开中美关系大门、改善和发展两国关系作出了重要贡献。1973年，尼克松结束了使美国陷入危机的越南战争，并同苏联领导人举行了最高级首脑会谈，缓和了世界的紧张局势。

Richard Nixon's Checkers Speech

September 23, 1952



My Fellow Americans,

I come before you tonight as a candidate for the Vice Presidency and as a man whose honesty and integrity (正直) has been questioned.

Now, the usual political thing to do when charges are made against you is to either ignore them or to deny them without giving details. I believe we've had enough of that in the United States, particularly with the present Administration in Washington, D. C. To me the office of the Vice Presidency of the United States is a great office, and I feel that the people have got to have confidence in the integrity of the men who run for that office and who might obtain it.

I have a theory, too, that the best and only answer to a smear (诽谤) or to an honest misunderstanding of the facts is to tell the truth. And that's why I'm here tonight. I want to tell you my side of the case. I'm sure that you have read the charge, and you've heard it, that I, Senator Nixon, took 18,000 dollars from a group of my supporters.

Now, was that wrong? And let me say that it was wrong. I'm saying, incidentally (顺便说一句), that it was wrong, not just illegal, because it isn't a question of whether it was legal or illegal, that isn't enough. The question is, was it morally wrong? I say that it was morally wrong if any of that 18,000 dollars went to Senator Nixon, for my personal use. I say that it was morally wrong if it was secretly given and secretly handled. And I say that it was morally wrong if any of the contributors got special favors for the contributions that they made.

理查德·尼克松切克斯演讲

1952年9月23日



亲爱的各位同胞：

今晚我以副总统候选人的身份、以一个被质疑为不诚实、不正直的人的身份来到大家面前。

现在，每当有针对自己的指控时，通常的政治手段是或者置之不理，或者拒绝承认，从不对事情的真相细节予以公布。我相信，大家已经对此深感厌恶了，特别是对现任华盛顿当局的做法。对于我个人而言，美国副总统办公室是个了不起的机构，而且我认为大家必须对参与竞选的人以及可能的领导者的正直予以充分信任。

我同样信奉这样一个理论，对于恶意诽谤与公众误解的最好的也是唯一的回应应当是公布真相。这就是我今天之所以来这里的原因。我想告诉大家这个事件中我的立场。相信大家都已读过、听过相关的负面报道，我，参议员尼克松，从我的支持者经费中私自侵吞18,000美元。

传闻所言之事是错误的吗？我说它是错的。且不仅仅是违犯法律的错误，这不是合法与不合法的问题，事情的严重性要远大于此。问题在于，这件事是否是道德上的失当？我认为这是不道德的，如果18,000美元都是被尼克松私自动用的。我认为这是不道德的，如果这些钱都被私下交易、私下处理。我认为这是不道德的，如果捐资者因为他们的捐赠得到特殊照顾。

And now to answer those questions let me say this: Not one cent of the 18,000 dollars or any other money of that type ever went to me for my personal use. Every penny of it was used to pay for political expenses that I did not think should be charged to the taxpayers of the United States. It was not a secret fund. As a matter of fact, when I was on "Meet the Press" — some of you may have seen it last Sunday — Peter Edison came up to me after the program, and he said, "Dick, what about this 'fund' we hear about?" And I said, "Well, there's no secret about it. Go out and see Dana Smith who was the administrator of the fund."

And I gave him [Edson] his [Smith's] address. And I said you will find that the purpose of the fund simply was to defray (支付) political expenses that I did not feel should be charged to the Government.

And third, let me point out and — I want to make this particularly clear — that no contributor to this fund, no contributor to any of my campaigns, has ever received any consideration that he would not have received as an ordinary constituent (选民). I just don't believe in that, and I can say that never, while I have been in the Senate of the United States, as far as the people that contributed to this fund are concerned, have I made a telephone call for them to an agency, or have I gone down to an agency in their behalf. And the records will show that, the records which are in the hands of the administration.

Well, then, some of you will say, and rightly, "Well, what did you use the fund for, Senator?" "Why did you have to have it?" Let me tell you in just a word how a Senate office operates. First of all, a Senator gets 15,000 dollars a year in salary. He gets enough money to pay for one trip a year — a round trip, that is — for himself and his family between his home and Washington, D. C. And then he gets an allowance (津贴) to handle the people that work in his office to handle his mail. And the allowance for my State of California is enough to hire 13 people. And let me say, incidentally, that that allowance is not paid to the Senator. It's paid directly to the individuals

对于这些问题，我的回答如下：这 18,000 美元以及其他任何一笔相同性质的钱当中，没有一分钱是用于满足我个人需求的。每一分钱都用于弥补政治经费支出，因为我认为有些经费不应当由国家纳税者出资。这不是一笔秘密经费。事实上，我在“媒体见面会”时——你们或许已经在上周六收看过——彼得·爱迪生在节目后采访了我，他问道，“迪克，能谈谈关于那笔‘经费’的事情吗？”我的回答是，“关于这笔经费的事情，没什么需要隐瞒的。你可以出去会见戴纳·史密斯，她是这笔经费的管理者。”

而后，我告诉他（爱迪生）史密斯的地址。并且说你会发现这笔经费仅是为了支付相关政治经费，因为我认为这些经费都不应当向政府伸手要钱。

第三，我要指出——特别清楚地指出——没有任何一个捐资者，没有任何一个我的支持者曾得到过不应当得到的待遇。我从不相信这些歪门邪道，而且我保证，从我担任美国参议员开始，一直到这笔资金的捐助者得到公众关注这一刻，我从未为他们给任何代理机构打过电话，从未代表他们出访某个机构。行政部门的记录会证明这些。

而后，一些人有理由问，“那么那笔资金你用做何处？”“为什么你要动用它？”请允许我先简要说明一下参议院的运行机制。首先，参议员每年的薪水是 15,000 美元。这意味着他每年有足够的钱旅行一趟——一次往返旅行——携带他的家庭成员从家庭所在地到华盛顿。其次，他会得到一定的津贴，用于支付其部门中为其处理邮件的工作人员的工资。我所在的加利福尼亚州的津贴可够雇佣 13 名工作人员。顺便提一下，那些津贴不是发给参议员的，而是直接发给工作人员。所有工

that the Senator puts on his pay roll. But all of these people and all of these allowances are for strictly official business? Business, for example, when a constituent writes in and wants you to go down to the Veteran's Administration and get some information about his GI policy — items of that type, for example. But there are other expenses which are not covered by the Government. And I think I can best discuss those expenses by asking you some questions.

Do you think that when I or any other Senator makes a political speech, has it printed, should charge the printing of that speech and the mailing of that speech to the taxpayers? Do you think, for example, when I or any other Senator makes a trip to his home State to make a purely political speech that the cost of that trip should be charged to the taxpayers? Do you think when a Senator makes political broadcasts or political television broadcasts, radio or television, that the expense of those broadcasts should be charged to the taxpayers? Well I know what your answer is. It's the same answer that audiences give me whenever I discuss this particular problem: The answer is no. The taxpayers shouldn't be required to finance items which are not official business but which are primarily political business.

Well, then the question arises, you say, "Well, how do you pay for these and how can you do it legally?" And there are several ways that it can be done, incidentally, and that it is done legally in the United States Senate and in the Congress. The first way is to be a rich man. I don't happen to be a rich man, so I couldn't use that one.

Another way that is used is to put your wife on the pay roll. Let me say, incidentally, that my opponent, my opposite number for the Vice Presidency on the Democratic (民主的) ticket, does have his wife on the pay roll and has had it — her on his pay roll for the ten years — for the past ten years. Now just let me say this: That's his business, and I'm not critical of him for doing that. You will have to pass judgment on that particular point.

作人员的录用与所有经费的使用都要严格依照办公事务需求拟定；何为办公事务，例如，选民写信要求你走访退伍军人管理机构并查询他的士兵政策信息，这样一些事务。然而还存在一些政府不必支付的费用。我认为我可以通过提问来更好地解释这些费用。

你们认为，我或者是其他任何一位议员发表政治演说的讲稿打印费用和邮寄费用应当由纳税人负担吗？议员去家乡所在州发表政治演说，这些差旅费用应当由纳税人负担吗？议员需要通过广播、电视来发表政治演讲，这些广播费用应当由纳税人负担吗？很显然我知道你们的回答。同样，在目前这一特殊问题上，我对公众的回答也是一样的：当然不能由纳税人负担。纳税人没有义务为非办公事务的、主要是政治活动的费用买单。

接下来，你们也许会问，“你怎样支付这些费用，而且怎样以合法的渠道支付？”有多种方法，这些方法在国家参议院和国会方面都是合法的。首要的方法便是让自己成为富翁。我不是一个富人，因此这一方法不能用。

另一种方法是将自己的妻子划入薪水支付名单范围。我的竞争者，以民主为口号的副总统候选人，将其妻子列入了这一范围——而且长达十年之久。请允许我说：那是他的事情，我不是在对他的行为作出批判。公众会对此作出评判。

But I have never done that for this reason: I have found that there are so many deserving stenographers (速记员) and secretaries in Washington that needed the work that I just didn't feel it was right to put my wife on the pay roll. My wife's sitting over here. She's a wonderful stenographer. She used to teach stenography and she used to teach shorthand (速记法) in high school. That was when I met her. And I can tell you folks that she's worked many hours at night and many hours on Saturdays and Sundays in my office, and she's done a fine job, and I am proud to say tonight that in the six years I've been in the House and the Senate of the United States, Pat Nixon has never been on the Government pay roll.

What are other ways that these finances can be taken care of? Some who are lawyers, and I happen to be a lawyer, continue to practice law, but I haven't been able to do that. I'm so far away from California that I've been so busy with my senatorial work that I have not engaged in any legal practice. And, also, as far as law practice is concerned, it seemed to me that the relationship between an attorney (辩护律师) and the client was so personal that you couldn't possibly represent a man as an attorney and then have an unbiased view when he presented his case to you in the event that he had one before Government.

And so I felt that the best way to handle these necessary political expenses of getting my message to the American people and the speeches I made — the speeches that I had printed for the most part concerned this one message of exposing this Administration, the Communism (共产主义) in it, the corruption (腐败) in it — the only way that I could do that was to accept the aid which people in my home State of California, who contributed to my campaign and who continued to make these contributions after I was elected, were glad to make.

而我从没这样做过：因为我发现华盛顿有许多优秀的速记员、秘书需要这份工作，给自己的妻子挂职有违公德。我的妻子就坐在这里。她是位优秀的速记员。我遇见她时，她在高中教授速记法。我可以坦言相告，她每天晚上，包括周六、周日都要在我的办公室加很长时间的班，且能够很出色地完成任务，我可以肯定地说，我在白宫和参议院工作的六年间，帕特·尼克松从未在政府薪水名单上出现过。

解决经济问题的其他方法还有哪些呢？一些曾做过律师的官员仍做律师，我也当过律师，但没有继续做法律方面的工作。我离加利福尼亚很远，一直忙于政府的工作，没有时间参与这些法律实践。而且，对于我来说，辩护律师与诉讼委托人的关系将会很微妙，假使他的案子与政府相关，我几乎不可能毫无偏见地进行辩护。

因此我认为解决这些开支（包括向公众传达信息、发表演讲）的最好方法——这些演讲大多围绕一个信息展开，即暴露行政工作中的共产主义和腐败作风——也是唯一的方法便是接受我的家乡加利福尼亚州那些过去、现在和将来都支持我竞选的公民的帮助。

And let me say I'm proud of the fact that not one of them has ever asked me for a special favor. I'm proud of the fact that not one of them has ever asked me to vote on a bill (议案, 法案) other than of my own conscience would dictate (命令, 支配). And I am proud of the fact that the taxpayers, by subterfuge (规避) or otherwise, have never paid one dime (一角银币) for expenses which I thought were political and shouldn't be charged to the taxpayers.

Let me say, incidentally, that some of you may say, "Well, that's all right, Senator, that's your explanation, but have you got any proof?" And I'd like to tell you this evening that just an hour ago we received an independent audit (会计检查, 查账) of this entire fund. I suggested to Governor Sherman Adams, who is the Chief of Staff of the Dwight Eisenhower campaign, that an independent audit and legal report be obtained, and I have that audit here in my hands. It's an audit made by the Price Waterhouse & Company firm, and the legal opinion by Gibson, Dunn, & Crutcher, lawyers in Los Angeles, the biggest law firm, and incidentally, one of the best ones in Los Angeles.

I am proud to be able to report to you tonight that this audit and this legal opinion is being forwarded to General Eisenhower. And I'd like to read to you the opinion that was prepared by Gibson, Dunn, & Crutcher, and based on all the pertinent (所指的, 相干的) laws and statutes (法令), together with the audit report prepared by the certified public accountants (会计). Quote:

It is our conclusion that Senator Nixon did not obtain any financial gain from the collection and disbursement (分配, 支付) of the fund by Dana Smith; that Senator Nixon did not violate any federal (联邦的) or state law by reason of the operation of the fund; and that neither the portion (一部分) of the fund paid by Dana Smith directly to third persons, nor the portion paid to Senator Nixon, to reimburse (补偿) him for designated (指定的, 派定的) office expenses, constituted income to the Senator which was either reportable or taxable as income under applicable tax laws.

(signed)

Gibson, Dunn, & Crutcher,
by Elmo H. Conley

我很骄傲，他们当中没有任何一个人曾向我索要过特殊的待遇；我很骄傲，他们从没要求我议决某项法案，所有法案都由我个人凭良心表决；我很骄傲，纳税人从未为那些政治上的和其他我认为不应负担的费用花过一分钱。

也许有人会说，“那是你自己的解释，有证据能证实你的说辞吗？”一个小时前，我们接受了资金审查。我向谢尔曼·亚当斯州长（德怀特·艾森豪威尔竞选运动的员工主管）提议，应当出具一份独立的会计审查和合法的报告，现在手里的这份就是会计审查结果。这份审查由普华公司出具，由吉布森、达尼和克鲁特做法律鉴定，他们都是洛杉矶声誉最好、规模最大的律师事务所的律师。

很高兴今天能够将这份审查报告和法律鉴定公之于众，之后它将递交给艾森豪威尔上将。这些鉴定由吉布森、达尼和克鲁特依据相关法律和条令所证明，并附上公共会计师所出具的审查报告。如下：

经查证，尼克松参议员没有在由戴纳·史密斯管理的基金，包括筹集和分配过程中，获得任何个人经济利益；在基金运作中，尼克松参议员没有触犯任何联邦、自治州的法律；基金中没有任何一笔流入第三者手中，也没有任何一笔支付给尼克松参议员，以补贴其日常办公支出和收入，依据相关税法，这些收入都是可公布的，有税的。

（签名）

吉布森，达尼，克鲁特

埃尔默·H·康利

Now that, my friends, is not Nixon speaking, but that's an independent audit which was requested, because I want the American people to know all the facts, and I am not afraid of having independent people go in and check the facts, and that is exactly what they did. But then I realized that there are still some who may say, and rightfully (正义的, 正当的) so — and let me say that I recognize that some will continue to smear regardless of what the truth may be — but that there has been, understandably, some honest misunderstanding on this matter, and there are some that will say, “Well, maybe you were able, Senator, to fake this thing. How can we believe what you say? After all, is there a possibility that maybe you got some sums in cash? Is there a possibility that you may have feathered your own nest (中饱私囊, 营私自肥)?” And so now, what — I am going to do — and incidentally this is unprecedented in the history of American politics I am going at this time to give to this television and radio audio — audience, a complete financial history, everything I've earned, everything I've spent, everything I own. And I want you to know the facts.

I'll have to start early. I was born in 1913. Our family was one of modest circumstances, and most of my early life was spent in a store out in East Whittier. It was a grocery store, one of those family enterprises. The only reason we were able to make it go was because my mother and dad had five boys, and we all worked in the store. I worked my way through college, and, to a great extent, through law school. And then in 1940, probably the best thing that ever happened to me happened. I married Pat who's sitting over here. We had a rather difficult time after we were married, like so many of the young couples who may be listening to us. I practiced law. She continued to teach school.

Then, in 1942, I went into the service. Let me say that my service record was not a particularly unusual one. I went to the South Pacific. I guess I'm entitled to a couple of battle stars. I got a couple of letters of commendation. But I was just there when the bombs were falling. And then I returned — returned to the United States, and in 1946, I ran for the Congress.