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# 奥巴马演说集

Selected Speeches of  
Barack Obama

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Barack Obama

【美国】巴拉克·奥巴马 著

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# 奥巴马演说集

Selected Speeches of  
Barack Obama

# 1. The Audacity of Hope<sup>①</sup>

July 27, 2004

On behalf of the great state of Illinois, crossroads of a nation, land of Lincoln<sup>②</sup>, let me express my deepest gratitude for the privilege of addressing this convention. Tonight is a particular honor for me because, let's face it, my presence on this stage is pretty unlikely. My father was a foreign student, born and raised in a small village in Kenya. He grew up herding goats, went to school in a tin-roof shack. His father, my grandfather, was a cook, a domestic servant<sup>③</sup>.

But my grandfather had larger dreams for his son. Through hard work and perseverance my father got a scholarship to study in a magical place: America, that shone as a **beacon** of freedom and opportunity to so many who had come before. While studying here, my father met my mother. She was born in a town on the other side of the world, in Kansas. Her father worked on oil rigs and farms through most of the Depression<sup>④</sup>. The day after Pearl Harbor<sup>⑤</sup> my grandfather signed up for duty, joined Patton<sup>⑥</sup>'s army and marched across Europe. Back home, my grandmother raised their baby and went to work on a bomber **assembly line**. After the war, they studied on the GI Bill<sup>⑦</sup>, bought a house through FHA<sup>⑧</sup>, and

# 有希望则无所畏惧

2004年7月27日

今晚我在这里将代表伟大的伊利诺伊州来向大会发表演讲,为此我感到无上荣幸。众所周知,伊利诺伊州是美国的交通枢纽,是林肯总统的福地。另外,我能够站在这个讲台上向全党的代表发言实在有点受宠若惊,因为坦率地讲,这对于我而言几乎是做梦都想不到的事情。请允许我先从我的出身讲起。我父亲当年是一位留美学生,他土生土长在肯尼亚一个小乡村,他从小在那里放羊,在简陋的铁皮顶小屋里上学。他的父亲,也就是我的爷爷,是一位为别人做饭的家庭佣工。

但是我爷爷不想让我父亲步其后尘,他对我父亲有着更大的期许和梦想。通过艰辛的努力和顽强的毅力我父亲拿到了来美国留学的奖学金,于是我的父亲便漂洋过海踏上了美国这片神奇的土地。美国是自由的灯塔,她给予了早年来这里闯世界的人大量的机会。在美国留学期间,我父亲结识了我母亲。我母亲出生于美国的堪萨斯州,该州和肯尼亚分属于地球的两边。我的外祖父在美国大萧条期间基本上都在从事两种工作:在农场务农和在钻油机架上务工。珍珠港事件后的第二天,外祖父应征入伍,参加了巴顿将军的军队,跟随将军驰骋欧洲疆场。与此同时在后方家园,我的外祖母抚养着他们的子女,并在一条生产轰炸机的流水线上工作。战争结束后,他们研究了《退伍军人权利法案》,通过联邦住房管理局提供的按揭贷款购买了一套



later moved west all the way to Hawaii in search of opportunity.

And they, too, had big dreams for their daughter, a common dream, born of two continents. My parents shared not only an improbable love; they shared an abiding faith in the possibilities of this nation. They would give me an African name, Barack<sup>⑨</sup>, or “blessed,” believing that in a tolerant America your name is no barrier to success. They imagined me going to the best schools in the land, even though they weren’t rich, because in a generous America you don’t have to be rich to achieve your potential. They are both passed away now<sup>⑩</sup>. And yet, I know that, on this night, they look down on me with pride.

They stand here and I stand here today, grateful for the diversity of my heritage, aware that my two parents’ dreams live on in my two precious daughters. I stand here knowing that my story is part of the larger American story, that I owe a debt to all of those who came before me, and that, in no other country on earth, is my story even possible. Tonight, we gather to affirm the greatness of our nation, not because of the height of our skyscrapers, or the power of our military, or the size of our economy. Our pride is based on a very simple **premise**, summed up in a declaration<sup>⑪</sup> made over two hundred years ago, “We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal. That they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights. That among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.”

That is the true genius of America, a faith in the simple dreams and insistence on small **miracles**. That we can tuck in our children at night and know they are fed and clothed and safe from harm. That we can say what we think, write what we think, without hearing a sudden knock on the door. That we can have an idea and start our own business without paying a bribe. That we can participate in the political process without

房子,后来一直移居到美国西部的夏威夷,以寻找更好的发展机会。

他们对我的母亲也有着同样的期许和梦想,这是一个来自两大洲的共同梦想。因此,我的父母不但共同享受着来自父母们无以复加的爱,他们也笃信不疑在美国这个国家一切皆有可能。他们给我起了个非洲名字——巴拉克,意为“受神福佑的”,他们相信在宽容大度的美国,一个人的名字不是通向成功的障碍。尽管他们生活并不富裕,但他们还是相信在这片土地上我能到最好的学校接受最好的教育,因为在慷慨大方的美国,一个人不必富裕也能淋漓尽致地发掘他的潜能。现在他们都已不在人世,但是我知道,在这个夜晚在天堂里,他们正满怀骄傲地注视着我。

今天他们站在这里,我站在这里,为我血液里流淌着的多样遗传基因而满怀感激,我知道我父母的梦想正在我的两个宝贝女儿身上延续。我站在这里,知道我自己的故事只是更宏大的美国故事集里的沧海一粟,也知道我应该感激那些在我之前来到这里的先辈们,更知道我的故事只有在美国这个伟大的国度里才可能发生。今晚,我们欢聚一堂更加坚定地相信我们国家的伟大,而她的伟大既不源于我们的高楼大厦,也不源于我们强大的军事力量,更不源于我们的经济规模。我们对这个伟大国家的自豪感建立在一个相当简单的前提之上,用两百多年前我们先辈们写就的《独立宣言》里的话概括起来就是:“我们坚信以下真理不言而喻:人人生而平等。造物主赋予他们某些不可被剥夺的权利,包括生命权、自由权和追求幸福的权利。”

这就是美国的传统之所在:我们对简单梦想的无比信任,我们对生命中小小奇迹的执著追求;我们能在深夜给孩子掖好被子时确信他们衣食无忧且远离伤害;我们能言吾所想,写吾所悟,而毋庸担心因言获罪;我们一旦有了某种奇思妙想,就可以大干一场,开创自己的事业而无须去向官员行贿;我们能参与政治进程而不必担心被报复,也无须担心我们的投票是否有效(至少在绝大多数时候,我们的

fear of **retribution**, and that our votes will be counted—at least, most of the time<sup>12</sup>.

This year, in this election<sup>13</sup>, we are called to reaffirm our values and our commitments, to hold them against a hard reality and see how we are measuring up, to the legacy of our forbearers, and the promise of future generations. And fellow Americans—Democrats, Republicans, Independents—I say to you tonight: we have more work to do. More work to do for the workers I met in Galesburg, Illinois, who are losing their union jobs at the Maytag plant that's moving to Mexico, and now are having to compete with their own children for jobs that pay seven bucks an hour. More to do for the father that I met who was losing his job and choking back the tears, wondering how he would pay \$4,500 a month for the drugs his son needs without the health benefits he counted on. More to do for the young woman in East St. Louis, and thousands more like her, who has the grades, has the drive, has the will, but doesn't have the money to go to college.

Now, don't get me wrong. The people I meet in small towns and big cities, in diners and office parks, they don't expect government to solve all their problems. They know they have to work hard to get ahead and they want to. Go into the **collar counties** around Chicago, and people will tell you they don't want their tax money wasted by a welfare agency or by the Pentagon<sup>14</sup>. Go into any inner city neighborhood, and folks will tell you that government alone can't teach our kids to learn. They know that parents have to teach, that children can't achieve unless we raise their expectations and turn off the television sets and eradicate the slander that says a black youth with a book is acting white. They know those things. People don't expect government to solve all their problems. But they sense, deep in their bones, that with just a slight

选票是被计票的)。

在今年的这次大选中，我们民主党人要重申我们的价值观和承诺，秉承这些价值观和承诺去对抗艰难时局，并继承先辈们的精神遗产，谨守对后世子孙们的诺言。所有的美国公民们，无论你是民主党人、共和党人还是无党派人士，今晚我要对你们说：我们还有更多的工作要做。伊利诺伊州盖尔斯堡市的那些工人们需要我们做更多的工作，他们正面临无法在美泰格工厂里工作的危险，该工厂正准备搬迁到墨西哥，因此他们现如今将被迫同他们的子女争抢薪酬为每小时七美金的工作机会；一位失了业的父亲需要我们做更多的工作，当我遇到这位父亲时他勉强克制住泪水向我叙述了他的不幸遭遇，他正担心自己如何去支付儿子每个月所需的4500美元的医药费，而原本这些费用是可以指望他的医疗保险报销的；伊利诺伊州东圣路易斯市的一位年轻妇女需要我们做更多的工作，她有资格、有动力，也愿意去上大学，但她却没有钱去实现她的大学梦，处境像她这样的美国人还有成千上万。

不要误解我说的话，认为政府应该包揽一切。事实上，我所接触到的人们，无论他们是来自繁华都市还是宁静小镇，也无论是在餐厅还是在办公楼下的停车场偶然遇到的，他们并不期待政府去解决他们所有的困难。他们知道自己必须勤劳工作才能出人头地，他们也真的想这样做。你若走进芝加哥周围的卫星小城镇，那里的人们会告诉你，他们不希望政府的福利机构或五角大楼浪费自己所纳的税款。你若到市中心的任何社区去转上一转，那里的人们会告诉你，仅仅靠政府是不可能教育好孩子们的。他们知道做父母的需要自己去教育孩子，需要提高孩子的期望值，需要在孩子学习的时候关掉电视机，需要消除诽谤——一个读过书的黑人青年，其行为举止就会变得和白人青年一样——只有这样孩子们才能进步。他们什么都知道。美国人民不指望政府能够包治百病，但是他们从骨子里认为，只要政府稍微

change in priorities, we can make sure that every child in America has a decent shot at life, and that the doors of opportunity remain open to all. They know we can do better. And they want that choice.

In this election, we offer that choice. Our party has chosen a man to lead us who embodies the best this country has to offer. And that man is John Kerry. John Kerry understands the ideals of community, faith, and service, because they've defined his life. From his heroic service in Vietnam to his years as **prosecutor** and lieutenant governor, through two decades in the United States Senate, he has devoted himself to this country. Again and again, we've seen him make tough choices when easier ones were available. His values and his record affirm what is best in us.

John Kerry believes in an America where hard work is rewarded. So instead of offering **tax breaks** to companies shipping jobs overseas, he offers them to companies creating jobs here at home. John Kerry believes in an America where all Americans can afford the same health coverage our politicians in Washington have for themselves. John Kerry believes in energy independence, so we aren't held hostage to the profits of oil companies or the **sabotage** of foreign oil fields. John Kerry believes in the constitutional freedoms that have made our country the envy of the world, and he will never sacrifice our basic liberties nor use faith as a wedge to divide us. And John Kerry believes that in a dangerous world, war must be an option sometimes, but it should never be the first option.

A while back, I met a young man named Shamus at the VFW Hall<sup>®</sup> in East Moline, Illinois. He was a good-looking kid, six-two or six-three, clear-eyed, with an easy smile. He told me he'd joined the Marines and was heading to Iraq the following week. As I listened to him explain why he'd enlisted, the absolute faith he had in our country and its leaders, his devotion to duty and service, I thought this young man was all any of us

改变一下政策的轻重缓急，我们就能确保我们的每个孩子都能对生活有足够的期望，确保机遇之门向所有人敞开。他们知道我们会做得更好，他们选择的就是我们。

在这次选举中，我们能提供给人民更好的选择。我们的党已经挑选出了一个最能代表这个国家美德的人去竞选美国总统，他就是约翰·克里。约翰·克里深刻理解大众诉求，具有坚强的信念和服务精神，因为所有这些美德已经融入到了他的血液之中。他是越战英雄，退役后担任过多年的检察官和副州长，此后担任美国参议员一职长达20年之久，可以说他把自己的一切都贡献给了这个国家。一次又一次，当简单的选择摆在他眼前时，他却勇挑重担。他的良好品行证明，他是我们之中最优秀的。

约翰·克里坚信，美国是一个只要付出就会有回报的国度。因此，他反对将减税优惠给予那些把工作机会输送到国外去的公司，他会把减税优惠给予那些为美国人民提供工作机会的公司。约翰·克里坚信，所有美国人都能够像华盛顿的政客们一样负担得起健康保险。约翰·克里坚信，美国应该能源自主，拒绝成为石油公司暴利的俘虏，也不应因为外国油田遭受破坏而担惊受怕。约翰·克里坚信，宪法所赋予我们的自由使我们国家为世人所仰慕，因此他会誓死捍卫我们的基本自由权而不会滥用我们对他的信任来离间我们。约翰·克里还坚信，在这样一个充满危险的世界里，有时战争是不可避免的选项，但它永远不会是首要选项。

不久前，我在伊利诺伊州东莫林市的海外战争军人俱乐部里遇到一个叫沙莫斯的年轻人。他长得帅气高大，身高两米左右，眼睛清澈，笑容可掬。他告诉我他参加了海军陆战队，下周将要开赴伊拉克。他向我娓娓道来为什么他会应征入伍——基于他对于我们的国家和领导人的完全信赖以及他对于保家卫国的责任心和使命感。我认为在这个年轻人身上体现了我们每个人对孩子的期待。然而，我又担心

might hope for in a child. But then I asked myself: Are we serving Shamus as well as he was serving us? I thought of the 900 men and women, sons and daughters, husbands and wives, friends and neighbors, who won't be returning to their hometowns. I thought of families I had met who were struggling to get by without a loved one's full income, or whose loved ones had returned with a limb missing or nerves shattered, but still lacked long-term health benefits because they were **reservists**. When we send our young men and women into harm's way, we have a solemn obligation not to fudge the numbers or shade the truth about why they're going, to care for their families while they're gone, to tend to the soldiers upon their return, and to never ever go to war without enough troops to win the war, secure the peace, and earn the respect of the world.

Now let me be clear. We have real enemies in the world. These enemies must be found. They must be pursued and they must be defeated. John Kerry knows this. And just as Lieutenant Kerry did not hesitate to risk his life to protect the men who served with him in Vietnam, President Kerry will not hesitate one moment to use our military might to keep America safe and secure. John Kerry believes in America. And he knows that it's not enough for just some of us to prosper. For alongside our famous individualism, there's another ingredient in the American saga.

A belief that we are all connected as one people. If there's a child on the south side of Chicago who can't read, that matters to me, even if it's not my child. If there's a senior citizen somewhere who can't pay for her prescription drugs and has to choose between medicine and the rent, that makes my life poorer, even if it's not my grandparent. If there's an Arab American family being rounded up without benefit of an attorney or due process, that threatens my civil liberties. It is that fundamental belief—I

自问：他冒着生命危险为我们效命，我们又能够为他做些什么呢？由此我想起了我们在伊拉克战场上已经有 900 名男女战士战死沙场，他们是儿子是女儿，他们是丈夫是妻子，他们是朋友是邻居，他们将永远不能重返家园。我想起我遇到的那些不幸的家庭，他们或者正努力承受失去亲人所带来的精神和物质上的双重痛苦，或者正面临一种让人难堪的窘境——从战场上归来的亲人之所以不能因残疾或因精神崩溃而享受政府的长期健康补贴，仅仅因为他们是后备役军人。当我们派遣我们的年轻人踏上危险的征途时，我们必须责无旁贷地告诉他们出征的理由，必须责无旁贷地核实阵亡数字，在他们阵亡后责无旁贷地照顾他们的家庭，在他们返回祖国后关照他们的生活，必须责无旁贷地确保在没有足够的部队时不加入战争，确保每战必赢。只有这样才能保卫和平，才能赢得世界的尊重。

今晚我要澄清一点：在这个世界上我们确实还存在着真正的敌人，我们必须追踪他们，找到他们的巢穴并歼灭他们。约翰·克里深明此理，就像在越战时克里上尉毫不犹豫地冒着生命危险保护他的战友一样，如果克里当选总统，他在必要时也将会毫不犹豫地动用我们的军事力量来保护我们美国本土的安全。约翰·克里相信美国，他知道仅仅我们一部分美国人功成名就还远远不够。因为，在我们美国的传奇历史中，除了著名的个人英雄主义精神之外，还一定有另外的因素根植于其中。

这个因素就是我们的信念，即我们形形色色的人心心相通，凝聚成一个民族。假如芝加哥南部的一个小朋友不识字，即使那不是我的孩子，我也会因此而感到惴惴不安。如果某地一个老婆婆买不起她的处方药而不得不在医疗费和房租之间进行选择，即使她不是我的祖母，也会使我感到羞愧难当。如果一个来自阿拉伯的家庭未经律师辩护或诉讼程序就遭到驱逐，我就会感到我的公民自由也受到了威胁。



am my brother's keeper<sup>⑯</sup>, I am my sister's keeper—that makes this country work. It's what allows us to pursue our individual dreams, yet still come together as one American family. "E pluribus unum."<sup>⑰</sup> Out of many, one.

Now even as we speak, there are those who are preparing to divide us, the spin masters, the negative ad peddlers who embrace the politics of anything goes. Well, I say to them tonight, there is not a liberal America and a conservative America. There's the United States of America. There is not a black America and white America and Latino America and Asian America; there's the United States of America. The pundits like to slice and dice our country into Red States and Blue States; Red States for Republicans, Blue States for Democrats. But I've got news for them, too. We worship an awesome God in the Blue States, and we don't like federal agents poking around our libraries in the Red States. We coach Little League in the Blue States and yes we got some gay friends in the Red States. There are patriots who opposed the war in Iraq and patriots who supported the war in Iraq. We are one people, all of us pledging allegiance to the stars and stripes, all of us defending the United States of America.

In the end, that's what this election is about. Do we participate in a politics of cynicism or do we participate in a politics of hope? John Kerry calls on us to hope. John Edwards<sup>⑱</sup> calls on us to hope. I'm not talking about blind optimism here—the almost **willful** ignorance that thinks unemployment will go away if we just don't think about it, or the health care crisis will solve itself if we just ignore it. That's not I'm talking about. I'm talking about something more substantial. It's the hope of slaves sitting around a fire singing freedom songs; the hope of immigrants setting out for distant shores; the hope of a young naval lieutenant