

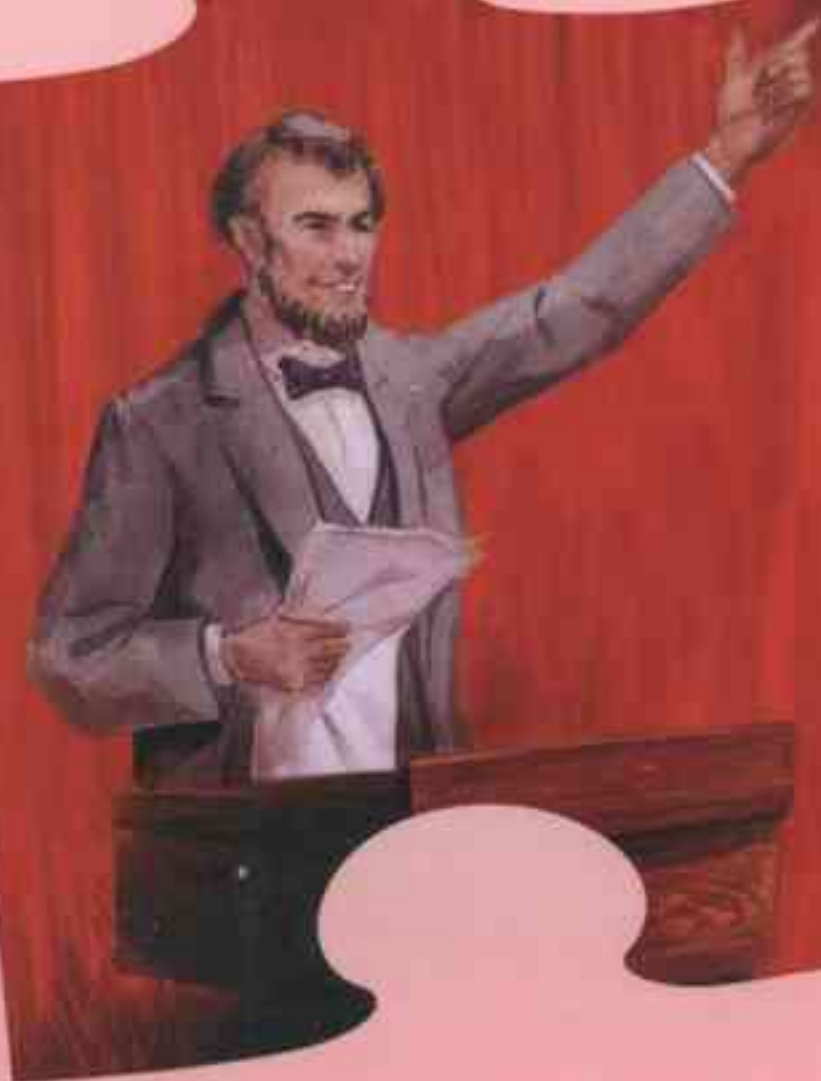


轻松英语名作欣赏

名人演讲录

Great Speeches

Abraham Lincoln (美) 等



第五级
适合高二、
高三年级



附1张CD光盘

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关于演讲者

马丁·路德·金 (1929~1968)

Martin Luther King, Jr.

马丁·路德·金是美国黑人解放运动的领袖。他出生在佐治亚州的亚特兰大，在波士顿大学获得了博士学位。1954年，他成为了阿拉巴马州蒙哥马利市一座浸信会教堂的牧师。他是圣雄甘地非暴力不合作民权哲学的追随者，并在领导民权运动时将该哲学用于抗议有色种族歧视。他于1964年荣获诺贝尔和平奖，但却在1968年4月支持黑人清洁工人罢工示威活动期间被暗杀。

亚伯拉罕·林肯 (1809~1865)

Abraham Lincoln

亚伯拉罕·林肯是美国第16任总统，出生在肯塔基州。虽然家境贫寒，但他仍靠自学通过了律师资格考试，并于1837年在斯普林菲尔德市开办了自己的律师事务所。1834至1840年期间，他被选任伊利诺伊州议员，于1856年加入了共和党，并于1860年成为了美国总统。虽然他在任职四年间领导南北战争逐步走向胜利，但却于1865年4月在华盛顿福特剧院观看一场戏剧演出时被暗杀。此时距离南北战争结束仅五天。

莫罕达斯·卡拉姆昌德·甘地 (1869-1948)

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi

莫罕达斯·卡拉姆昌德·甘地是印度的政治和精神领袖，也是印度独立运动的领导人。他出生于印度波尔邦达尔，从英国伦敦中殿律师学院毕业后成为了律师。他通过非暴力不合作的方式在印度领导独立运动、反对英国政府，努力统一印度。他在印度国内被尊为国父，常常被亲切地称为Mahatma（“圣雄”），意为“伟大的灵魂”。他于1948年1月被一名印度教徒狂热分子暗杀。

富兰克林·德拉诺·罗斯福 (1882-1945)

Franklin Delano Roosevelt

富兰克林·德拉诺·罗斯福是美国第32任总统，出生于纽约。他从哈佛大学毕业后，于1907年开办了自己的律师事务所。自从当选纽约州民主党参议员后，他便进入了政界，并于1932年成为了总统。就职以后，他采用新政缓解了极度糟糕的经济大萧条，恢复了国民的信心。

约翰·菲茨杰拉德·肯尼迪 (1917-1963)

John Fitzgerald Kennedy

约翰·菲茨杰拉德·肯尼迪是美国第35任总统，出生于马萨诸塞州，毕业于哈佛大学。他于1960年当选为美国历史上最年轻的总统。肯尼迪十分擅长演讲，而且多才多艺。他将古巴导弹危机转化为签署《禁止核试验条约》的契机，禁止了地面核试验的进行。但他于1963年11月在得克萨斯州达拉斯的一次游行中被暗杀。

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Great Speeches



名人演讲录

I Have a Dream

我有一个梦想

by Martin Luther King, Jr.

August 28, 1963

I am happy to join with you today in what will go down in history as the greatest demonstration for freedom in the history of our nation.

Five score years ago, a great American, in whose symbolic shadow we stand today, signed the Emancipation Proclamation. This momentous decree came as a great beacon light of hope to millions of Negro slaves who had been seared in the flames of withering injustice. It came as a joyous daybreak to end the long night of their captivity.

KEY WORDS

- | | |
|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> demonstration <i>n.</i> 示威 | <input type="checkbox"/> beacon <i>n.</i> 灯塔 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> freedom <i>n.</i> 自由 | <input type="checkbox"/> Negro <i>adj.</i> 黑人的 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> score <i>n.</i> 20个 | <input type="checkbox"/> sear <i>v.</i> 煎熬 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> symbolic <i>adj.</i> 象征性的 | <input type="checkbox"/> withering <i>adj.</i> 毁灭性的 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Emancipation Proclamation
《解放宣言》 | <input type="checkbox"/> injustice <i>n.</i> 不公正 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> momentous <i>adj.</i> 重要的 | <input type="checkbox"/> joyous <i>adj.</i> 欢乐的 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> decree <i>n.</i> 法令 | <input type="checkbox"/> daybreak <i>n.</i> 黎明 |
| | <input type="checkbox"/> captivity <i>n.</i> 奴役 |

But one hundred years later, the Negro still is not free. One hundred years later, the life of the Negro is still sadly crippled by the manacles of segregation and the chains of discrimination. One hundred years later, the Negro lives on a lonely island of poverty in the midst of a vast ocean of material prosperity. One hundred



years later, the Negro is still languished in the corners of American society and finds himself an exile in his own land. And so we've come here today to dramatize a shameful condition.

KEY WORDS

- cripple *v.* 使陷于瘫痪
- manacle *n.* [~s] 枷锁
- segregation *n.* 种族隔离
- discrimination *n.* 歧视
- poverty *n.* 贫穷
- in the midst of 在……之中

- prosperity *n.* 繁荣
- languish *v.* 受冷落
- exile *n.* 被流放者
- dramatize *v.* 使引人注目
- shameful *adj.* 可耻的



In a sense we've come to our nation's capital to cash a check. When the architects of our republic wrote the magnificent words of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence, they were

signing a promissory note to which every American was to fall heir. This note was a promise that all men, yes, black men as well as white men, would be guaranteed the "Unalienable Rights" of "Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness." It is obvious today that America has defaulted on this promissory note, insofar as her citizens of color are concerned. Instead of honoring this sacred obligation, America has given the

KEY WORDS

- | | |
|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> architect <i>n.</i> 缔造者 | <input type="checkbox"/> pursuit <i>n.</i> 追求 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> magnificent <i>adj.</i> 宏伟的 | <input type="checkbox"/> default <i>v.</i> 拖欠 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> promissory note 期票 | <input type="checkbox"/> insofar as 在……的范围内 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> fall heir to 继承…… | <input type="checkbox"/> honor <i>v.</i> 履行 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> guarantee <i>v.</i> 保证 | <input type="checkbox"/> sacred <i>adj.</i> 神圣的 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> unalienable <i>adj.</i> 不可剥夺的 | <input type="checkbox"/> obligation <i>n.</i> 义务 |

Negro people a bad check, a check which has come back marked "insufficient funds."

But we refuse to believe that the bank of justice is bankrupt. We refuse to believe that there are insufficient funds in the great vaults of opportunity of this nation. And so, we've come to cash this check, a check that will give us upon demand the riches of freedom and the security of justice.

We have also come to this hallowed spot to remind America of the fierce urgency of Now. This is no time to engage in the luxury of cooling off or to take the tranquilizing drug of gradualism. Now is the time to make real the promises of democracy.

KEY WORDS

- bad check 空头支票
- insufficient *adj.* 不足的
- fund *n.* 资金
- bankrupt *adj.* 破产的
- vault *n.* 金库
- security *n.* 保障
- hallowed *adj.* 神圣的

- remind *v.* 提醒
- fierce *adj.* 严峻的
- urgency *n.* 紧急
- luxury *n.* 奢侈
- tranquilizing drug 镇静剂
- gradualism *n.* 渐进主义
- democracy *n.* 民主

Now is the time to rise from the dark and desolate valley of segregation to the sunlit path of racial justice. Now is the time to lift our nation from the quicksands of racial injustice to the solid rock of brotherhood. Now is the time to make justice a reality for all of God's children.

It would be fatal for the nation to overlook the urgency of the moment. This sweltering summer of the Negro's legitimate discontent will not pass until there is an invigorating autumn of freedom and equality. Nineteen sixty-three is not an end, but a beginning. And those who hope that the Negro needed to blow off steam and will now be content will have a rude awakening if the nation returns to business as usual. And there will be neither rest nor tranquility in America until the Negro is granted his citizenship rights. The whirlwinds of revolt will continue to

KEY WORDS

- | | |
|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> desolate <i>adj.</i> 荒凉的 | <input type="checkbox"/> discontent <i>n.</i> 不满 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> racial <i>adj.</i> 种族的 | <input type="checkbox"/> invigorating <i>adj.</i> 凉爽的 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> quicksand <i>n.</i> 流沙 | <input type="checkbox"/> blow off 发泄 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> brotherhood <i>n.</i> 手足情谊 | <input type="checkbox"/> rude awakening 突然的惊醒 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> fatal <i>adj.</i> 致命的 | <input type="checkbox"/> tranquility <i>n.</i> 安宁 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> overlook <i>v.</i> 忽视 | <input type="checkbox"/> grant <i>v.</i> 赋予 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> sweltering <i>adj.</i> 闷热的 | <input type="checkbox"/> whirlwind <i>n.</i> 旋风 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> legitimate <i>adj.</i> 合理的 | <input type="checkbox"/> revolt <i>n.</i> 反抗 |

shake the foundations of our nation until the bright day of justice emerges.

But there is something that I must say to my people, who stand on the warm threshold which leads into the palace of justice: In the process of gaining our rightful place, we must not be guilty of wrongful deeds. Let us not seek to satisfy our thirst for freedom by drinking from the cup of bitterness and hatred. We must forever conduct our struggle on the high plane of dignity and discipline. We must not allow our creative protest to degenerate into physical violence. Again and again, we must rise to the majestic heights of meeting physical force with soul force.

KEY WORDS

- ☐ foundation *n.* 根基
- ☐ emerge *v.* 出现
- ☐ threshold *n.* 门槛
- ☐ guilty *adj.* 有过失的
- ☐ seek to 寻求
- ☐ thirst *n.* 渴求
- ☐ bitterness *n.* 酸涩

- ☐ hatred *n.* 仇恨
- ☐ dignity *n.* 体面
- ☐ protest *v.* 抗议
- ☐ degenerate *v.* 沦落
- ☐ violence *n.* 暴力
- ☐ majestic *adj.* 崇高的

The marvelous new militancy which has engulfed the Negro community must not lead us to a distrust of all white people, for many of our white brothers, as evidenced by their presence here today, have come to realize that their destiny is tied up with our destiny. And they have come to realize that their freedom is inextricably bound to our freedom.

We cannot walk alone.

And as we walk, we must make the pledge that we shall always march ahead.

We cannot turn back.

There are those who are asking the devotees of civil rights, "When will you be satisfied?" We can never be satisfied as long as the Negro is the victim of the unspeakable horrors of police brutality. We can never be satisfied as long as our bodies, heavy with the

KEY WORDS

- | | |
|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> marvelous <i>adj.</i> 非凡的; 不可思议的 | <input type="checkbox"/> bind <i>v.</i> 联系
(bind-bound-bound) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> militancy <i>n.</i> 战斗精神 | <input type="checkbox"/> pledge <i>n.</i> 誓言 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> engulf <i>v.</i> 淹没 | <input type="checkbox"/> devotee <i>n.</i> 热心之士 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> presence <i>n.</i> 在场 | <input type="checkbox"/> victim <i>n.</i> 受害者 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> destiny <i>n.</i> 命运 | <input type="checkbox"/> brutality <i>n.</i> 暴行 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> inextricably <i>adv.</i> 无法摆脱地 | |

fatigue of travel, cannot gain lodging in the motels of the highways and the hotels of the cities. We cannot be satisfied as long as the negro's basic mobility is from a smaller ghetto to a larger one. We can never be satisfied as long as our children are stripped of their selfhood and robbed of their dignity by a sign stating: "For Whites Only." We cannot be satisfied as long as a Negro in Mississippi cannot vote and a Negro in New York believes he has nothing for which to vote. No, no, we are not satisfied, and we will not be satisfied until "justice rolls down like waters, and righteousness like a mighty stream."



KEY WORDS

- | | |
|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> fatigue <i>n.</i> 疲惫 | <input type="checkbox"/> selfhood <i>n.</i> 自我 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> lodging <i>n.</i> 住宿 | <input type="checkbox"/> state <i>v.</i> 宣称 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> mobility <i>n.</i> 流动性 | <input type="checkbox"/> vote <i>v.</i> 选举 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> ghetto <i>n.</i> 少数民族聚居区; 贫民区 | <input type="checkbox"/> roll down 倾泻 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> strip <i>v.</i> 剥夺 | <input type="checkbox"/> righteousness <i>n.</i> 正义 |
| | <input type="checkbox"/> mighty <i>adj.</i> 有力的 |

I am not unmindful that some of you have come here out of great trials and tribulations. Some of you have come fresh from narrow jail cells. And some of you have come from areas where your quest — quest for freedom left you battered by the storms of persecution and staggered by the winds of police brutality. You have been the veterans of creative suffering. Continue to work with the faith that unearned suffering is redemptive. Go back to Mississippi, go back to Alabama, go back to South Carolina, go back to Georgia, go back to Louisiana, go back to the slums and ghettos of our northern cities, knowing that somehow this situation can and will be changed.

Let us not wallow in the valley of despair, I say to you today, my friends. And so even though we face the difficulties of today and tomorrow, I still have a dream. It is a dream deeply rooted in the American dream.

KEY WORDS

- ☐ unmindful *adj.* 没留意的
- ☐ trial *n.* 考验
- ☐ tribulation *n.* 艰难困苦
- ☐ cell *n.* 牢房
- ☐ batter *v.* 折磨
- ☐ persecution *n.* 迫害

- ☐ stagger *v.* 使蹒跚
- ☐ veteran *n.* 经验丰富的人
- ☐ unearned *adj.* 不应得的
- ☐ redemptive *adj.* 救赎的
- ☐ slum *n.* 贫民窟
- ☐ wallow *v.* 沉沦

I have a dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal."

I have a dream that one day on the red hills of Georgia, the sons of former slaves and the sons of former slave owners will be able to sit down together at the table of brotherhood.

I have a dream that one day even the state of Mississippi, a state sweltering with the heat of injustice, sweltering with the heat of oppression, will be transformed into an oasis of freedom and justice.

KEY WORDS

- ☐ creed *n.* 纲领
- ☐ self-evident *adj.* 不言而喻的
- ☐ oppression *n.* 压迫

- ☐ transform *v.* 转变
- ☐ oasis *n.* 绿洲



I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character.

I have a dream today!

I have a dream that one day, down in Alabama, with its vicious racists, with its governor having his lips dripping with the words of “interposition” and “nullification” – one day right there in Alabama little black boys and black girls will be able to join hands with little white boys and white girls as sisters and brothers.

I have a dream today!

KEY WORDS

- content *n.* 所含之物
- character *n.* 品格
- vicious *adj.* 居心不良的
- racist *n.* 种族主义者

- governor *n.* 州长
- drip *v.* 充满
- interposition *n.* 干涉
- nullification *n.* 拒绝执行

I have a dream that one day every valley shall be exalted, and every hill and mountain shall be made low, the rough places will be made plain, and the crooked places will be made straight; "and the glory of the Lord shall be revealed and all flesh shall see it together."

This is our hope, and this is the faith that I go back to the South with.

With this faith, we will be able to hew out of the mountain of despair a stone of hope. With this faith, we will be able to transform the jangling discords of our nation into a beautiful symphony of brotherhood. With this faith, we will be able to work together, to pray together, to struggle together, to go to jail together, to stand up for freedom together, knowing that we will be free one day.

KEY WORDS

- | | |
|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> exalt <i>v.</i> 使升高 | <input type="checkbox"/> hew <i>v.</i> 劈出 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> plain <i>adj.</i> 平坦的 | <input type="checkbox"/> jangle <i>v.</i> 怒冲冲地争辩 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> crooked <i>adj.</i> 弯曲的 | <input type="checkbox"/> discord <i>n.</i> 杂音 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> reveal <i>v.</i> 显现 | <input type="checkbox"/> symphony <i>n.</i> 交响曲 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> flesh <i>n.</i> 众生 | |

And this will be the day — this will be the day when all of God's children will be able to sing with new meaning:

My country 'tis of thee, sweet land of liberty, of thee I sing. / Land where my fathers died, land of the Pilgrim's pride, / From every mountainside, let freedom ring!

And if America is to be a great nation, this must become true.

And so let freedom ring from the prodigious hill-tops of New Hampshire.

Let freedom ring from the mighty mountains of New York.

Let freedom ring from the heightening Alleghenies of Pennsylvania.

Let freedom ring from the snow-capped Rockies of Colorado.

Let freedom ring from the curvaceous slopes of California.

KEY WORDS

- | | |
|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> thee <i>pron.</i> 你 (you的古时用语) | <input type="checkbox"/> heightening <i>adj.</i> 巍峨的 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Pilgrim <i>n.</i> 清教徒 | <input type="checkbox"/> snow-capped <i>adj.</i> 积雪覆盖的 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> mountainside <i>n.</i> 山腰 | <input type="checkbox"/> curvaceous <i>adj.</i> 蜿蜒曲折的 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> prodigious <i>adj.</i> 巨大的 | <input type="checkbox"/> slope <i>n.</i> 斜坡 |

But not only that:

Let freedom ring from Stone Mountain of Georgia.

Let freedom ring from Lookout Mountain of Tennessee.

Let freedom ring from every hill and molehill of Mississippi.

From every mountainside, let freedom ring.

And when this happens, when we allow freedom to ring, when we let it ring from every village and every hamlet, from every state and every city, we will be able to speed up that day when all of God's children, black men and white men, Jews and Gentiles, Protestants and Catholics, will be able to join hands and sing in the words of the old Negro spiritual:

Free at last! Free at last!

Thank God Almighty, we are free at last!

KEY WORDS

- molehill *n.* 鼯鼠丘
- hamlet *n.* 小村庄
- Gentile *n.* 非犹太人

- spiritual *n.* (尤指美国南部黑人的) 圣歌
- almighty *adj.* 万能的

Discrimination and Martin Luther King 种族歧视与马丁·路德·金

To better understand the famous “I Have a Dream” speech, it’s important to realize where Martin Luther King spoke.

He gave this speech on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial in



Washington D.C. The speech began with the words: “Five score years ago, a great American, in whose symbolic shadow we stand today, signed the Emancipation

Proclamation.” Of course, King was referring to Abraham Lincoln. At the Lincoln Memorial, there is a huge sculpture of Lincoln sitting in a great chair. Anyone who stands before this

为了更好地理解《我有一个梦想》这篇著名的演讲，了解马丁·路德·金发表演讲的地点是很重要的。他是在华盛顿林肯纪念堂的台阶上发表的这篇演讲。演讲的开场白是：“100年前，一位伟大的美国人——我们今天就站在他具有象征意义的身影之下——签署了《解放宣言》。”当然，金指的就是亚伯拉罕·林肯。在林肯纪念堂里，有一尊林肯坐在大椅子上的巨型雕像。任何人站在这尊雕像面

statue can feel the powerful influence it seems to have. This is what King means when he says they are standing in the “symbolic shadow” of this great American president.

Lincoln freed the slaves when he signed the Emancipation Proclamation. However, 100 years later, blacks were not truly free. After decades of injustice, blacks in the 1960's were determined to establish their rights as truly equal citizens in American society. These efforts became known as the “Civil Rights Movement”. Some black leaders encouraged the use of violence. However, King became famous for his determination to use non-violent means. He encouraged blacks to go on peaceful marches, strikes, and mass demonstrations.

前，都能感到其巨大的影响力。这就是金在演讲中所说的他们就站在这位伟大的美国总统“具有象征意义的身影之下”。

林肯签署了《解放宣言》，让黑奴获得了自由。但是，100年后，黑人们并没有真正获得自由。在遭受了几十年的不公正待遇后，黑人们于19世纪60年代决定在美国社会中建立自己真正的公民平等权。这些抗争就成为了人们所熟知的“民权运动”。一些黑人领袖鼓励采取暴力行为，但金却因决心采取非暴力的方式而闻名。他鼓励黑人们举行和平游行、罢工和群众示威。

First Inaugural Address

首次就职演说

by Abraham Lincoln

March 4, 1861



Fellow Citizens . . .

Fellow citizens of the United States: in compliance with a custom as old as the government itself, I appear before you to address you briefly and to take, in your presence, the oath prescribed by the Constitution of the United States, to be taken by the President “before he enters on the execution of his office.”

KEY WORDS

- | | |
|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> briefly <i>adv.</i> 简短地 | <input type="checkbox"/> prescribe <i>v.</i> 规定 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> in one's presence 当着……的面 | <input type="checkbox"/> the Constitution 美国宪法 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> oath <i>n.</i> 誓言 | <input type="checkbox"/> execution <i>n.</i> 履行 |

I do not consider it necessary, at present, for me to discuss those matters of administration about which there is no special anxiety, or excitement.

Apprehension seems to exist among the people of the Southern States that by the accession of a Republican administration, their property and their peace and personal security are to be endangered. There has never been any reasonable cause for such apprehension. Indeed, the most ample evidence to the contrary has all the while existed and been open to their inspection. It is found in nearly all the published speeches of him who now addresses you. I do but quote from one of those speeches when I declare that

"I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the states where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so."

KEY WORDS

- | | |
|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> administration <i>n.</i> 行政 | <input type="checkbox"/> inspection <i>n.</i> 检查 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> apprehension <i>n.</i> 忧虑 | <input type="checkbox"/> quote <i>v.</i> 引用 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> accession <i>n.</i> 就任 | <input type="checkbox"/> declare <i>v.</i> 宣布 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> endangered <i>adj.</i> 有危险的 | <input type="checkbox"/> interfere with 干涉 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> ample <i>adj.</i> 大量的 | <input type="checkbox"/> institution <i>n.</i> 制度 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> to the contrary 相反的 | <input type="checkbox"/> inclination <i>n.</i> 意向 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> all the while 一直 | |

Those who nominated and elected me did so with full knowledge that I had made this and many similar declarations, and had never recanted them. And, more than this, they placed in the platform for my acceptance, and as a law to themselves and to me, the clear and emphatic resolution which I now read:

“Resolved: that the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the States, and especially the right of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of power on



KEY WORDS

- ☐ nominate *v.* (选举) 提名
- ☐ elect *v.* 选举
- ☐ recant *v.* 放弃 (主张等)
- ☐ platform *n.* 政党的纲领
- ☐ acceptance *n.* 接受
- ☐ emphatic *adj.* 坚决的

- ☐ resolution *n.* 决议
- ☐ maintenance *n.* 维护
- ☐ inviolate *adj.* 不受侵犯的
- ☐ domestic *adj.* 内部的
- ☐ exclusively *adv.* 排他地

which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depend, and we denounce the lawless invasion by armed force of the soil of any State or Territory, no matter under what pretext, as among the gravest of crimes.”

I now reiterate these sentiments; and, in doing so, I only press upon the public attention the most conclusive evidence of which the case is susceptible that the property, peace, and security of no section are to be in any wise endangered by the now incoming administration. I add, too, that all the protection which, consistently with the Constitution and the laws, can be given, will be cheerfully given to all the States when lawfully demanded, for whatever cause — as cheerfully to one section as to another.

KEY WORDS

- | | |
|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> endurance <i>n.</i> 保持 | <input type="checkbox"/> crime <i>n.</i> 罪行 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> fabric <i>n.</i> 结构 | <input type="checkbox"/> reiterate <i>v.</i> 重申 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> denounce <i>v.</i> 谴责 | <input type="checkbox"/> sentiment <i>n.</i> [~s] 观点 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> invasion <i>n.</i> 侵犯 | <input type="checkbox"/> conclusive <i>adj.</i> 决定性的 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> armed force 武力 | <input type="checkbox"/> susceptible <i>adj.</i> 易受影响的 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Territory <i>n.</i> (美国的) 准州 | <input type="checkbox"/> in any wise 无论如何 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> pretext <i>n.</i> 借口 | |

There is much controversy about the delivering up of fugitives from service or labor. The clause I now read is as plainly written in the Constitution as any other of its provisions:

“No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall in consequence of any law or regulation therein be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.”

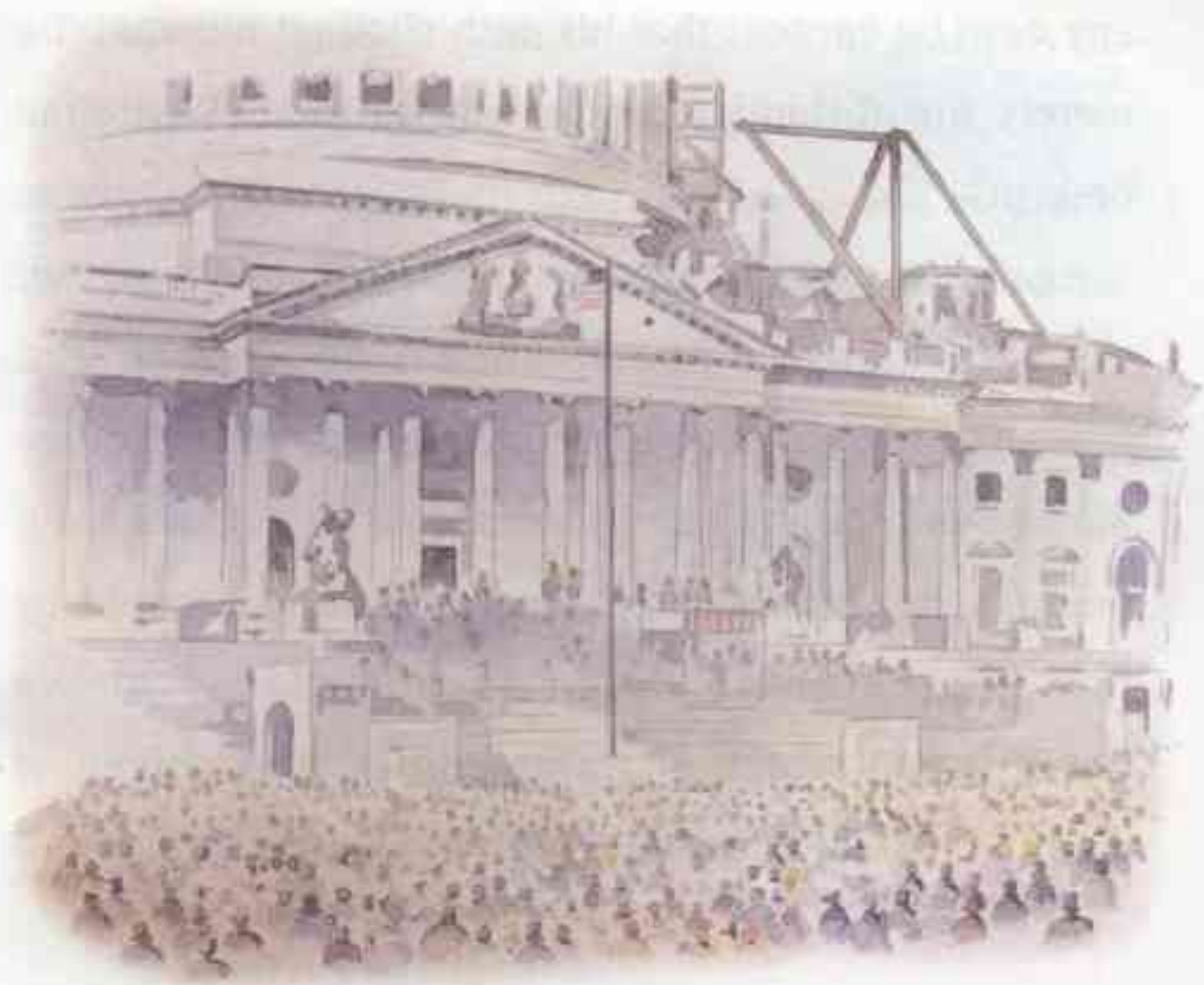
It is scarcely questioned that this provision was intended by those who made it for the reclaiming of what we call fugitive slaves; and the intention of the lawgiver is the law. All members of Congress swear their support to the whole Constitution – to this provision as much as to any other. To the proposition, then, that slaves whose cases come within the terms of this clause “shall be delivered up”, their oaths are

KEY WORDS

- ☐ controversy *n.* 争议
- ☐ deliver up 移交
- ☐ fugitive *n.* 逃亡者
- ☐ clause *n.* 条款
- ☐ provision *n.* 规定
- ☐ in consequence of 因为……
- ☐ regulation *n.* 规定
- ☐ discharge *v.* 免除

- ☐ be due to 属于……
- ☐ reclaim *v.* 要求归还
- ☐ intention *n.* 意图
- ☐ Congress *n.* (美国)国会
- ☐ swear *v.* 宣誓
(swear-swore-sworn)
- ☐ proposition *n.* 法规
- ☐ term *n.* [~s] 条款

unanimous. Now, if they would make the effort in good temper, could they not with nearly equal unanimity frame and pass a law by means of which to keep good that unanimous oath?



KEY WORDS

- ☐ unanimous *adj.* 全体一致的
- ☐ in good temper 心平气和地
- ☐ frame *v.* 制订

There is some difference of opinion whether this clause should be enforced by national or by State authority; but surely that difference is not a very material one. If the slave is to be surrendered, it can be of but little consequence to him or to others by which authority it is done. And should any one in any case be content that his oath shall go unkept on a merely unsubstantial controversy as to HOW it shall be kept?

Again, in any law upon this subject, ought not all the safeguards of liberty known in civilized and humane jurisprudence to be introduced, so that a free man be not, in any case, surrendered as a slave? And might it not be well at the same time to provide by law for the enforcement of that clause in the Constitution which guarantees that "the citizen of each State shall be entitled to all privileged and

KEY WORDS

- | | |
|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> opinion <i>n.</i> 观点 | <input type="checkbox"/> safeguard <i>n.</i> 维护 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> enforce <i>v.</i> 实施 | <input type="checkbox"/> civilized <i>adj.</i> 文明的 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> authority <i>n.</i> 当局 | <input type="checkbox"/> humane <i>adj.</i> 人道的 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> material <i>adj.</i> 重要的 | <input type="checkbox"/> jurisprudence <i>n.</i> 法学 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> surrender <i>v.</i> 交出 | <input type="checkbox"/> be entitled to 有资格…… |
| <input type="checkbox"/> consequence <i>n.</i> 重要 | <input type="checkbox"/> privileged <i>adj.</i> 有特权的 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> unsubstantial <i>adj.</i> 无实质意义的 | |

immunities of citizens in the several States?"

I take the official oath today with no mental reservations, and with no purpose to construe the Constitution or laws by any hypercritical rules. And while I do not choose now to specify particular acts of Congress as proper to be enforced, I do suggest that it will be much safer for all, both in official and private stations, to conform to and abide by all those acts which stand unrepealed, than to violate any of them, trusting to find impunity in having them held to be unconstitutional.

KEY WORDS

- | | |
|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> immunity <i>n.</i> 豁免权 | <input type="checkbox"/> conform to 遵照 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> mental <i>adj.</i> 精神上的 | <input type="checkbox"/> abide by 遵守 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> reservation <i>n.</i> 保留 | <input type="checkbox"/> unrepealed <i>adj.</i> 未被撤销的 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> construe <i>v.</i> 解释 | <input type="checkbox"/> violate <i>v.</i> 违反 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> hypercritical <i>adj.</i> 过分挑剔的 | <input type="checkbox"/> impunity <i>n.</i> 免受惩罚 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> specify <i>v.</i> 细化 | <input type="checkbox"/> unconstitutional <i>adj.</i> 违反宪法的 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> act <i>n.</i> 法案 | |

It is seventy-two years since the first inauguration of a President under our national Constitution. During that period fifteen different and greatly distinguished citizens have, in succession, administered the executive branch of the government. They have conducted it through many perils, and generally with great success. Yet, with all this scope of precedent, I now enter upon the same task for the brief Constitutional term of four years under great and peculiar difficulty. A disruption of the Federal Union, heretofore only menaced, is now formidably attempted.

I hold that, in contemplation of universal law and of the Constitution, the Union of these States is perpetual. Perpetuity is implied, if not expressed, in the fundamental law of all national governments. It is safe to assert that no government proper ever had a provision in its organic law for its own termination. Continue to

KEY WORDS

- | | |
|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> distinguished <i>adj.</i> 杰出的 | <input type="checkbox"/> menace <i>v.</i> 威胁 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> in succession 相继 | <input type="checkbox"/> formidably <i>adv.</i> 令人畏惧地 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> administer <i>v.</i> 管理 | <input type="checkbox"/> in contemplation of 考虑到…… |
| <input type="checkbox"/> executive <i>adj.</i> 行政的 | <input type="checkbox"/> perpetual <i>adj.</i> 永久的 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> peril <i>n.</i> 危险 | <input type="checkbox"/> imply <i>v.</i> 暗示 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> scope <i>n.</i> 范围 | <input type="checkbox"/> assert <i>v.</i> 断言 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> precedent <i>n.</i> 先例 | <input type="checkbox"/> organic <i>adj.</i> 基本的 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> enter upon 着手做 | <input type="checkbox"/> termination <i>n.</i> 终止 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> disruption <i>n.</i> 分裂 | |

execute all the express provisions of our National Constitution, and the Union will endure forever — it being impossible to destroy it except by some action not provided for in the instrument itself.

Again, if the United States be not a government proper, but an association of States in the nature of contract merely, can it, as a contract, be peaceably unmade by less than all the parties who made it? One party to a contract may violate it — break it, so to speak; but does it not require all to lawfully rescind it?



KEY WORDS

- ☐ association *n.* 联盟
- ☐ contract *n.* 契约

- ☐ unmake *v.* 取消
(unmake-unmade-unmade)
- ☐ rescind *v.* 解除

DECLARATION

BY THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
IN GENERAL CONGRESS ASSEMBLED.

When in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. — That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, — That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, in such a case, dictates that慎重, and not passion, should govern the people in their choice of new Government, that they should not hastily change one Form of Government for another, but that they should, in the first place, endeavor to repair the Wounds of the existing one, and if that fails, they should then resort to the more radical remedy of a total reformation.

We have accordingly appealed to the Supreme Judge of the World for a decision of our rights, and we have the honor to declare that we have obtained a verdict in our favor. We have the honor to declare that we have obtained a verdict in our favor.

Descending
from these general
principles, we find
the proposition
that in legal con-
templation the
Union is perpetual

confirmed by the history of the Union itself. The Union is much older than the Constitution. It was formed, in fact, by the Articles of Association in 1774. It was matured and continued by the Declaration of Independence in 1776. It was further matured, and the faith of all the then thirteen States expressly plighted and engaged that it should be perpetual, by the Articles of Confederation in 1778. And, finally, in

KEY WORDS

- ☐ descend from 起源于……
- ☐ principle *n.* 原则
- ☐ confirm *v.* 确认

- ☐ mature *v.* 变成熟
- ☐ plight *v.* 约定
- ☐ engage *v.* 保证

1787 one of the declared objects for ordaining and establishing the Constitution was "TO FORM A MORE PERFECT UNION."

But if the destruction of the Union by one or by a part only of the States be lawfully possible, the Union is LESS perfect than before the Constitution, having lost the vital element of perpetuity.

It follows from these views that no State upon its own mere motion can lawfully get out of the Union; that Resolves and Ordinances to that effect are legally void; and that acts of violence, within any State or States, against the authority of the United States, are insurrectionary or revolutionary, according to circumstances.

KEY WORDS

- | | |
|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> ordain <i>v.</i> 制定 | <input type="checkbox"/> ordinance <i>n.</i> 法令 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> vital <i>adj.</i> 至关重要的 | <input type="checkbox"/> void <i>adj.</i> 无效的 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> view <i>n.</i> 观点 | <input type="checkbox"/> insurrectionary <i>adj.</i> 叛乱的 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> mere <i>adj.</i> 仅仅的 | <input type="checkbox"/> revolutionary <i>adj.</i> 革命的 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> motion <i>n.</i> 动议 | <input type="checkbox"/> circumstance <i>n.</i> 情况 |

I therefore consider that, in view of the Constitution and the laws, the Union is unbroken; and to the extent of my ability I shall take care, as the Constitution itself expressly enjoins upon me, that the laws of the Union be faithfully executed in all the States. Doing this I deem to be only a simple duty on my part; and I shall perform it so far as practicable, unless my rightful masters, the American people, shall withhold the requisite means, or in some authoritative manner direct the contrary. I trust this will not be regarded as a menace, but only as the declared purpose of the Union that it WILL Constitutionally defend and maintain itself.

KEY WORDS

- | | |
|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> to the extent of 在……的范围 | <input type="checkbox"/> rightful <i>adj.</i> 合法的 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> enjoin <i>v.</i> 命令 | <input type="checkbox"/> withhold <i>v.</i> 不给 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> deem to 注定 | <input type="checkbox"/> requisite <i>adj.</i> 必需的 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> practicable <i>adj.</i> 可行的 | |

In doing this, there needs to be no bloodshed or violence; and there shall be none, unless it be forced upon the national authority. The power confided to me will be used to hold, occupy, and possess the property and places belonging to the government, and to collect the duties and imposts; but beyond what may be necessary for these objects, there will be no invasion, no using of force against or among the people anywhere. Where hostility to the United States, in any interior locality, shall be so great and universal as to prevent competent resident citizens from holding the Federal offices, there will be no attempt to force obnoxious strangers among the people for that object.

KEY WORDS

- | | |
|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> bloodshed <i>n.</i> 流血 | <input type="checkbox"/> hostility <i>n.</i> 敌意 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> confide to 托付 | <input type="checkbox"/> interior <i>adj.</i> 内部的 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> possess <i>v.</i> 支配 | <input type="checkbox"/> locality <i>n.</i> 地点 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> property <i>n.</i> 财产 | <input type="checkbox"/> competent <i>adj.</i> 能胜任的 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> duty <i>n.</i> 税 | <input type="checkbox"/> resident <i>adj.</i> 常住的 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> impost <i>n.</i> 关税 | <input type="checkbox"/> obnoxious <i>adj.</i> 令人讨厌的 |



While the strict legal right may exist in the government to enforce the exercise of these offices, the attempt to do so would be so irritating, and so nearly impracticable withal, that I deem it better to forego for the time the uses of such offices.

KEY WORDS

- | | |
|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> strict <i>adj.</i> 严格的 | <input type="checkbox"/> impracticable <i>adj.</i> 不可行的 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> enforce <i>v.</i> 迫使 | <input type="checkbox"/> withal <i>adv.</i> 此外 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> exercise <i>n.</i> 运转 | <input type="checkbox"/> forego <i>v.</i> 放弃 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> irritating <i>adj.</i> 令人愤怒的 | (forego-forewent-foregone) |

The mails, unless repelled, will continue to be furnished in all parts of the Union. So far as possible, the people everywhere shall have that sense of perfect security which is most favorable to calm thought and reflection. The course here indicated will be followed unless current events and experience shall show a modification or change to be proper, and in every case and exigency my best discretion will be exercised according to circumstances actually existing, and with a view and a hope of a peaceful solution of the national troubles and the restoration of fraternal sympathies and affections.

KEY WORDS

- | | |
|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> mail <i>n.</i> [~s] 邮政 (制度) | <input type="checkbox"/> modification <i>n.</i> 修正 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> repel <i>v.</i> 排斥 | <input type="checkbox"/> exigency <i>n.</i> 紧急情况 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> furnish <i>v.</i> 提供 | <input type="checkbox"/> discretion <i>n.</i> 判断力 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> security <i>n.</i> 安全 | <input type="checkbox"/> with a view of 为了…… |
| <input type="checkbox"/> favorable <i>adj.</i> 受人欢迎的 | <input type="checkbox"/> restoration <i>n.</i> 恢复 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> reflection <i>n.</i> 思考 | <input type="checkbox"/> fraternal <i>adj.</i> 手足的 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> course <i>n.</i> 方针 | <input type="checkbox"/> sympathy <i>n.</i> 感情 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> indicate <i>v.</i> 显示 | <input type="checkbox"/> affection <i>n.</i> [~s] 感情; 友爱 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> current <i>adj.</i> 目前的 | |

That there are persons in one section or another who seek to destroy the Union at all events, and are glad of any pretext to do it, I will neither affirm nor deny; but if there be such, I need address no word to them. To those, however, who really love the Union may I not speak?

Before entering upon so grave a matter as the destruction of our national fabric, with all its benefits, its memories, and its hopes, would it not be wise to ascertain precisely why we do it? Will you hazard so desperate a step while there is any possibility that any portion of the ills you fly from have no real existence? Will you, while the certain ills you fly to are greater than all the real ones you fly from — will you risk the commission of so fearful a mistake?

KEY WORDS

- ☐ pretext *n.* 借口
- ☐ affirm *v.* 肯定
- ☐ deny *v.* 否认
- ☐ grave *adj.* 重大的
- ☐ benefit *n.* 利益
- ☐ ascertain *v.* 确认

- ☐ precisely *adv.* 精确地
- ☐ hazard *v.* 冒险
- ☐ desperate *adj.* 不顾一切的
- ☐ ill *n.* [~s] 困难; 祸害
- ☐ risk *v.* 冒……的危险
- ☐ commission *n.* 犯(错误)

All profess to be content in the Union if all Constitutional rights can be maintained. Is it true, then, that any right, plainly written in the



Constitution, has been denied? I think not. Happily the human mind is so constituted that no party can reach to the audacity of doing this. Think, if you can, of a single instance in which a plainly written provision of the Constitution has ever been denied. If by the mere force of numbers a majority should deprive a minority of any clearly written Constitutional right, it might, in a moral point of view, justify revolution — certainly would if such a right were a vital one. But such is not our case.

KEY WORDS

- ☐ profess *v.* 声称
- ☐ plainly *adv.* 明确地
- ☐ audacity *n.* 胆量
- ☐ instance *n.* 例子
- ☐ majority *n.* 大多数

- ☐ deprive *v.* 剥夺
- ☐ minority *n.* 少数人
- ☐ moral *adj.* 道德的
- ☐ justify *v.* 使……正当化

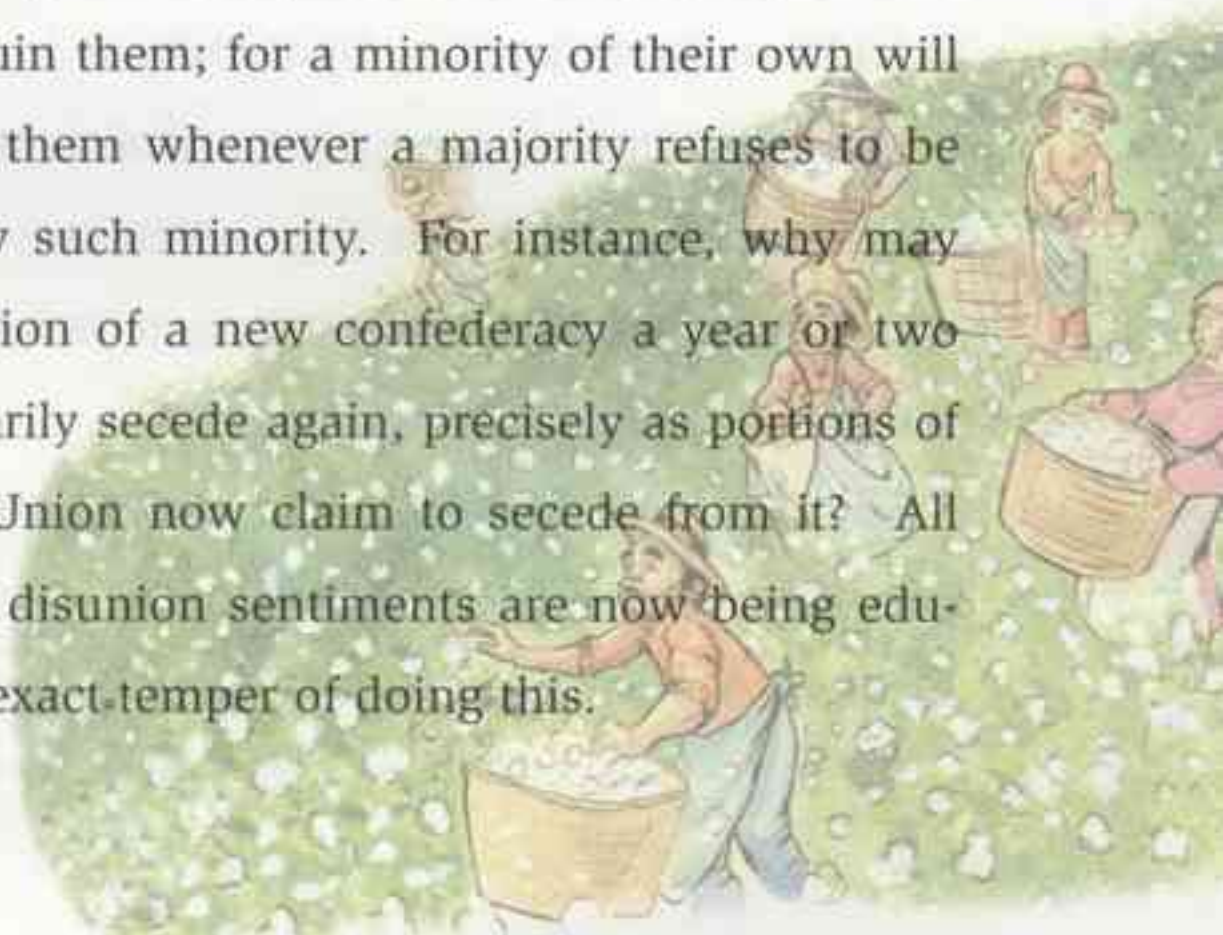
All the vital rights of minorities and of individuals are so plainly assured to them by affirmations and negations, guaranties and prohibitions, in the Constitution, that controversies never arise concerning them. But no organic law can ever be framed with a provision specifically applicable to every question which may occur in practical administration. No foresight can anticipate, nor any document of reasonable length contain, express provisions for all possible questions. Shall fugitives from labor be surrendered by national or State authority? The Constitution does not expressly say. May Congress prohibit slavery in the Territories? The Constitution does not expressly say. MUST Congress protect slavery in the Territories? The Constitution does not expressly say.

KEY WORDS

- | | |
|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> affirmation <i>n.</i> 肯定 | <input type="checkbox"/> applicable to 适用于…… |
| <input type="checkbox"/> negation <i>n.</i> 否定 | <input type="checkbox"/> foresight <i>n.</i> 预见 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> prohibition <i>n.</i> 禁止 | <input type="checkbox"/> anticipate <i>v.</i> 预期 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> concerning <i>prep.</i> 关于 | |

From questions of this class spring all our constitutional controversies, and we divide upon them into majorities and minorities. If the minority will not acquiesce, the majority must, or the government must cease. There is no other alternative; for continuing the government is acquiescence on one side or the other.

If a minority in such case will secede rather than acquiesce, they make a precedent which in turn will divide and ruin them; for a minority of their own will secede from them whenever a majority refuses to be controlled by such minority. For instance, why may not any portion of a new confederacy a year or two hence arbitrarily secede again, precisely as portions of the present Union now claim to secede from it? All who cherish disunion sentiments are now being educated to the exact temper of doing this.



KEY WORDS

- spring v. 触发
(spring-sprang-sprung)
- acquiesce v. 默许
- cease v. 停止
- alternative n. 选择

- secede v. 脱离
- confederacy n. 联邦
- arbitrarily adv. 恣意地
- cherish v. 怀有
- disunion n. 分裂

Is there such perfect identity of interests among the States to compose a new Union, as to produce harmony only, and prevent renewed secession?

Plainly, the central idea of secession is the essence of anarchy. A majority held in restraint by constitutional checks and limitations, and always changing easily with deliberate changes of popular opinions and sentiments, is the only true sovereign of a free people. Whoever rejects it does, of necessity, fly to anarchy or to despotism. Unanimity is impossible; the rule of a minority, as a permanent arrangement, is wholly inadmissible; so that, rejecting the majority principle, anarchy or despotism in some form is all that is left.

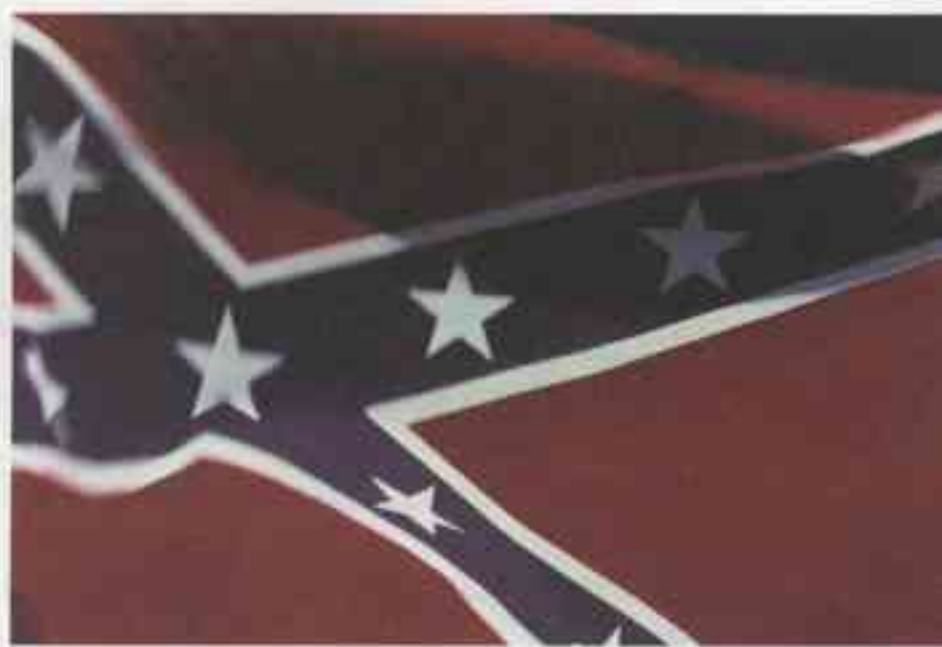
I do not forget the position, assumed by some, that Constitutional questions are to be decided by the Supreme Court; nor do I deny that such decisions

KEY WORDS

- ☐ identity *n.* 一致性
- ☐ compose *v.* 组成
- ☐ secession *n.* 分裂
- ☐ anarchy *n.* 无政府主义
- ☐ restraint *n.* 限制
- ☐ limitation *n.* 局限
- ☐ deliberate *adj.* 深思熟虑的

- ☐ sovereign *n.* 统治
- ☐ reject *v.* 拒绝
- ☐ despotism *n.* 专制
- ☐ inadmissible *adj.* 不能接受的
- ☐ Supreme Court (美国) 联邦最高法院

must be binding, in any case, upon the parties to a suit, as to the object of that suit, while they are also entitled to very high respect and consideration in all parallel



cases by all other departments of the government. And while it is obviously possible that such decision may be erroneous in any given case, still the evil effect following it, being limited to that particular case, with the chance that it may be overruled and never become a precedent for other cases, can better be borne than could the evils of a different practice.

KEY WORDS

- ☐ bind upon 限制……
- ☐ suit *n.* 案例
- ☐ consideration *n.* 考虑

- ☐ parallel *adj.* 类似的
- ☐ erroneous *adj.* 错误的
- ☐ overrule *v.* 驳回

At the same time, the candid citizen must confess that if the policy of the government, upon vital questions affecting the whole people, is to be irrevocably fixed by decisions of the Supreme Court, the instant they are made, in ordinary litigation between parties in personal actions, the people will have ceased to be their own rulers, having to that extent practically resigned their government into the hands of that eminent tribunal. Nor is there in this view any assault upon the court or the judges. It is a duty from which they may not shrink to decide cases properly brought before them, and it is no fault of theirs if others seek to turn their decisions to political purposes.

One section of our country believes slavery is RIGHT, and ought to be extended, while the other believes it is WRONG, and ought not to be extended.

KEY WORDS

- ☐ candid *adj.* 坦诚的
- ☐ confess *v.* 承认
- ☐ irrevocably *adv.* 不可撤销地
- ☐ fix *v.* 制定
- ☐ instant *n.* 时刻
- ☐ litigation *n.* 诉讼
- ☐ resign *v.* 把……交托给

- ☐ eminent *adj.* 尊贵的
- ☐ tribunal *n.* 法庭
- ☐ assault *n.* 抨击
- ☐ shrink *v.* 退缩
(shrink-shrank-shrunk)
- ☐ extend *v.* 扩展

This is the only substantial dispute. The fugitive-slave clause of the Constitution, and the law for the suppression of the foreign slave-trade, are each as well enforced, perhaps, as any law can ever be in a community where the moral sense of the people imperfectly supports the law itself. The great body of the people abide by the dry legal obligation in both cases, and a few break over in each. This, I think, cannot be perfectly cured; and it would be worse in both cases AFTER the separation of the sections than BEFORE.

The foreign slave-trade, now imperfectly suppressed, would be ultimately revived, without restriction, in one section, while fugitive slaves, now only partially surrendered, would not be surrendered at all by the other.

KEY WORDS

- | | |
|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> substantial <i>adj.</i> 实质性的 | <input type="checkbox"/> separation <i>n.</i> 分隔 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> dispute <i>n.</i> 争议 | <input type="checkbox"/> ultimately <i>adv.</i> 最终 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> suppression <i>n.</i> 限制 | <input type="checkbox"/> revive <i>v.</i> 复苏 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> imperfectly <i>adv.</i> 不彻底地 | <input type="checkbox"/> restriction <i>n.</i> 限制 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> obligation <i>n.</i> 义务 | <input type="checkbox"/> partially <i>adv.</i> 部分地 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> break <i>v.</i> 触犯 | |
| (break-broke-broken) | |



Physically speaking, we cannot separate. We cannot remove our respective sections from each other, nor build an impassable wall between them. A husband and wife may be divorced, and go out of the presence and beyond the reach of each other; but the different parts of our country cannot do this.

KEY WORDS

□ *respective* *adj.* 各自的

□ *impassable* *adj.* 不可逾越的

They cannot but remain face to face, and intercourse, either amicable or hostile, must continue between them. Is it possible, then, to make that intercourse more advantageous or more satisfactory after separation than before? Can aliens make treaties easier than friends can make laws? Can treaties be more faithfully enforced between aliens than laws can among friends? Suppose you go to war, you cannot fight always; and when, after much loss on both sides, and no gain on either, you cease fighting, the identical old questions as to terms of intercourse are again upon you.

This country, with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing government, they can exercise their CONSTITUTIONAL right of amending it, or their REVOLUTIONARY right to dismember or overthrow it.

KEY WORDS

- | | |
|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> intercourse <i>n.</i> 交流 | <input type="checkbox"/> identical <i>adj.</i> 相同的 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> amicable <i>adj.</i> 友善的 | <input type="checkbox"/> inhabit <i>v.</i> 居住 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> hostile <i>adj.</i> 恶意的 | <input type="checkbox"/> weary <i>adj.</i> 厌倦的 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> advantageous <i>adj.</i> 有利的 | <input type="checkbox"/> amend <i>v.</i> 修订 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> satisfactory <i>adj.</i> 令人满意的 | <input type="checkbox"/> dismember <i>v.</i> 解散 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> alien <i>n.</i> 对立方 | <input type="checkbox"/> overthrow <i>v.</i> 颠覆 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> treaty <i>n.</i> 条约 | (overthrow-overthrew-overthrown) |

I cannot be ignorant of the fact that many worthy and patriotic citizens are desirous of having the national Constitution amended. While I make no recommendation of amendments, I fully recognize the rightful authority of the people over the whole subject, to be exercised in either of the modes prescribed in the instrument itself; and I should, under existing circumstances, favor rather than oppose a fair opportunity being afforded the people to act upon it. I will venture to add that to me the convention mode seems preferable, in that it allows amendments to originate with the people themselves, instead of only permitting them to take or reject propositions originated by others not especially chosen for the purpose, and which might not be precisely such as they would wish to either accept or refuse. I understand a proposed amendment to the Constitution—which amendment, however, I have not seen—has passed Congress, to

KEY WORDS

- ☐ ignorant *adj.* 不知道的
- ☐ patriotic *adj.* 爱国的
- ☐ desirous *adj.* 渴望的
- ☐ recommendation *n.* 建议
- ☐ recognize *v.* 意识到
- ☐ favor *v.* 支持
- ☐ oppose *v.* 反对

- ☐ afford *v.* 提供
- ☐ venture *v.* 斗胆
- ☐ convention *n.* 大会
- ☐ preferable *adj.* 更好的
- ☐ originate with 产生于……
- ☐ permit *v.* 允许

the effect that the Federal Government shall never interfere with the domestic institutions of the States, including that of persons held to service. To avoid misconstruction of what I have said, I depart from my purpose not to speak of particular amendments so far as to say that, holding such a provision to now be implied Constitutional law, I have no objection to its being made express and irrevocable.

The chief magistrate derives all his authority from the people, and they have conferred none upon him to fix terms for the separation of the states. The people themselves can do this also if they choose; but the executive, as such, has nothing to do with it. His duty is to administer the present government, as it came to his hands, and to transmit it, unimpaired by him, to his successor.

KEY WORDS

- | | |
|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> misconstruction <i>n.</i> 误解 | <input type="checkbox"/> derive <i>v.</i> 获得 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> depart from 离开 | <input type="checkbox"/> confer <i>v.</i> 授予 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> objection <i>n.</i> 反对 | <input type="checkbox"/> executive <i>n.</i> 行政当局 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> irrevocable <i>adj.</i> 不可改变的 | <input type="checkbox"/> transmit <i>v.</i> 传递 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> the chief magistrate (美国) 总统 | <input type="checkbox"/> unimpaired <i>adj.</i> 未受损害的 |
| | <input type="checkbox"/> successor <i>n.</i> 继任者 |



Why should there not be a patient confidence in the ultimate justice of the people? Is there any better or equal hope in the world? In our present differences is either party without faith of being in the right? If the Almighty Ruler of Nations, with his eternal truth and justice, be on your side of the North,

or on yours of the South, that truth and that justice will surely prevail, by the judgment of this great tribunal, the American people.

By the frame of the government under which we live, this same people have wisely given their public servants but little power for mischief; and have, with

KEY WORDS

- ☐ confidence *n.* 信心
- ☐ eternal *adj.* 永恒的
- ☐ prevail *v.* 获胜

- ☐ public servant 人民公仆
- ☐ mischief *n.* 危害

equal wisdom, provided for the return of that little to their own hands at very short intervals. While the people retain their virtue and vigilance, no administration, by any extreme of wickedness or folly, can very seriously injure the government in the short space of four years.

My countrymen, one and all, think calmly and WELL upon this whole subject. Nothing valuable can be lost by taking time. If there be an object to HURRY any of you in hot haste to a step which you would never take DELIBERATELY, that object will be frustrated by taking time; but no good object can be frustrated by it.

KEY WORDS

- | | |
|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> wisdom <i>n.</i> 智慧 | <input type="checkbox"/> folly <i>n.</i> 愚昧 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> interval <i>n.</i> 间隔 | <input type="checkbox"/> valuable <i>adj.</i> 有价值的 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> retain <i>v.</i> 保持 | <input type="checkbox"/> in hot haste 匆忙中 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> virtue <i>n.</i> 美德 | <input type="checkbox"/> take a step 采取行动 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> vigilance <i>n.</i> 警惕性 | <input type="checkbox"/> frustrate <i>v.</i> 挫败 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> wickedness <i>n.</i> 恶意 | |

Such of you as are now dissatisfied, still have the old Constitution unimpaired, and, on the sensitive point, the laws of your own framing under it; while the new administration will have no immediate power, if it would, to change either. If it were admitted that you who are dissatisfied hold the right side in the dispute, there still is no single good reason for precipitate action. Intelligence, patriotism, Christianity, and a firm reliance on Him who has never yet forsaken this favored land, are still competent to adjust in the best way all our present difficulty.

In YOUR hands, my dissatisfied fellow-countrymen, and not in MINE, is the momentous issue of civil war. The government will not assail YOU. You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors. YOU have no oath registered in heaven to destroy the government, while I shall have the most solemn one to "preserve, protect, and defend it."

KEY WORDS

- | | |
|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> dissatisfied <i>adj.</i> 心怀不满的 | <input type="checkbox"/> forsake <i>v.</i> 抛弃
(forsake-forsook-forsaken) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> sensitive <i>adj.</i> 敏感的 | <input type="checkbox"/> assail <i>v.</i> 袭击 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> precipitate <i>adj.</i> 贸然的 | <input type="checkbox"/> conflict <i>n.</i> 争端 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> intelligence <i>n.</i> 智慧 | <input type="checkbox"/> aggressor <i>n.</i> 袭击者 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> reliance <i>n.</i> 依靠 | |

I am loathe to close. We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battlefield and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature.



KEY WORDS

- | | |
|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> loathe <i>v.</i> 厌恶 | <input type="checkbox"/> stretch <i>v.</i> 延展 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> strain <i>v.</i> 绷紧 | <input type="checkbox"/> hearthstone <i>n.</i> 家庭 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> mystic <i>adj.</i> 神秘的 | <input type="checkbox"/> swell <i>v.</i> 增强 (声音、音调等) |

Second Inaugural Address

第二次就职演说

by Abraham Lincoln

March 4, 1865

Fellow Countrymen:

At this second appearing to take the oath of the presidential office, there is less occasion for an extended address than there was at the first. Then a statement, somewhat in detail, of a course to be pursued, seemed fitting and proper. Now, at the expiration of four years, during which public declarations have been constantly called forth on every point and phase of the great contest which still absorbs the attention, and engrosses the energies of the nation, little that is new could be presented. The progress of

KEY WORDS

- ☐ statement *n.* 声明
- ☐ in detail 详细地
- ☐ fitting *adj.* 适合的
- ☐ expiration *n.* 到期

- ☐ constantly *adv.* 不断地
- ☐ phase *n.* 阶段
- ☐ engross *v.* 占去(时间等)

our arms, upon which all else chiefly depends, is as well known to the public as to myself; and it is, I trust, reasonably satisfactory and encouraging to all. With high hope for the future, no prediction in regard to it is ventured.



On the occasion corresponding to this four years ago, all thoughts were anxiously directed to an impending civil war. All dreaded it — all sought to avert it. While the inaugural address was being delivered from this place, devoted altogether to saving the Union without war, insurgent agents were in the city seeking to destroy it without war — seeking to dissolve the Union, and divide effects, by negotiation.

KEY WORDS

- | | |
|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> prediction <i>n.</i> 预测 | <input type="checkbox"/> insurgent <i>adj.</i> 叛乱的 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> in regard to 关于 | <input type="checkbox"/> agent <i>n.</i> 人员 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> corresponding <i>adj.</i> 相应的 | <input type="checkbox"/> dissolve <i>v.</i> 解散 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> impending <i>adj.</i> 迫在眉睫的 | <input type="checkbox"/> negotiation <i>n.</i> 谈判 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> avert <i>v.</i> 避免 | |

Both parties deprecated war; but one of them would make war rather than let the nation survive; and the other would accept war rather than let it perish. And the war came.



KEY WORDS

□ deprecate v. 反对

□ perish v. 消亡

One eighth of the whole population were colored slaves, not distributed generally over the Union, but localized in the Southern part of it. These slaves constituted a peculiar and powerful interest. All knew that this interest was, somehow, the cause of the war. To strengthen, perpetuate, and extend this interest was the object for which the insurgents would rend the Union, even by war; while the government claimed no right to do more than to restrict the territorial enlargement of it. Neither party expected for the war, the magnitude, or the duration, which it has already attained. Neither anticipated that the cause of the conflict might cease with, or even before, the conflict itself should cease. Each looked for an easier triumph, and a result less fundamental and astounding. Both read the same Bible, and pray to the same God; and each invokes His aid against the other.

KEY WORDS

- | | |
|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> population <i>n.</i> 人口 | <input type="checkbox"/> enlargement <i>n.</i> 扩大 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> distribute <i>v.</i> 分布 | <input type="checkbox"/> magnitude <i>n.</i> 大量 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> localize <i>v.</i> 集中 | <input type="checkbox"/> duration <i>n.</i> 持续的时间 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> perpetuate <i>v.</i> 使永久化 | <input type="checkbox"/> attain <i>v.</i> 获得 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> rend <i>v.</i> 撕裂
(rend-rent-rent) | <input type="checkbox"/> astounding <i>adj.</i> 惊人的 |
| | <input type="checkbox"/> invoke <i>v.</i> 祈求(神等)保佑 |

It may seem strange that any men should dare to ask a just God's assistance in wringing their bread from the sweat of other men's faces; but let us judge not that we be not judged. The prayers of both could not be answered; that of neither has been answered fully.

The Almighty has his own purposes. "Woe unto the world because of offences; for it must needs be that offences come; but woe to that man by whom the offence cometh!" If we shall suppose that American Slavery is one of those offences which, in the providence of God, must needs come, but which, having continued through His appointed time, He now wills to remove, and that He gives to both North and South, this terrible war, as the woe due to those by whom the offence came, shall we discern therein any departure from those divine attributes which the believers in a Living God always ascribe to Him? Fondly do we hope — fervently do we pray — that this mighty

KEY WORDS

- ☐ assistance *n.* 帮助
- ☐ wring *v.* 榨取
(wring-wrung-wrung)
- ☐ sweat *n.* 汗水
- ☐ woe *n.* 灾祸
- ☐ offence *n.* 罪行
- ☐ providence *n.* 天意

- ☐ appointed *adj.* 指定的
- ☐ remove *v.* 铲除
- ☐ discern *v.* 辨别
- ☐ departure from 背离……
- ☐ attribute *n.* 特质
- ☐ ascribe to 归于……
- ☐ fervently *adv.* 热诚地

scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue, until all the wealth piled by the bondman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash, shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said "the judgments of the Lord, are true and righteous altogether."

With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow, and his orphan — to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace, among ourselves, and with all nations.

KEY WORDS

- ☐ scourge *n.* 灾祸
- ☐ bondman *n.* 奴隶
- ☐ unrequited *adj.* 无偿的

- ☐ lash *n.* 鞭子
- ☐ malice *n.* 恶意
- ☐ strive to 努力达到

Slavery and the Civil War

奴隶制与美国内战

President Abraham Lincoln presided over the most dangerous and difficult time in American history since the American Revolution. The Civil War raged for four years between 1861 and 1865. Slavery was one of the leading causes for this war. Lincoln refers to the issue of slavery several times in both of his inaugural speeches as central to the divide



between the southern and northern states. The South needed it to preserve their economic, social, and political structure. Agriculture, especially the

cultivation of cotton, was the base of the southern economy. The industrial north did not have slavery, and northerners increasingly saw it as an evil system. In addition, there were

亚伯拉罕·林肯总统执政期间是美国历史上自独立战争以来最危险、最艰难的时期。从1861年至1865年，美国内战激烈地持续了四年时间。奴隶制是这场战争的主要起因之一。林肯在两次就职演说中曾数次指出，奴隶制是南北各州分歧的中心。南方需要奴隶制来支持自己的经济、社会和政治结构。农业，尤其是棉花种植业，是南方经济的基础。工业化的北方没有奴隶制，而北方人逐渐将奴隶

more whites in the North, so they were able to vote their own politicians from the Republican party into national government.

Lincoln tried to calm the Southerners' fears when he



gave his first inaugural speech. He said that the Republican victory did not mean that southerners should fear for "their property, peace, and personal security." However, seven southern states formed a new nation, "The Confederate States of America." Shortly after Lincoln's speech, other southern states joined the confederacy. The Civil War began. By the time Lincoln gave his second inaugural speech, this terrible war was almost over. Instead of boasting about the north's victory, Lincoln tried to heal the wounds of the divided nation. One month later, he was assassinated by a southerner.

制视为一种邪恶的制度。此外，北方白人更多，因此能通过投票从共和党人中选出自己的政治家入主国家政府。

林肯在发表第一次就职演说时曾试图安抚南方人的恐惧情绪。他说共和党的胜利并不意味着南方人应该为“他们的财产、和平和人身安全”担心。但是，南方有七个州建立起了一个新的国家，即“美国南部邦联”。在林肯发表演说后不久，其余的南方各州也加入了邦联。美国内战由此爆发。到林肯发表第二次就职演说时，这场可怕的战争已经快要结束了。林肯没有夸耀北方的胜利，而是试图抚平四分五裂的国家的伤口。一个月后，他被一名南方人刺杀了。

Non-cooperation with Non-violence

非暴力不合作

by Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi

August 12, 1920



What is this non-cooperation, about which you have heard much, and why do we want to offer this non-cooperation?

I have been told that non-cooperation is unconstitutional. I

venture to deny that it is unconstitutional.

On the contrary, I hold that non-cooperation is a just and religious doctrine; it is the inherent right of

KEY WORDS

- ☐ religious *adj.* 恪守宗教教规的 ☐ inherent *adj.* 与生俱来的
☐ doctrine *n.* 信条

every human being and it is perfectly constitutional. A great lover of the British Empire has said that under the British constitution even a successful rebellion is perfectly constitutional, and he quotes historical instances, which I cannot deny, in support of his claim. I don't claim any constitutionality for a rebellion successful or otherwise, so long as that rebellion means in the ordinary sense of the term, what it does mean, namely, wresting justice by violent means. On the contrary, I have said it repeatedly to my countrymen that violence, whatever end it may serve in Europe, will never serve us in India.

KEY WORDS

- British Empire 不列颠帝国
- rebellion *n.* 起义
- historical *adj.* 历史的
- constitutionality *n.* 合宪性
- term *n.* 词汇

- namely *adv.* 就是
- wrest *v.* 夺取
- end *n.* 结果
- serve *v.* 效劳



I tell you that while my friend believes also in the doctrine of violence and has adopted the doctrine of non-violence as a weapon of the weak, I believe in the doctrine of non-violence as a weapon of the strongest. I believe that a man is the strongest soldier for daring to die unarmed with his breast bare before the enemy. So much for the non-violent part of non-cooperation. I, therefore, venture to suggest to my learned countrymen that so long as the doctrine of non-cooperation remains non-violent, so long there is nothing unconstitutional in that doctrine.

KEY WORDS

- adopt *v.* 采纳
- weapon *n.* 武器
- unarmed *adj.* 赤手空拳的

- breast *n.* 胸膛
- bare *adj.* 赤裸的
- learned *adj.* 有学问的

I ask further, is it unconstitutional for me to say to the British Government "I refuse to serve you"? Is it unconstitutional for our worthy Chairman to return with every respect all the titles that he has ever held from the Government? Is it unconstitutional for any parent to withdraw his children from a Government or aided school? Is it unconstitutional for a lawyer to say "I shall no longer support the arm of the law so long as that arm of law is used not to raise me but to debase me"? Is it unconstitutional for a civil servant or for a judge to say, "I refuse to serve a Government which does not wish to respect the wishes of the whole people"?

KEY WORDS

- | | |
|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> worthy <i>adj.</i> 值得尊敬的 | <input type="checkbox"/> aided <i>adj.</i> 受到赞助的 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> chairman <i>n.</i> 主席 | <input type="checkbox"/> lawyer <i>n.</i> 律师 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> title <i>n.</i> 头衔 | <input type="checkbox"/> the arm of the law 法律的威力 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> withdraw <i>v.</i> 领回 | <input type="checkbox"/> debase <i>v.</i> 贬低 |
| (withdraw-withdrew-withdrawn) | |

I ask, is it unconstitutional for a policeman or for a soldier to tender his resignation when he knows that he is called to serve a Government which traduces his own countrymen? Is it unconstitutional for me to go to the agriculturist and say to him "it's not wise for you to pay any taxes, if these taxes are used by the Government not to raise you but to weaken you?" I hold and I venture to submit, that there is nothing unconstitutional in it. What is more, I have done every one of these things in my life, and nobody has questioned the constitutional character of it.

I submit that in the whole plan of non-cooperation, there is nothing unconstitutional. But I do venture to suggest that it will be highly unconstitutional in the midst of this unconstitutional Government, — in the midst of a nation which has built up its magnificent constitution, — for the people of India to become weak and to crawl on their belly — it will be highly

KEY WORDS

- ☐ tender *v.* 提出
- ☐ resignation *n.* 辞职
- ☐ traduce *v.* 迫害
- ☐ agriculturist *n.* 农夫
- ☐ tax *n.* 税收

- ☐ weaken *v.* 削弱
- ☐ submit *v.* 认为
- ☐ magnificent *adj.* 相当好的
- ☐ crawl *v.* 爬
- ☐ on one's belly 匍匐地

unconstitutional for the people of India to pocket every insult that is offered to them; it is highly unconstitutional for the 70 millions of Mohammedans of India



to submit to a violent wrong done to their religion; it is highly unconstitutional for the whole of India to sit still and cooperate with an unjust Government which has trodden under its feet the honour of the Punjab.

KEY WORDS

- | | |
|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> pocket <i>v.</i> 忍受 | <input type="checkbox"/> unjust <i>adj.</i> 不公正的 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> insult <i>n.</i> 侮辱 | <input type="checkbox"/> tread <i>v.</i> 践踏 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Mohammedan <i>n.</i> 伊斯兰教徒 | (tread-trod-trodden) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> still <i>adv.</i> 一动不动地 | |



I say to my countrymen so long as you have a sense of honour and so long as you wish to remain the descendants and defenders of the noble traditions that have

been handed to you for generations after generations; it is unconstitutional for you not to non-cooperate and unconstitutional for you to cooperate with a Government which has become so unjust as our Government has become.

I'm not anti-English; I'm not anti-British; I'm not anti any Government; but I am anti-untruth, anti-humbug and anti-unjustice. So long as the Government spells injustice, it may regard me as its enemy, implacable enemy.

KEY WORDS

- ☐ descendant *n.* 后裔
- ☐ defender *v.* 保卫者
- ☐ noble *adj.* 高尚的
- ☐ tradition *n.* 传统
- ☐ generation *n.* 一代

- ☐ anti-untruth *adj.* 反对谎言的
- ☐ anti-humbug *adj.* 反对欺骗的
- ☐ spell *v.* 意味着
- ☐ implacable *adj.* 拒绝和解的

Until we have wrung justice, and until we have wrung our self-respect from unwilling hands and from unwilling pens, there can be no cooperation. Our Shastras say and I say so with the greatest deference to all the greatest religious preceptors of India but without fear of contradiction, that our Shastras teach us that there shall be no cooperation between injustice and justice, between an unjust man and a justice-loving man, between truth and untruth. Cooperation is a duty only so long as Government protects your honour, and non-cooperation is an equal duty when the Government, instead of protecting, robs you of your honour. That's the doctrine of non-cooperation.

KEY WORDS

- | | |
|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> self-respect <i>n.</i> 自尊 | <input type="checkbox"/> preceptor <i>n.</i> 领袖 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> unwilling <i>adj.</i> 不情愿的 | <input type="checkbox"/> contradiction <i>n.</i> 反驳 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Shastras <i>n.</i> 印度教圣典 | <input type="checkbox"/> rob of 剥夺 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> deference <i>n.</i> 尊重 | |

Resistance of those days in India 当年印度的抵抗运动

When Gandhi gave his speech about non-cooperation, India was ruled by Britain. The British had made India a part of the British Empire in 1858, but the Indians were not treated as equals. British rulers made and enforced laws that protected British interests. Gandhi saw that such a system was evil. He also knew that the British military was very powerful. A violent struggle to gain Indian independence would result in the deaths of many of his countrymen. Also, it would probably fail.

However, these were not the only reasons Gandhi decided to fight the British with non-violence. He was raised according to Hindu philosophy which preached that one should not injure

甘地发表关于不合作的演讲时，印度正处于英国统治下。英国于1858年将印度纳入不列颠帝国的领土范围，但印度人并没有受到公平的对待。英国统治者制定并强制执行保护英国利益的法律。甘地认为这样的制度是罪恶的。同时，他也深知英国军队十分强大。用暴力斗争来争取印度独立将会使他的许多同胞丧命。更何况，斗争还很有可能会失败。

但是，这些还不仅仅是甘地决定用不合作的方式与英国斗争的原因。他是在宣扬人不应该残害生灵的印度教哲学观的环境中被抚养成人的。即便甘地遭到了

living beings. Even after Gandhi was attacked by his enemies, he refused to press charges against them in court. Another important part of this philosophy was to seek

the truth. Oppression and injustice are based in lies. Such a system could not survive if the Indians refused to cooperate. No force of arms can force an honest man to surrender his heart to an evil system.

It was difficult to impress these ideas upon some of his countrymen. Other Indian leaders wanted to fight the British in a war. Whenever violence broke out, Gandhi was emotionally hurt. However, by seeing Gandhi's personal example, many Indians realized the awesome power they could have if together, they refused to cooperate with the British. This power was so strong that the British finally had to leave India.



敌人的袭击，他也拒绝在法庭上控告他们。该哲学观的另一个重要组成部分就是追求真理。压迫与不公正都是建立在谎言的基础上的。要是印度人拒绝合作，这种罪恶的制度就不会存在下去。武力是不能迫使诚实的人真心屈服于罪恶的制度的。

要让他的一些同胞接受这些观点是十分困难的。其他印度领导人希望用战争来反抗英国。每当发生暴力事件时，甘地便会痛心疾首。不过，许多印度人通过甘地树立的个人榜样，都意识到了一旦他们团结起来拒绝同英国人合作，便能产生惊人的力量。这种力量如此强大，以致于最后英国人不得不离开了印度。

First Inaugural Address

首次就职演说

by Franklin Delano Roosevelt

March 4, 1933



President Hoover, Mr. Chief Justice, my friends:

This is a day of national consecration. And I am certain that on this day my fellow Americans expect that on my induction into the Presidency, I will address them with a candor and a decision which the present situation of our people impels.

This is preeminently the time to speak the truth, the

KEY WORDS

- ☐ consecration *n.* 盛典
- ☐ induction *n.* 就职
- ☐ Presidency *n.* 总统职位

- ☐ candor *n.* 坦诚
- ☐ impel *v.* 驱使
- ☐ preeminently *adv.* 明显地

whole truth, frankly and boldly. Nor need we shrink from honestly facing conditions in our country today. This great Nation will endure, as it has endured, will revive and will prosper.

So, first of all, let me assert my firm belief that the only thing we have to fear is fear itself — nameless, unreasoning, unjustified terror which paralyzes needed efforts to convert retreat into advance. In every dark hour of our national life, a leadership of frankness and of vigor has met with that understanding and support of the people themselves which is essential to victory. And I am convinced that you will again give that support to leadership in these critical days.

KEY WORDS

- | | |
|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> frankly <i>adv.</i> 坦白地 | <input type="checkbox"/> paralyze <i>v.</i> 使瘫痪 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> boldly <i>adv.</i> 大胆地 | <input type="checkbox"/> convert <i>v.</i> 转变 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> endure <i>v.</i> 延续 | <input type="checkbox"/> retreat <i>n.</i> 退缩 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> assert <i>v.</i> 表达 | <input type="checkbox"/> advance <i>n.</i> 前进 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> nameless <i>adj.</i> 莫名的 | <input type="checkbox"/> vigor <i>n.</i> 活力 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> unreasoning <i>adj.</i> 不理智的 | <input type="checkbox"/> convinced <i>adj.</i> 确信的 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> unjustified <i>adj.</i> 无法解释的 | <input type="checkbox"/> critical <i>adj.</i> 紧要的 |

In such a spirit on my part and on yours we face our common difficulties. They concern, thank God, only material things. Values have shrunk to fantastic levels; taxes have risen; our ability to pay has fallen; government of all kinds is faced by serious curtailment of income; the means of exchange are frozen in the currents of trade; the withered leaves of industrial enterprise lie on every side; farmers find no markets for their produce; and the savings of many years in thousands of families are gone. More important, a host of unemployed citizens face the grim problem of existence, and an equally great number toil with little return. Only a foolish optimist can deny the dark realities of the moment.

And yet our distress comes from no failure of substance. We are stricken by no plague of locusts.

KEY WORDS

- | | |
|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> curtailment <i>n.</i> 削减 | <input type="checkbox"/> toil <i>v.</i> 辛勤劳动 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> income <i>n.</i> 收入 | <input type="checkbox"/> optimist <i>n.</i> 乐观主义者 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> exchange <i>n.</i> 交易 | <input type="checkbox"/> distress <i>n.</i> 困苦 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> current <i>n.</i> 流通 | <input type="checkbox"/> substance <i>n.</i> 物质 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> withered <i>adj.</i> 枯萎的 | <input type="checkbox"/> strike <i>v.</i> 遭受打击
(strike-struck-stricken) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> enterprise <i>n.</i> 企业 | <input type="checkbox"/> plague <i>n.</i> 灾祸 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> saving <i>n.</i> [~s] 积蓄 | <input type="checkbox"/> locust <i>n.</i> 蝗虫 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> unemployed <i>adj.</i> 失业的 | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> grim <i>adj.</i> 严酷的 | |

Compared with the perils which our forefathers conquered, because they believed and were not afraid, we have still much to be thankful for. Nature still offers her bounty and human efforts have multiplied it. Plenty is at our doorstep, but a generous use of it languishes in the very sight of the supply. Primarily, this is because the rulers of the exchange of mankind's goods have failed, through their own stubbornness and their own incompetence, have admitted their failure, and have abdicated. Practices of the unscrupulous money changers stand indicted in the court of public opinion, rejected by the hearts and minds of men.

KEY WORDS

- | | |
|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> forefather <i>n.</i> 祖先 | <input type="checkbox"/> stubbornness <i>n.</i> 固执 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> bounty <i>n.</i> 充裕 | <input type="checkbox"/> abdicate <i>v.</i> 放弃 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> multiply <i>v.</i> 成倍地增加 | <input type="checkbox"/> unscrupulous <i>adj.</i> 无耻的 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> generous <i>adj.</i> 大量的 | <input type="checkbox"/> indict <i>v.</i> 起诉 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> primarily <i>adv.</i> 主要地 | |

True, they have tried. But their efforts have been cast in the pattern of an outworn tradition. Faced by failure of credit, they have proposed only the lending of more money. Stripped of the lure of profit by which to induce our people to follow their false leadership, they have resorted to exhortations, pleading tearfully for restored confidence. They only know the rules of a generation of self-seekers. They have no vision, and when there is no vision the people perish.

Yes, the money changers have fled from their high seats in the temple of our civilization. We may now restore that temple to the ancient truths. The measure of that restoration lies in the extent to which we apply social values more noble than mere monetary profit.

Happiness lies not in the mere possession of money; it lies in the joy of achievement, in the thrill

KEY WORDS

- | | |
|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> cast <i>v.</i> 把……加于
(cast-cast-cast) | <input type="checkbox"/> exhortation <i>n.</i> 劝诫性的布道 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> outworn <i>adj.</i> 陈腐的 | <input type="checkbox"/> plead <i>v.</i> 乞求 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> credit <i>n.</i> 信用 | <input type="checkbox"/> self-seeker <i>n.</i> 私己主义的人 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> strip <i>v.</i> 剥夺 | <input type="checkbox"/> flee <i>v.</i> 逃亡
(flee-fled-fled) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> lure <i>n.</i> 诱惑物 | <input type="checkbox"/> temple <i>n.</i> 殿堂 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> profit <i>n.</i> 利益 | <input type="checkbox"/> measure <i>n.</i> 程度 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> induce <i>v.</i> 引诱 | <input type="checkbox"/> apply <i>v.</i> 实行 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> resort <i>v.</i> 采用 | <input type="checkbox"/> thrill <i>n.</i> 兴奋 |

of creative effort. The joy, the moral stimulation of work no longer must be forgotten in the mad chase of evanescent profits. These dark days, my friends, will be worth all they cost us if they teach us that our true destiny is not to be ministered unto but to minister to ourselves, to our fellow men.



KEY WORDS

- | | |
|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> stimulation <i>n.</i> 刺激 | <input type="checkbox"/> destiny <i>n.</i> 命运 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> chase <i>n.</i> 追求 | <input type="checkbox"/> minister <i>v.</i> 给予援助 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> evanescent <i>adj.</i> 转瞬即逝的 | |

Recognition of that falsity of material wealth as the standard of success goes hand in hand with the abandonment of the false belief that public office and high political position are to be valued only by the standards of pride of place and personal profit; and there must be an end to a conduct in banking and in business which too often has given to a sacred trust the likeness of callous and selfish wrongdoing. Small wonder that confidence languishes, for it thrives only on honesty, on honor, on the sacredness of obligations, on faithful protection, and on unselfish performance; without them it cannot live.



KEY WORDS

- ☐ falsity *n.* 错误
- ☐ abandonment *n.* 抛弃
- ☐ conduct *n.* 行为
- ☐ trust *n.* 信任

- ☐ likeness *n.* 类似物
- ☐ callous *adj.* 冷漠的
- ☐ wrongdoing *n.* 不道德行为
- ☐ thrive *v.* 繁荣

Restoration calls, however, not for changes in ethics alone. This Nation is asking for action, and action now.

Our greatest primary task is to put people to work. This is no unsolvable problem if we face it wisely and courageously. It can be accomplished in part by direct recruiting by the Government itself, treating the task as we would treat the emergency of a war, but at the same time, through this employment, accomplishing great — greatly needed projects to stimulate and reorganize the use of our great natural resources.

Hand in hand with that we must frankly recognize the overbalance of population in our industrial centers and, by engaging on a national scale in a redistribution, endeavor to provide a better use of the land for those best fitted for the land.

KEY WORDS

- | | |
|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> ethics <i>n.</i> 道德准则 | <input type="checkbox"/> reorganize <i>v.</i> 重组 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> accomplish <i>v.</i> 完成 | <input type="checkbox"/> overbalance <i>n.</i> 失衡 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> recruit <i>v.</i> 招聘 | <input type="checkbox"/> scale <i>n.</i> 范围 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> emergency <i>n.</i> 紧急情况 | <input type="checkbox"/> redistribution <i>n.</i> 重新分配 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> stimulate <i>v.</i> 刺激 | <input type="checkbox"/> endeavor <i>v.</i> 努力 |



Yes, the task can be helped by definite efforts to raise the values of agricultural products, and with this the power to purchase the output of our cities. It can be

helped by preventing realistically the tragedy of the growing loss through foreclosure of our small homes and our farms. It can be helped by insistence that the Federal, the State, and the local governments act forthwith on the demand that their cost be drastically reduced. It can be helped by the unifying of relief activities which today are often scattered, uneconomical, unequal. It can be helped by national planning for and supervision of all forms of transportation and

KEY WORDS

- | | |
|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> definite <i>adj.</i> 明确的 | <input type="checkbox"/> forthwith <i>adv.</i> 即刻地 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> purchase <i>v.</i> 购买 | <input type="checkbox"/> drastically <i>adv.</i> 极大地 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> output <i>n.</i> 产品 | <input type="checkbox"/> reduce <i>v.</i> 削减 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> realistically <i>adv.</i> 实际可行地 | <input type="checkbox"/> unify <i>v.</i> 使联合 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> tragedy <i>n.</i> 悲剧 | <input type="checkbox"/> relief activity 救济活动 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> foreclosure <i>n.</i> 取消(抵押品) 赎回权 | <input type="checkbox"/> scattered <i>adj.</i> 分散的 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> insistence <i>n.</i> 坚持 | <input type="checkbox"/> uneconomical <i>adj.</i> 浪费的 |
| | <input type="checkbox"/> supervision <i>n.</i> 监督 |

of communications and other utilities that have a definitely public character. There are many ways in which it can be helped, but it can never be helped by merely talking about it.

We must act. We must act quickly.

And finally, in our progress towards a resumption of work, we require two safeguards against a return of the evils of the old order. There must be a strict supervision of all banking and credits and investments. There must be an end to speculation with other people's money. And there must be provision for an adequate but sound currency.

These, my friends, are the lines of attack. I shall presently urge upon a new Congress in special session detailed measures for their fulfillment, and I shall seek the immediate assistance of the 48 States.

KEY WORDS

- utility *n.* 公用事业设备
- resumption *n.* 恢复
- investment *n.* 投资
- speculation *n.* 投机
- provision *n.* 供应

- adequate *adj.* 充足的
- currency *n.* 货币
- line *n.* 路线
- session *n.* 会议
- fulfillment *n.* 实现

Through this program of action we address ourselves to putting our own national house in order and making income balance outgo. Our international trade relations, though vastly important, are in point of time and necessity, secondary to the establishment of a sound national economy. I favor, as a practical policy, the putting of first things first. I shall spare no effort to restore world trade by international economic readjustment; but the emergency at home cannot wait on that accomplishment.

The basic thought that guides these specific means of national recovery is not nationally — narrowly nationalistic. It is the insistence, as a first consideration, upon the interdependence of the various elements in and parts of the United States of America — a recognition of the old and permanently important manifestation of the American spirit of the pioneer. It is the way to recovery. It is the immediate way. It is the strongest assurance that recovery will endure.

KEY WORDS

- | | |
|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> outgo <i>n.</i> 支出 | <input type="checkbox"/> recovery <i>n.</i> 复苏 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> vastly <i>adv.</i> 非常 | <input type="checkbox"/> nationalistic <i>adj.</i> 民族主义的 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> secondary <i>adj.</i> 从属的 | <input type="checkbox"/> interdependence <i>n.</i> 相互依存 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> spare no effort 不遗余力 | <input type="checkbox"/> manifestation <i>n.</i> 体现 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> readjustment <i>n.</i> 重新调整 | <input type="checkbox"/> pioneer <i>n.</i> 拓荒者 |

In the field of world policy, I would dedicate this Nation to the policy of the good neighbor: the neighbor who resolutely respects himself and, because he does so, respects the rights of others; the neighbor who respects his obligations and respects the sanctity of his agreements in and with a world of neighbors.

If I read the temper of our people correctly, we now realize, as we have never realized before, our interdependence on each other; that we cannot merely take, but we must give as well; that if we are to go forward, we must move as a trained and loyal army willing to sacrifice for the good of a common discipline, because without such discipline no progress can be made, no leadership becomes effective.



KEY WORDS

- dedicate *v.* 把……献给
- resolutely *adv.* 坚决地

- sanctity *n.* 神圣性
- loyal *adj.* 忠诚的

We are, I know, ready and willing to submit our lives and our property to such discipline, because it makes possible a leadership which aims at the larger good. This, I propose to offer, pledging that the larger purposes will bind upon us, bind upon us all as a sacred obligation with a unity of duty hitherto evoked only in times of armed strife.

With this pledge taken, I assume unhesitatingly the leadership of this great army of our people dedicated to a disciplined attack upon our common problems.

Action in this image, action to this end is feasible under the form of government which we have inherited from our ancestors. Our Constitution is so simple, so practical that it is possible always to meet extraordinary needs by changes in emphasis and arrangement without loss of essential form. That is why our constitutional system has proved itself the most superbly enduring political mechanism the modern world has ever seen.

KEY WORDS

- | | |
|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> aim at 以……为目标 | <input type="checkbox"/> inherit v. 继承 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> hitherto adv. 迄今 | <input type="checkbox"/> ancestor n. 祖先 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> evoke v. 激起 | <input type="checkbox"/> emphasis n. 重点 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> strife n. 冲突 | <input type="checkbox"/> superbly adv. 非常地 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> unhesitatingly adv. 毫不犹豫地 | <input type="checkbox"/> mechanism n. 机制 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> feasible adj. 可行的 | |

It has met every stress of vast expansion of territory, of foreign wars, of bitter internal strife, of world relations. And it is to be hoped that the normal balance of executive and legislative authority may be wholly equal, wholly adequate to meet the unprecedented task before us. But it may be that an unprecedented demand and need for undelayed action may call for temporary departure from that normal balance of public procedure.

KEY WORDS

- | | |
|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> expansion <i>n.</i> 扩张 | <input type="checkbox"/> undelayed <i>adj.</i> 未延迟的 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> legislative <i>adj.</i> 立法的 | <input type="checkbox"/> temporary <i>adj.</i> 暂时的 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> unprecedented <i>adj.</i> 史无前例的 | |

I am prepared under my constitutional duty to recommend the measures that a stricken nation in the midst of a stricken world may require. These measures, or such other measures as the Congress may build out of its experience and wisdom, I shall seek, within my constitutional authority, to bring to speedy adoption.

But, in the event that the Congress shall fail to take one of these two courses, in the event that the national emergency is still critical, I shall not evade the clear course of duty that will then confront me. I shall ask the Congress for the one remaining instrument to meet the crisis - broad Executive power to wage a war against the emergency, as great as the power that would be given to me if we were in fact invaded by a foreign foe.

For the trust reposed in me, I will return the courage and the devotion that befit the time. I can do no less.

KEY WORDS

- | | |
|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> evade v. 避免 | <input type="checkbox"/> foe n. 敌人 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> confront v. 使面临 | <input type="checkbox"/> repose v. 把(信赖、希望等)寄托于 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> crisis n. 危机 | <input type="checkbox"/> befit v. 适合 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> wage v. 发动 | |

We face the arduous days that lie before us in the warm courage of national unity; with the clear consciousness of seeking old and precious moral values; with the clean satisfaction that comes from the stern performance of duty by old and young alike. We aim at the assurance of a rounded, a permanent national life.

We do not distrust the future of essential democracy. The people of the United States have not failed. In their need they have registered a mandate that they want direct, vigorous action. They have asked for discipline and direction under leadership. They have made me the present instrument of their wishes. In the spirit of the gift I take it.

In this dedication - In this dedication of a Nation, we humbly ask the blessing of God.

May He protect each and every one of us.

May He guide me in the days to come.

KEY WORDS

- ☐ arduous *adj.* 艰辛的
- ☐ consciousness *n.* 意识
- ☐ stern *adj.* 坚决的
- ☐ assurance *n.* 确保
- ☐ rounded *adj.* 圆满的

- ☐ distrust *n.* 怀疑
- ☐ register *v.* 提出
- ☐ mandate *n.* 授权
- ☐ humbly *adv.* 谦恭地

Great Depression and Roosevelt 大萧条与罗斯福

The Great Depression of the 1930's had caused terrible poverty all across the nation. Jobs were very scarce, and



many people wandered from city to city in search of any type of job. Life was very hard, especially for those people who suddenly lost all their money in investments.

When Franklin Delano Roosevelt took office, he wanted to reassure the American people with his famous line: "The only thing we have to fear is fear itself." He wanted to convince Americans that their nation had the resources people needed.

20世纪30年代的大萧条导致了美国全国上下的贫困。由于工作机会非常稀少，许多人从一个城市流浪到另一个城市，只为求得一份生计。人民生活非常艰难，对于那些突然在投资中倾家荡产的人而言尤其如此。

富兰克林·德拉诺·罗斯福在就职时希望能用自己的那句名言来让美国民众安心：“我们唯一不得不恐惧的就是恐惧本身。”他希望美国人民相信，他们的国家拥有人民所必需的资源。

FDR had specific ideas about how to overcome this poverty. He mentioned several in his speech, and he promised quick action. His speech gave hope to many who thought there was no hope left. Throughout



his presidential campaign, FDR promised change for the better. He frequently said, "I pledge you, I pledge myself, to a new deal for the American people."

After taking office, his programs became known as the "New Deal." Under this policy, he put millions of people to work on public projects, created the system of Social Security, and reformed the economic system. These policies were so successful that they lifted America out of the Great Depression and set it firmly on the road to becoming the world's richest nation.

罗斯福对于如何克服这种贫困状况有着明确的想法。他在演说中提到了一些想法，并承诺将迅速采取行动。他的演说让很多原本绝望的人又重新燃起了希望。在竞选总统期间，罗斯福承诺会让形势好转。他常说：“我向你们担保，向我自己担保，会对美国人民采取新政。”

就职后，他的纲领被称为“新政”。该政策实施后，他让千百万人为公共项目工作，创建了社会保障制度，改革了经济体制。这些政策非常成功，将美国从大萧条中拯救出来，并使美国步伐稳健地踏上了成为世界上最富有国家的道路。

Inaugural Address

就职演说

by John F. Kennedy

January 20, 1961



Vice President Johnson, Mr. Speaker,
Mr. Chief Justice, President Eisenhower,
Vice President Nixon, President
Truman, Reverend Clergy, fellow
citizens:

We observe today not a victory of party but a celebration of freedom — symbolizing an end as well as a beginning — signifying renewal as well as change. For I have sworn before you and Almighty God the same solemn oath our forebears prescribed nearly a century and three-quarters ago.

KEY WORDS

- ☐ observe v. 庆祝
- ☐ celebration n. 庆典
- ☐ signify v. 代表

- ☐ renewal n. 复兴
- ☐ forebear n. 祖先

The world is very different now. For man holds in his mortal hands the power to abolish all forms of human poverty and all forms of human life. And yet the same revolutionary beliefs for which our forebears fought are still at issue around the globe — the belief that the rights of man come not from the generosity of the state but from the hand of God.

We dare not forget today that we are the heirs of that first revolution. Let the word go forth from this time and place, to friend and foe alike, that the torch has been passed to a new generation of Americans — born in this century, tempered by war, disciplined by a hard and bitter peace, proud of our ancient heritage — and unwilling to witness or permit the slow undoing of those human rights to which this nation has always been committed, and to which we are committed today at home and around the world.

KEY WORDS

- | | |
|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> mortal <i>adj.</i> 凡人的 | <input type="checkbox"/> heritage <i>n.</i> 传统 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> abolish <i>v.</i> 消灭 | <input type="checkbox"/> witness <i>v.</i> 目睹 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> at issue 争议中的 | <input type="checkbox"/> undoing <i>n.</i> 剥夺 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> torch <i>n.</i> 火炬 | <input type="checkbox"/> committed <i>adj.</i> 忠于某一立场的 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> temper <i>v.</i> 锻炼 | |

Let every nation know, whether it wishes us well or ill, that we shall pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe to assure the survival and the success of liberty.

This much we pledge — and more.

To those old allies whose cultural and spiritual origins we share, we pledge the loyalty of faithful friends. United, there is little we cannot do in a host of cooperative ventures. Divided, there is little we can do — for we dare not meet a powerful challenge at odds and split asunder.

To those new states whom we welcome to the ranks of the free, we pledge our word that one form of colonial control shall not have passed away merely to be

KEY WORDS

- ☐ bear *v.* 承担
(bear-bore-born)
- ☐ burden *n.* 重担
- ☐ hardship *n.* 艰难困苦
- ☐ oppose *v.* 反对
- ☐ ally *n.* 盟友
- ☐ origin *n.* 起源
- ☐ loyalty *n.* 忠诚
- ☐ faithful *adj.* 诚挚的

- ☐ a host of 许多
- ☐ cooperative *adj.* 合作的
- ☐ venture *n.* (冒险) 事业
- ☐ at odds 不和谐
- ☐ split *v.* 分裂
(split-split-split)
- ☐ asunder *adv.* 分散地
- ☐ colonial *adj.* 殖民的
- ☐ pass away 消失

replaced by a far more iron tyranny. We shall not always expect to find them supporting our view. But we shall always hope to find them strongly supporting their own freedom — and to remember that, in the past, those who foolishly sought power by riding the back of the tiger ended up inside. To those people in the huts and villages across the globe struggling to break the bonds of mass misery, we pledge our best efforts to help them, help themselves, for whatever period is required — not because the communists may be doing it, not because we seek their votes, but because it is right.

KEY WORDS

- | | |
|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> replace <i>v.</i> 替代 | <input type="checkbox"/> mass <i>n.</i> 物质 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> iron <i>adj.</i> 强硬的 | <input type="checkbox"/> misery <i>n.</i> 困苦 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> tyranny <i>n.</i> 专制 | <input type="checkbox"/> communist <i>n.</i> 共产主义者 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> hut <i>n.</i> 小棚屋 | <input type="checkbox"/> vote <i>n.</i> 投票 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> bond <i>n.</i> [~s] 枷锁 | |

If a free society cannot help the many who are poor, it cannot save the few who are rich. To our sister republics south of our border, we offer a special pledge — to convert our good words into good deeds — in a new alliance for progress — to assist free men and free governments in casting off the chains of poverty. But this peaceful revolution of hope cannot become the prey of hostile powers. Let all our neighbors know that we shall join with them to oppose aggression or subversion anywhere in the Americas. And let every other power know that this hemisphere intends to remain the master of its own house.

KEY WORDS

- ☐ border *n.* 边界线
- ☐ convert *v.* 转变
- ☐ alliance *n.* 联盟
- ☐ cast off 摆脱
- ☐ prey *n.* 猎物

- ☐ aggression *n.* 侵略
- ☐ subversion *n.* 颠覆
- ☐ hemisphere *n.* 半球
- ☐ intend *v.* 想要

To that world assembly of sovereign states, the United Nations, our last best hope in an age where the instruments of war have far outpaced the instruments of peace, we renew our pledge of support — to prevent it from becoming merely a forum for invective — to strengthen its shield of the new and the weak — and to enlarge the area in which its writ may run.



KEY WORDS

- | | |
|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> assembly <i>n.</i> 联合大会 | <input type="checkbox"/> invective <i>n.</i> 谩骂 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> outpace <i>v.</i> 在速度上超过 | <input type="checkbox"/> shield <i>n.</i> 保护 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> forum <i>n.</i> 场所 | <input type="checkbox"/> writ <i>n.</i> 书面命令 |

Finally, to those nations who would make themselves our adversary, we offer not a pledge but a request: that both sides begin anew the quest for peace, before the dark powers of destruction unleashed by science engulf all humanity in planned or accidental self-destruction.

We dare not tempt them with weakness. For only when our arms are sufficient beyond doubt, can we be certain beyond doubt that they will never be employed.

But neither can two great and powerful groups of nations take comfort from our present course — both sides overburdened by the cost of modern weapons, both rightly alarmed by the steady spread of the deadly atom, yet both racing to alter that uncertain balance of terror that stays the hand of mankind's final war.

KEY WORDS

- ☐ adversary *n.* 对手
- ☐ anew *adv.* 重新
- ☐ unleash *v.* 释放
- ☐ accidental *adj.* 意外的
- ☐ tempt *v.* 引诱
- ☐ beyond doubt 毫无疑问地
- ☐ overburden *v.* 过多地承担

- ☐ alarm *v.* 使恐慌
- ☐ steady *adj.* 稳定的
- ☐ atom *n.* 原子弹
- ☐ alter *v.* 改变
- ☐ uncertain *adj.* 变化无常的
- ☐ stay *v.* 制止

So let us begin anew — remembering on both sides that civility is not a sign of weakness, and sincerity is always subject to proof. Let us never negotiate out of fear. But let us never fear to negotiate.

Let both sides explore what problems unite us instead of belaboring those problems which divide us.

Let both sides, for the first time, formulate serious and precise proposals for the inspection and control of arms — and bring the absolute power to destroy other nations under the absolute control of all nations.

KEY WORDS

- | | |
|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> sincerity <i>n.</i> 诚意 | <input type="checkbox"/> formulate <i>v.</i> 提出 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> explore <i>v.</i> 探讨 | <input type="checkbox"/> inspection <i>n.</i> 检查 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> belabor <i>v.</i> 反复研究 (或讨论) | <input type="checkbox"/> absolute <i>adj.</i> 不受任何限制的 |

Let both sides seek to invoke the wonders of science instead of its terrors. Together let us explore the stars, conquer the deserts, eradicate disease, tap the ocean depths, and encourage the arts and commerce.

Let both sides unite to heed in all corners of the earth the command of Isaiah — to “undo the heavy burdens. . . (and) let the oppressed go free.”

And if a beachhead of cooperation may push back the jungle of suspicion, let both sides join in creating a new endeavor, not a new balance of power, but a new world of law, where the strong are just and the weak secure and the peace preserved.

All this will not be finished in the first one hundred days. Nor will it be finished in the first one thousand days, nor in the life of this Administration, nor even

KEY WORDS

- ☐ invoke *v.* 唤起
- ☐ eradicate *v.* 消除
- ☐ tap *v.* 开发
- ☐ depth *n.* 深处
- ☐ commerce *n.* 商业
- ☐ heed *v.* 听从

- ☐ command *n.* 训诫
- ☐ undo *v.* 卸下
(undo-undid-undone)
- ☐ beachhead *n.* 据点
- ☐ suspicion *n.* 怀疑
- ☐ preserve *v.* 保持

perhaps in our lifetime on this planet. But let us begin.

In your hands, my fellow citizens, more than mine, will rest the final success or failure of our course. Since this country was founded, each generation of Americans has been summoned to give testimony to its national loyalty. The graves of young Americans who answered the call to service surround the globe.

Now the trumpet summons us again — not as a call to bear arms, though arms we need — not as a call to battle, though embattled we are — but a call to bear the burden of a long twilight struggle, year in and year out, “rejoicing in hope, patient in tribulation” — a struggle against the common enemies of man: tyranny, poverty, disease, and war itself.

KEY WORDS

- | | |
|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> planet <i>n.</i> 行星 | <input type="checkbox"/> embattled <i>adj.</i> 严阵以待的 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> summon <i>v.</i> 号召 | <input type="checkbox"/> twilight <i>adj.</i> 含糊不清的 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> testimony <i>n.</i> (信仰等的) 声明 | <input type="checkbox"/> rejoice <i>v.</i> 充满喜悦 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> surround <i>v.</i> 环绕 | |

Can we forge against these enemies a grand and global alliance, North and South, East and West, that can assure a more fruitful life for all mankind? Will you join in that historic effort?

In the long history of the world, only a few generations have been granted the role of defending freedom in its hour of maximum danger. I do not shrink from this responsibility — I welcome it. I do not believe that any of us would exchange places with any other people or any other generation. The energy, the faith, the devotion which we bring to this endeavor will light our country and all who serve it — and the glow from that fire can truly light the world.

And so, my fellow Americans: ask not what your country can do for you — ask what you can do for your country.

My fellow citizens of the world: ask not what America will do for you, but what together we can do for the freedom of man.

KEY WORDS

- forge *v.* 缔结
- fruitful *adj.* 富足的
- grant *v.* 赋予

- light *v.* 照亮
- glow *n.* 光亮



Finally, whether you are citizens of America or citizens of the world, ask of us here the same high standards of strength and sacrifice which we ask of you. With a good conscience our only sure reward, with history the final judge of our deeds, let us go forth to lead the land we love, asking His blessing and His help, but knowing that here on earth God's work must truly be our own.

KEY WORDS

□ conscience *n.* 良知

□ reward *n.* 报酬

International background of those days 当年的国际背景

John F. Kennedy gave his inaugural speech during the Cold War between America and the Soviet Union. Most of the northern hemisphere was split into two sides: western democracies and communist states. These two sides were adversaries, and each had weapons capable of completely destroying the other. So instead of fighting each other directly, both the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. fought each other by trying to spread their influence to other countries.

Most of the time, it was a war of propaganda. JFK wanted people to know that America was strong. His nation would

约翰·F.肯尼迪在美国与苏联冷战期间发表了自己的就职演说。当时北半球的大部分地区都分裂成了两大阵营：西方民主国家和共产主义国家。这两大阵营是对立的，而且双方都拥有能将对方彻底毁灭的武器。因此，美国和苏联并没有直接作战，而是竞相向其它国家扩展各自的影响力。

冷战在大多数时间里都是一场政治宣传战。肯尼迪希望人们知道，美国是很

“assure the success of liberty” against any foe and by paying any price.

It was important for JFK to give an impression of strength. He was the youngest president ever



elected. Many of his critics thought that he was too young to be a strong leader. In his speech, JFK acknowledged that leadership had passed onto a new generation. However, he said that this new generation was strong and unwilling to allow freedom to slip away.

Finally, JFK also appealed to the sense of duty and morality of all citizens of the world with the famous line from the speech: “Ask not what your country can do for you, ask what you can do for your country.”

强大的。他的国家将不惜一切代价对抗任何敌人，以“确保自由的成功”。

肯尼迪要给人留下强势的印象是十分重要的。他是有史以来最年轻的总统。许多对他持反对意见者都认为他太年轻了，无法成为一名坚强的领导人。在演说中，肯尼迪承认领导权传到了新一代的手里。但是，他强调这新的一代人十分坚强，不会放任自由溜走。

最后，肯尼迪还用了这次演说中的一句名言来唤起全世界所有公民的责任感和道德感：“不要问你们的国家能为你们做些什么——问问你们能为自己的国家做些什么。”

p. 2-3

今天,我很高兴同大家一起,参加这次将成为我国历史上为争取自由而举行的最伟大的示威集会。

100年前,一位伟大的美国人——我们今天就站在他具有象征意义的身影之下——签署了《解放宣言》。这一重要法令的颁布,对于在那摧残生命的不义之火中备受煎熬的千百万黑人而言,犹如带来希望之光的灯塔一般。它的到来宛如充满欢乐的黎明,结束了他们被禁锢的漫漫长夜。

然而,100年后,黑人依然没有获得自由。100年后,黑人依然悲惨地生活在种族隔离和种族歧视的枷锁压迫之下。100年后,黑人依然生活在物质极大繁荣的瀚海中的一座贫困孤岛上。100年后,黑人依然在美国社会的角落中饱受冷落,发现自己在自己的家园中流离失所。因此,我们今天来到这里,就是要把这可耻的境况大白于天下。



p. 4-5

从某种意义而言,我们汇聚到祖国的首都就是为了兑现一张支票。我们共和国的缔造者在拟定《宪法》和《独立宣言》的宏伟篇章的同时,也曾签署了一张每一个美国人都能继承的期票。这张期票承诺会保证所有人——包括黑人和白人——都享有“不可剥夺的生存权、自由权和追求幸福的权利”。很明显,美国对自己的有色公民拖欠了这张期票。美国没有履行这项神圣的义务,却给黑人开了一张空头支票,一张盖着“资金不足”的印戳被退还的支票。

但我们决不相信正义的银行已经破产。我们决不相信这个国家巨大的机会宝库会资金不足。因此,我们前来兑现这张支票,这张支票一经兑现,就会给予我们宝贵的自由和正义的保障。

我们来到这块圣地,也是为了提醒美国,当前的情况十分紧急。现在决非沉缅于冷静行事或服用渐进主义镇静剂的时候。现在是兑现民主承诺的时候。

p. 6-7

现在是时候该走出阴暗荒凉的种族隔离深谷,踏上种族平等的阳关大道了。现在是时候将我们的祖国从种族不平等的流沙中拯救出来,踏上手足情深的磐石了。现在是时候为上帝的所有子民实现平等了。

忽视这一时刻的紧迫性对于祖国而言将是致命的。自由平等的爽朗秋日若不来临,黑人们义愤填膺的酷暑就不会过去。1963年不是一个结束,而是一个开始。如果国家依然如故运转,那些希望黑人们发泄一下就会心满意足的人就该突然惊醒了。在黑人们没有被赋予公民权利前,美国将永无宁日。反抗的旋风将继续摇撼我们祖国的根基,直到光明的正义之日来临。

但是,对那些站在通向正义殿堂的温暖的门槛上的同胞们,有些话我必须要说:在争取我们的合法地位的过程中,切忌做出错误的举动。切忌为了满足对自由的渴求,而从辛酸仇恨的酒杯中饮鸩止渴。我们必须永远举止得体、纪律严明地进行斗争。我们一定不能容许自己富有创造性的抗议活动沦为暴力行动。我们必须不断地升华到以灵魂力量来对抗肉体力量的崇高境界中。

充斥着黑人社会的非凡而崭新的战斗精神不应导致我们对所有白人的不信任，因为我们的很多白人兄弟——他们今天的到来就能证明——他们已经意识到自己的命运是同我们的命运紧密相连的，他们也意识到自己的自由是与我们的自由休戚相关的。

我们不能孤军奋战。

在前进的道路上，我们必须发誓勇往直前。

我们不能退缩。

有人问投身于民权运动的热心之士：“你们何时才会满意？”只要黑人仍然遭受警察难以形容的野蛮迫害，我们就绝不会满意。只要我们在旅途劳顿后仍然被公路旁的汽车旅馆或城里的旅馆拒之门外，我们就绝不会满意。只要黑人的基本活动范围仍然仅限于从较小的少数民族聚居区到较大的少数民族聚居区，我们就绝不会满意。只要我们的孩子们仍然被“仅供白人”的牌子剥夺自我和尊严，我们就绝不会满意。只要密西西比的黑人仍然不能参加选举，纽约的黑人认定自己与选举无关，我们就绝不会满意。不，不，我们不会满意，直到“公正如流水倾泻，正义如清泉喷涌”之时，我们才会满意。



我不是没有留意到，你们当中有些人历尽艰难困苦才来到这儿；有些人刚从狭小的监狱牢房中走出来；有些人来自自己追求自由的地区——这一追求使你们饱受迫害风暴的折磨和警察暴行狂风的袭击。你们屡屡遭受种种磨难。请继续坚持抱定不该受到的苦难即是救赎的信念。回到密西西比去，回到阿拉巴马去，回到南卡罗来纳去，回到佐治亚去，回到路易斯安那去，回到我们北部城市的贫民区和少数民族聚居区去，你们知道现状可以而且将会被改变。

我今天要对你们说，我的朋友们，我们不要陷入绝望的深渊。因此，尽管我们面对着今天和明天的种种困难，我依然有一个梦想。这是一个深深植根于美国梦之中的梦想。

我梦想有一天，这个国家会站起来实现其纲领的真谛：“我们认为这些真理是不言而喻的：即人人生而平等。”

我梦想有一天，在佐治亚州的红色山丘上，昔日黑奴的儿子能同昔日奴隶主的儿子同席而坐，情同手足。

我梦想有一天，甚至连密西西比州这个饱受不公平和压迫炙烤的荒漠，也能转变成自由和公正的绿洲。

我梦想有一天，我的四个小孩将生活在一个不是以肤色而是以人品来评判他们的国家。

今天，我有一个梦想！

我梦想有一天，在充斥着居心不良的种族主义者并且州长本人充满“干涉”和“拒绝执行”联邦法令言论的阿拉巴马州——有一天，在这里黑人儿童和白人儿童能够像兄弟姐妹那样携手同行。

今天，我有一个梦想！



我梦想有一天，深谷上升，高山夷平，坎坷化平地，
曲径成通衢：“耶稣的荣耀必然显现，凡有血气的必一
同看见。”

这是我们的希望，也是我将带回南方的信念。

带着这个信念，我们就能从绝望之山中琢出一块希
望之石。带着这个信念，我们就能将祖国吵嚷的不谐音化
作一支洋溢着手足情谊的美妙的交响曲。带着这个信念，

我们就能一起奋斗、一起祈祷、一起抗争、一起入狱、一起维
护自由，因为我们知道，总有一天我们将获得自由。

p. 14-15

那一天将会是这样——到了那天，上帝所有的子民都能高歌这首寓含新
意的歌曲：

我的祖国也是你的祖国，可爱的自由之邦，我为你歌唱。/ 这是我的父辈终
老的地方，这是清教徒引以为自豪的地方，/ 让自由之声回荡在每一片山岗！

美国要想成为伟大的国家，这个梦想必须实现。

因此，让自由之声回荡在新罕布什尔州的巍峨高峰！

让自由之声回荡在纽约州的崇山峻岭！

让自由之声回荡在宾夕法尼亚州的阿勒格尼山脉！

让自由之声回荡在科罗拉多州积雪覆盖的落基山脉！

让自由之声回荡在加利福尼亚州蜿蜒的山坡！

不仅如此，还要：

让自由之声回荡在佐治亚州的斯通山！

让自由之声回荡在田纳西州的卢考特山！

让自由之声回荡在密西西比州的每一座山峰、每一个小丘！

让自由之声回荡在每一片山岗！

当这一切成为现实时，当我们让自由之声回荡起来时，当我们让它回荡
在每一个大小村庄、每一个州、每一座城市时，我们就能加快那一天的到来。
到那时，所有上帝的子民，黑人和白人、犹太人和非犹太人、新教徒和天主
教徒，将携手高歌那首古老的黑人圣歌：

终于自由了！终于自由了！

感谢万能的上帝，我们终于自由了！

第2章 首次就职演说 / 亚伯拉罕·林肯，1861年3月4日

p. 18-19

各位公民……

美国的公民们：我将遵照一个与政府一样历史悠久的惯例，在你们面前
发表简短的演说，并按照美国宪法规定，在你们面前宣读总统在“行使职权前”

的宣誓。

我认为自己目前没必要讨论那些不是特别令人忧虑或兴奋的行政事务。

南方各州的人民中似乎存在着一种担忧，他们担心随着共和党政府的执政，他们的财产、和平和人身安全都将受到威胁。这样的忧虑是没有任何合理依据的。事实上，大量与之相反的证据却一直存在，并可随时供他们查证。这一证据几乎在这个正对你们发表演说的人的所有已发表的演讲中都能找到。我现在只想引用其中一次演讲的内容，当时我宣布：“我无意直接或间接地干涉各州现行的奴隶制。我深信我没有合法的权利这么做，我也无此意图这么做。”



p. 20-21

提名并选举了我的人们之所以这么做，是因为他们深深地了解我曾多次发表类似的声明，而且从不出尔反尔。此外，他们在纲领中写进了我必须接受的，对他们和对我来说都是具有法律效力的清楚明了、坚决有力的决议，现在我为大家宣读一下：

“决议：维护各州的权利不受侵犯，尤其是各州只根据自己的判断来指挥和控制各州内部机构的权利不受侵犯，这一点对于权力均衡是至关重要的，而权力均衡正是我们政治结构的完善和保持赖以依存的基础。我们谴责以武力违法侵犯各州或准州的行为，无论这样的行为有何借口，都是最严重的罪行。”

现在，我重申上述观点，目的仅在于让公众注意到最确凿的证据，证明任何地区的财产、和平和安全无论如何都不会受到即将执政的政府的威胁。我还要补充一点，在各州提出合法请求的情况下，无论出于任何原因，政府都能够并乐意对各州给予保护——并且对各州一视同仁。

p. 22-23

在移交逃避服务或劳役的人的问题上，仍存在诸多争议。我现在要宣读的这一条款跟其余任何条款一样，都明确地写在宪法里：

“按照某一州的法律应在该州服务或劳役的人，若逃至另一州，一律不得依据另一州任何法律或规定免除此人的服务或劳役，而必须按照有权享有该项服务或劳役的当事人的要求，将其交还当事人。”

很少有人质疑，按照制订这一条款的人的意图，此规定指的是对我们所说的逃亡奴隶有权索回；而立法者的这一意志就成为了法律。所有的国会成员都宣誓支持整个宪法——支持此条款及其他所有条款。而他们也无一例外地宣誓支持此条款，认为只要情况符合此条款的奴隶都应“将其交还（当事人）”。既然他们能心平气和地赞同这一条款，难道他们就不能全体一致制订并通过一条法律来保障这一集体宣誓吗？



p. 24-25

在这一条款应由国家还是各州当局来实施的问题上，还存在不同的观

点；但显然这些观点的不同并不重要。如果一名奴隶应被遣返，那么对于该奴隶或是其他人而言，执行当局是谁都无关紧要。在任何情况下，只要自己的誓言得以遵守，任何人都会满意，都不会去计较诸如“它是如何得以遵守的”这种无关紧要的争议。

又者，在任何有关这一问题的法律中，难道不应引入文明和人道法学中关于自由的各项保证，以确保一个自由人在任何情况下都不会被当成奴隶而遣返吗？与此同时，难道不该用法律手段来保障宪法条款的实施，以确保“各州公民都有权享有其他州公民所享有的特权和豁免权”吗？

今天，我在思想上毫无保留地正式宣誓，也不打算用任何吹毛求疵的标准来解释宪法或法律。虽然我现在不想具体指出哪些国会法案应当实施，但站在官方和个人的立场上，我建议所有人都应遵守所有的迄今为止未被撤销的法案，这样会安全得多，而不要以为某个法案不合宪法便去违反它，以免遭受处罚。

p. 25-27

从第一任总统遵照我国宪法宣誓就职至今已经72年了。在此期间，先后有15位不同的杰出的公民先后主持过政府的行政部门。他们引导着它渡过了很多艰难困苦，总得来说取得了巨大的成功。然而尽管有这些可供参考的先例，我现在要在宪法规定的短短四年任期内担任起同样的职责却冒着巨大的、非同一般的危险。此前，联邦分裂还只是一种潜在的威胁，如今却已成为令人惶恐不安的企图了。



考虑到普通法和宪法，我坚信各州组成的联邦是永久性的。在国家政府所有的基本法中，即使没有明确规定这样的永久性，也暗含此义。可以肯定地说，没有任何正式的政府曾在其根本大法中规定自己完结的期限。只要我们继续执行我国宪法中的明文规定，联邦就会永存下去——除非采取并非宪法所规定的行动，否则是不可能将其摧毁的。

再者，即使美国不是一个正式的政府，而是各州之间仅靠契约结成的联盟，那么它作为一份契约，就可以不经过全体缔约方的同意而由少数人轻松平静地加以废止吗？某个缔约方可以违约——或者说毁约，但难道不是需要所有缔约方同意才能合法解除契约吗？

p. 28-29

从这些基本原则出发，我们发现从法学角度考虑，联邦是永久性的，联邦自身的历史也证实了这一点。联邦的存在比宪法要早得多。事实上，联邦是依据1774年签订的《联合条款》建立的。1776年的《独立宣言》使其臻于成熟并得以维持。1778年的《邦联条款》使其进一步完善，当时参加的13个州的前身都明确宣誓和保证应该使联邦永存。最终，1787年制定了宪法，当时所宣布的目标之一，就是“组建一个更加完善的联邦”。

但是如果某一个或某一些州能合法地取消掉联邦，那么联邦就反而不如制宪前完善，因为它失去了永久性这一要素。

根据这些观点，任何州都不得仅凭自己的动议便合法地脱离联邦；任何表述这一意思的决议和法令在法律上都是无效的；任何一州或数州境内反抗

美国当局的暴动，则应视其情况判定为叛乱或革命。

p. 30-31

因此，我认为从宪法与法律的角度来看，联邦是不可分裂的；我将按照宪法的明确规定，竭尽所能使联邦法律在各州切实地得以贯彻。我认为这么做仅仅是我应尽的责任；我将在可行的范围内履行这项职责，除非我的合法主人——即美国人民——不给我这些必要的手段，或者以某种权威的方式指示我反其道而行之。我相信我这番话决不会被视为一种威胁，而只是联邦所明确宣布的目标，即联邦将依照宪法规定保卫和维护自己。

这一目标的达成不需要流血或是采取暴力手段，除非有人强迫国家当局使用这种手段，否则便不会发生这种情况。我将用赋予我的权力保持、支配和掌管属于政府的财产和领地，征收赋税和关税；但除了为达成这些目的所必要的行为外，任何地方都不会出现侵略，决不会在任何地方对人民或在人民之间使用武力。在美国境内任何地方，即使有针对美国的强大而普遍的敌意存在，致使有能力的居民无法就任联邦机构公职，政府也不会强派不受当地人民欢迎的陌生人去担任这些职务。

p. 32-33

尽管按照严格的法律规定，政府有权利迫使这些机构运转，但这么做可能引发众怒，也是几乎不可行的，因此我认为目前最好还是放弃建立这样的机构。

除非受到排斥，联邦各地区将继续提供邮政服务。只要有可能，要让任何地方的人们都能享有那种绝对的安全感，这是最受欢迎的一种安抚情绪的方法。我在这里所讲的这些方针将被贯彻下去，除非目前的局势和经验表明应对其进行修正或加以改变才是更适当的做法；在任何突发事件和紧急情况下，我将根据实际形势做出最好的判断，希望能找到和平解决国内难题的方法，恢复兄弟般的友爱和感情。



p. 34-35

在某些地区，总有些人千方百计地想要摧毁联邦，而且不惜利用任何借口，这一点我既不承认也不否认；但如果事实如此，我没必要对这帮人多说半句。然而，对于那些真正热爱联邦的人们，我怎能缄默不言呢？

我们的国家结构连同其一切利益、历史和希望的毁灭是一个严重的问题，在触及这个问题之前，先弄清楚我们为什么这么做难道不是明智之举吗？要是你们想逃避的某些灾难有可能并不存在，那你们还会如此不顾一切地铤而走险吗？要是你们逃避某些灾难时，你们逃往的地方还有更大的灾难在等着你们——你们还会冒险去犯如此可怕的错误吗？

如果宪法所规定的一切权利都能得到维护，那么人人都会满意地留在联邦里。那么，又有哪项宪法中明文规定的权利遭到了践踏？我认为没有。令人欣慰的是，人类所具有的正常理智，使得任何一方都没有达到这种冒天下之大不韪的地步。要是可能的话，请你们列举一个例子来证明宪法明文规定的条款遭到践踏。要是多数派仅凭借数量上的优势便剥夺少数人所应享有的宪法明文规定的权利，那么从道德的角度而言，便有理由发动一场革命——

倘若遭到剥夺的是一种至关重要的权利，革命就更是理所当然的事。但我们所面对的事实并非如此。

p. 36-37

在宪法中明确地通过肯定、否定、保证或禁令对少数派和个人的重要权利予以保障，对此从未产生过争议。但从不曾有任何基本法能设立专门的条款，以适用于实际管理中可能出现的每一个问题。没有任何远见能预知未来的一切，也没有任何长度合理的文件能包含明确条款，足以应付一切可能发生的问题。应当由国家还是各州当局移交逃避劳役的人？宪法没作出明确规定。国会可以在准州禁止奴隶制度吗？宪法没作出明确规定。国会必须保护准州的奴隶制度吗？宪法没作出明确规定。

从这一类问题中引发出我们所有有关宪法的争议，我们将争议者分为多数派和少数派。要是少数派不肯默许，多数派就必须默许，否则政府就无法运转。除此以外别无选择；因为政府的继续存在必须得到一方的默许。

在这种情况下，如果有一个少数派宁可脱离联邦也不肯默许，那么他们就开创了一个先例，这将转而导致他们内部分裂和自我毁灭；因为当这个少数派内部的多数派拒绝被少数派控制时，这样的少数派又会脱离他们。打个比方，就像现在联邦中的一些州宣布脱离联邦那样，一两年后，新的联邦中难道就不会有一部分州再次恣意脱离它吗？所有怀有分裂观点的人现在正被教导习惯于采用这种做法。



p. 38-39

这些州之间是否存在完全一致的利益，使他们能够组成新的联邦并能和睦相处，避免重新分裂呢？

很明显，联邦分裂的核心是无政府状态的要义所在。一个被宪法的强制力和规定所约束并能经常顺应公众舆论的审慎变化而改变的多数派，才是一个自由的民族唯一真正的统治者。谁反对它，就必然会走向无政府主义或专制。全体同意是不可能的；但使少数派的统治成为一种永久状态则是决不容许的。因此，如果反对多数派统治的原则，其结局只能是某种形式的无政府主义或专制统治。

我没有忘记有些人的见解是与宪法有关的问题应该由联邦最高法院来判断；我也并不否认这样的判决在任何情况下都应必须对诉讼对象及诉讼各方完全具有约束力，而且该案也应与类似案件一样，都应得到政府各部门的高度尊重和考虑。就某一特定案件而言，这样的判决显然有可能出现错误，但随之产生的恶劣影响只被局限在了这一特定案例中，并且还有可能被驳回，而且决不会成为其他案例的先例，那这种过失比起其他的过失来，当然更让人容易忍受。

p. 40-41

与此同时，坦诚的公民们必须承认，如果政府在有关全体人民利害的重大问题上的政策也必须由最高法院通过判决做出不可撤销的裁定，那么一旦做出判决，普通民事诉讼双方就将不再是自己主人，而是实际上将自己的政府交到了那个尊贵的法庭手里。这一观点也并非是在抨击法院或法官们。

对于送达他们面前的案子，他们应正确判定，这是他们不可推卸的责任，如果有人想利用他们的判决来达到政治目的，那也不是他们的错。

我国有些地区坚持认为奴隶制是正确的，而且应当扩展其实行范围，而其他地区则坚信它是错误的，不应当加以扩展。这是唯一实质性的争议。宪法中关于逃亡奴隶的条款以及限制国外奴隶贸易的法律都应予以强制执行，这或许就类似在一个人们道德观念尚未完全支持法律本身的社会中，应对法律予以强制执行一样。在两种情况下，大多数人民都遵守冷冰冰的法律义务，而少数人则不是触犯这一项，就是触犯那一项。我想这一点是无法彻底解决的；而在各州分裂后，在两种情况下触犯法律的情况都将比此前越发严重。

那么，现在没能得到彻底限制的国外奴隶贸易最终将不受限制地在某一区域复苏，而现在只能部分交还的逃亡奴隶将根本得不到交还。

p. 42-43

从地理环境上来说，我们不能分裂。我们不能将各州割裂开来，或是在它们之间修建不可逾越的高墙。夫妻可以离婚，彼此分离、不再相见，但我国的各个地区却不能这么做。



他们只能保持面对面，并继续交流，无论这样的交流是善意的还是恶意的。那么，是否有可能在分裂之后让交流变得比以前更有利，或是更如人意呢？难道在对立方之间达成条约要比在朋友之间制订法律更容易吗？难道在对立方之间履行条约要比在朋友间按法律办事更加诚实吗？假设你们兵戎相见，但也总不能老是打仗吧；等到双方损失惨重、一无所获时，你们就会停火，那么到时候交流条件这个不变的老问题又会摆在你们面前。

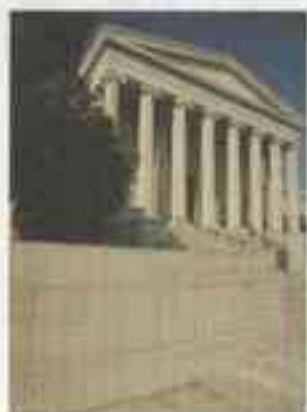
这个国家连同它所有的机构，都属于居住在这里的人民。当他们对现存政府感到厌倦时，就会行使他们的宪法修订权，或是行使革命权来解散或推翻政府。

p. 44-45

我不能无视一个事实，那就是很多杰出的爱国志士都十分渴望能对国家宪法进行修订。尽管我没有提出修订建议，但却完全承认人民在这一问题上的合法权利，他们可以按照宪法规定的两种模式中的一种来行使该权利；而在目前的形势下，我应该赞成而不是反对为人民提供一次修订宪法的良好机会。我还要斗胆补充一句，我认为会议这种形式似乎更加可取，因为这样可以人民自己提出修订案，而不仅仅是让他们赞成或反对某些提案——这些提案是由一些并非专门为修正宪法而选出的人们所提出的，而且这些提案可能不会正好是人民想要赞成或反对的那种提案。据我所知，有一项宪法修正案——虽然我还没有见到这项修正案——已获国会通过，大意是说联邦政府永远不能干涉各州的内部机构事务，包括那些应服劳役者的问题。为避免各位对我所说的话产生误解，我姑且违背我不打算谈论某项具体修正案的初衷，而想说明一点：既然这一条款现在有可能被列入宪法，我不反对使其成为明确、不可更改的条文。

美国总统的所有权力都来自人民，但人民并没有赋予他任何权力，让他为各州的分裂确定条件。人民如果愿意的话，他们自己可以这么做；但行政

当局却不能这么做。当局的责任是按照接任时的样子管理现有的政府，并毫发无损地将其传入继任者手中。



p. 46-47

为什么不能有耐心地坚信人民的最终公道呢？难道这世上还有更好的或是同样的希望吗？在我们当前的分歧中，难道任何一方都缺乏站在正确一边的信念吗？如果万能的主以其永恒的真理和正义站在你们北方，或是站在你们南方，那么在美国人民这个伟大的法官判定下，真理和正义必将获胜。

在我们所生活的政府结构下，人民明智地赋予了人民公仆极少的权力以防止酿成祸害；同时以同样的睿智做出规定，让那一丁点儿权力在很短的时间内又返回到他们手中。人民保持了自己的美德和警惕性，没有任何执政政权能在极端的恶意或愚昧的驱使下，在短短四年期间对政府造成严重危害。

我的同胞们，希望你们每一个人都冷静地好好考虑问题的全部。任何有价值的东西都不会因为从容不迫而失去。如果有什么事情要催促你仓促采取行动，而这样的行动在你经过深思熟虑后是决不会采取的，那么你花些时间就能将其挫败；但美好的事情是不会被时间挫败的。

p. 48-49

你们中那些现在心怀不满的人们，仍然必须遵守原封未动的老宪法，而且在那个敏感问题上，你们也拥有由你们自己根据这部宪法所制定的法律；但就算新一届政府想要改变其中任何一项法令，也不会立即获得修改宪法或法律的权力。就算大家公认你们这些心怀不满的人在分歧中是正确的，那也没有任何理由采取贸然行动。智慧、爱国主义、基督教以及对从不抛弃这片得天独厚的土地的主的依赖，都仍有能力用最好的方法来协调我们目前所有的困难。

各位心怀不满的同胞们，内战这一重大问题不系于我手，而系于你们之手。政府不会袭击你们。你们只要不主动发动袭击，你们就不会陷入战斗中。你们没有对天发誓要毁掉政府，但我却将做出最郑重的宣誓，要“保存、保护和保卫它。”

我很不愿意结束讲话。我们不是敌人，而是朋友。我们千万不要成为敌人。虽然激动的情绪有可能会绷紧我们友爱的纽带，但却绝不能使其破裂。神秘的记忆之弦从每一片战场和每一座爱国者的坟墓延展到这片辽阔的土地上每一颗鲜活的心灵和每一个家庭，它一定会再次被我们本性中的善念拨动，到那时将会奏响联邦的合唱。



第二次就职演说 / 亚伯拉罕·林肯，1865年3月4日

p. 50-51

同胞们：

在第二次宣誓就任总统时，我不必像第一次那样发表长篇大论的演说了。

当时，对于将要奉行的方针进行较为详尽的说明似乎是合乎时宜的。现在，四年的任期已满，对于这场仍然吸引全国人民关注、占用了国民精力进行的重大争斗的每个关键问题和每个阶段都已经不断地公开发布了文告，而我也没什么新情况可以宣布。



关于我们武装部队的进展——其他一切都取决于武装部队——公众和我了解得一样清楚；而我相信大家有理由对目前的情况感到满意并深受鼓舞。虽然未来充满希望，我们却不敢妄下断言。

四年前初任总统时，大家的思绪都焦虑地集中到了迫在眉睫的内战上。所有人都心怀恐惧——所有人都竭力避免它。当我在这里发表就职演说、竭力想避免以战争拯救联邦时，叛乱者们却在城里企图不经过战争便摧毁联邦——想通过谈判来瓦解联邦、涣散人心。

p. 52-53

双方都反对战争，但一方宁可发动战争也不愿维系这个国家，而另一方宁愿接受战争也不肯任国家灭亡。于是战争就爆发了。

这个国家有八分之一的人口是有色奴隶，他们并不是遍布于联邦各地，而是集中在南部地区。这些奴隶构成了一种特殊而强大的利益。所有人都知道，由于某种原因，这一利益成为了触发战争的原因。正是为了加强、永保和扩大这一利益，叛乱者们不惜用战争来分裂联邦；而政府却只能限制这种利益在地域范围上的扩张。双方都没有预料到战争会达到目前这样大的规模并且历时如此之久。双方也都没有期望冲突的根源会随冲突的停止而消失，甚至会提前消失。双方都曾各自期望能更轻松地取得胜利，期望结局不会造成重大变化，不会那么惊人。双方都读着同一本《圣经》，向同一个上帝祈祷，希望借助上帝的帮助来反抗另一方。

p. 54-55

有人居然敢乞求公正的上帝来帮他们从别人脸上的汗水中榨取面包，这似乎匪夷所思；但我们不要妄下论断，以免遭人非议。双方的祈祷不可能都灵验；也没有一方的祈祷能被充分满足。

万能的上帝有他自己的打算：“这世界因为罪过而遭祸，罪过是无从避免的，但犯下罪过的人是该遭祸的！”假如我们设想美国的奴隶制度是遵照上帝的意愿而必然犯下的罪过之一，但它存在的时间已经超过了上帝指定的期限，上帝现在要将其铲除了，于是他就让这场可怕的战争降临到南北双方，作为对那些犯下这个罪过的人应有的惩罚。那么，难道我们可以认为这件事有悖于虔奉上帝的信徒们所归诸上帝的那些圣德吗？我们殷切地希望——我们热诚地祈祷——这场巨大的战争灾祸能很快过去。但是，如果上帝希望它持续下去，直到奴隶们250年的无偿劳动积蓄的财富被全部摧毁，那么，直到鞭子抽出的每一滴血都被刀剑砍出的另一滴血偿清，3000年前人们说过的一句话我们还得再说一遍：“上帝的审判是完全正确和公正的。”

对任何人都不要心怀恶意；对所有人都心怀仁慈；要坚信正义，因为上帝让我们看到了正义，让我们努力完成正在执行的使命，把祖国的伤口包扎起来，关心担负起战争重担的人和他们的孤儿寡妇——竭尽全力，在我们当中以及与各国之间建立起公正持久的和平，并好好珍惜。

p. 58-59



关于这里所说的、你们已经多次听到过的“不合作”究竟指的是什么？为什么我们要提出不合作这个说法？

我一直被告知不合作是违反宪法规定的。我斗胆否认这是违反宪法的。

恰恰相反，我坚持认为不合作是正义的、恪守宗教教规的信条，是每一个人与生俱来的权利，是完全合乎宪法规定的。一名不列颠帝国的热爱者曾说过，按照英国宪法规定，甚至连一场成功的起义都是完全合乎宪法的，他还援引

了我无法否认的历史实例来证明自己的说法。我不会为一场起义争取任何合宪性，无论其成功与否，只要这场起义指的是这个词汇常用的、惯有的意思，也就是用暴力的手段来夺取公正。相反，我曾反反复复地对我的同胞们说过，无论暴力曾在欧洲取得什么样的成果，在印度是不会对我们有好处的。

p. 60-61

我要告诉大家，虽然我的朋友也坚信暴力的信条，认为不合作信条是弱者的武器，但我却认为不合作信条是最强者的武器。我认为敢于在敌人面前手无寸铁、袒露胸膛受死的人才是最坚强的士兵。关于不合作中的非暴力，我说得已经够多了。因此，我斗胆向学识广博的同胞们建议，只要不合作信条坚持非暴力的形式，那么这一信条就没有任何地方违反宪法。

我还要深入地问一句，如果我对英国政府说：“我拒绝为你服务”，这是否违反宪法？如果我们可敬的主席恭敬地归还政府授予他的所有头衔，是否违反宪法？如果家长将孩子从公立学校或公助学校领走，是否违反宪法？如果律师说：“只要法律的威力不提高反而要贬低我的地位，我就不再拥护它”，这是否违反宪法？如果公务员或法官说：“我拒绝为一个不愿尊重全体民意的政府工作”，这是否违反宪法？

p. 62-63

我要问，如果一名警察或士兵在得知自己将被征召去为一个迫害自己同胞的政府效力时，他提出辞职是否违反宪法？如果我来到一名农夫面前对他说：“如果政府不是用你所交的税来提高你的地位，而是在削弱你的实力，那么你交税就是不明智的”，这是否违反宪法？我坚信并大胆地认为，这些情况并不包含任何违反宪法的成分。况且这些事我一生中都曾做过，没有人质疑过我这些做法的合宪性。



我认为整个不合作的计划都没有违反宪法。但我要大胆地提出，对目前这个违宪政府而言，这些做法的确严重违反了宪法——在一个已经制定了自己完备宪法的、为的是使印度人民成为一个在地上爬行的弱小民族的国度里——倘若印度人民忍下对自己的种种侮辱，才是严重违反宪法的；7000万印度伊斯兰教徒屈服于枉加在他们宗教上的暴行才是严重违反宪法的；整个

印度对践踏旁遮普尊严的非正义政府坐视不管，甚至与其合作，才是严重违反宪法的。



p. 64-65

我要对我的同胞们说，只要你们还有荣誉感，只要你们还想继续担当祖祖辈辈传承下来的高尚传统的传人和守护者，你们不接受不合作就是违反宪法的，我们的政府已经变得如此不公正，你们同这样的政府合作便是违反宪法的。

我不反对英语；我不反对英国人；我不反对任何政府；但我反对谎言，反对欺骗，反对不公正。只要政府意味着不公正，它就有可能将我当作它的敌人，当作它拒绝和解的敌人。

在我们争取到公正之前，在我们从不情愿的手里和不情愿的笔杆子里争取到自尊之前，我们都不会合作。我们的圣典这样讲过，同时我也怀着对印度所有伟大的宗教领袖的无上崇敬、不怕任何人反驳地说：我们的圣典教导我们，在不公正与公正、非正义的人与热爱正义的人以及真理与谎言之间没有合作。合作只是政府在保护你的尊严的前提下的责任，而不合作则是当政府不为你提供保护，却剥夺你的尊严时对等的责任。这就是不合作信条的内容。

第4章 首次就职演说 / 富兰克林·德拉诺·罗斯福，1933年3月4日

p. 66-69



胡佛总统、首席大法官先生、我的朋友们：

今天是举国庆典的日子。我确信这一天，我的美国同胞们都期待着我在就任之时，坦诚而果断地发表演说，这也是我国人民在当前形势下的迫切要求。

很明显，现在是时候说出事实，坦诚勇敢地说出全部事实。我们也无须退缩，而要诚实地面对我们国家今天的形势。

这个伟大的国家将一如既往地继续存在下去，并将获得新生和繁荣。

因此，首先请允许我表明自己的坚定信念：我们唯一不得不恐惧的就是恐惧本身——一种莫名的、不理智的、无法解释的恐惧，它会麻痹我们将后退变为前进所必须付出的努力。在我们国家历史上每一个黑暗的时刻，坦诚而充满活力的领导阶层都曾得到过人民的理解和支持，这正是胜利的要素。而且我相信，在这紧要关头，你们将再次给予领导阶层这样的支持。

p. 70-71

我和你们都以这样一种精神来面对我们共同的困难。感谢上帝，这些困难都只与物质有关。币值已贬低到荒谬的水平；赋税增加了；我们的支付能力下降了；各级政府正面临严重的收入削减；贸易流通中的交易手段僵化；破败的工业企业犹如残枝败叶遍地可见；农民的农产品找不到市场；成千上万个家庭多年的积蓄化为乌有。更为严重的是，大批失业市民正面临严酷的生存问题，另外一大批市民艰辛地工作却只能赚取微薄的收入。只有愚蠢的乐观主义者才会否认此刻的黑暗现实。

但我们的困苦并非来自物质上的匮乏。我们没有遭受蝗灾。与我们祖先以信念和无畏克服了种种灾祸相比，我们尚有许多心存感激的理由。自然仍在施舍它的恩赐，而人类的努力已使之增倍。富足就站在我们的门口，然而现成的物资却激发不起对富足充分慷慨的利用。这首先是因为掌握人类物品交换的统治者们的顽固和无能所造成的，他们已承认了自己的失败，撒手不管了。无耻的钱商们的行径受到舆论法庭的起诉，并为民众的思想感情所唾弃。

p. 72-73

他们的确曾经尝试过。但他们的努力局限在了一种陈腐的传统模式中。面对信用的失败，他们只提出要借更多的钱。当他们以利润为饵来诱惑我们的人民跟随他们的错误领导的伎俩失败后，他们又采用劝诫式的布道手段，哭哭啼啼地恳求人民重塑对他们的信心。他们只懂得利己主义那一代的规则。他们缺乏远见，而失去了远见，民族就会灭亡。

是的，钱商们已经从我们的文明殿堂里那高高的席位上逃走了。现在，我们可以恢复这一殿堂古时的模样了。恢复的衡量标准就在于我们能在多大范围里实行比纯粹的金钱利润更高贵的社会道德标准。

幸福并不在于仅仅拥有金钱，而在于取得成就的喜悦以及创造性工作激发的快感。工作带来的快乐和精神上的鼓舞不应该被遗忘在对转瞬即逝的利益的疯狂追逐中。我的朋友们，如果这些黑暗的岁月能让我们知道，命运的真谛在于我们不应该任凭命运的摆布，而是应该让命运为我们自己和我们的同胞效劳，那么我们付出的代价就是值得的。

p. 74-75

认识到物质财富并非衡量成功的标准，也就要放弃这样的错误信念：对于公职和较高的政治地位的价值，仅以地位的荣耀和个人利益来衡量；在银行业和商业中也必然要终止一种做法，这种行为对神圣的委托回报的却往往是冷漠和自私的不道德行为。难怪信心在减退，因为只有诚实、荣誉、责任的神圣、忠诚的守护和无私的行为才能使信心枝繁叶茂；而没有它们信心就不复存在。

然而，复兴并不仅仅要求改变道德准则。这个国家需要的是行动，而且是即刻行动。



我们最重要、最基本的任务就是让人们投入工作。如果我们睿智而勇敢地面对它，这就不是无法解决的难题。政府直接雇工可以部分地解决问题，就像对待战时紧急状况那样，但与此同时，通过这一种雇佣方式还能完成一些急需的工程，来刺激和重组我们对充裕的自然资源的利用。

在着手这项工作的同时，我们必须坦率地承认，我们的工业中心的人口已经过剩，应该在全国范围内重新分配劳动力，力图使那些最善于耕种土地的人们更好地利用土地。



的确，为了协助这个任务的完成，要采取明确的措施来提高农产品的价格，并借此提高对我们城市产品的购买力。要从实际出发，制止对小房产和农场取消抵押赎回权造成的日益严重损失的悲剧。要坚持主张联邦、各州及地方政府立即采取行动，大幅度削减开支。要把救济活动统一掌控起来，以避免目前分散、浪费和不均的现象。要把各种形式的交通运输及其他具有明显公共性质的设施纳入全国性的规划和监督中去。完成这个任务可以借助很多方法，但空谈是绝无用处的。



我们必须行动起来。我们必须迅速行动起来。

最后，在恢复工作的过程中，我们需要两条保证，以避免旧秩序的邪恶卷土重来：必须对所有的银行业务、信贷和投资进行严格监督，以制止使用他人钱财投机的行为；必须提供充足而数量合理的货币。

我的朋友们，这些就是行动的路线。不久，我就将在特别会议上向新国会强烈主张实现这些路线的具体措施，还将寻求48个州的即刻协助。

通过这一行动纲要，我们要把国家治理得井井有条，使收支达到平衡。尽管我们的国际贸易关系也非常重要，但在时间性和必要性上应服从于建立健全的国家经济的任务。我赞成做事情应本着“要事为先”这一切实可行的策略。我将竭尽全力地通过国际经济的调整来恢复与世界各国的贸易，但国内的紧急情况是等待不得贸易上的成绩的。

指导国内复苏的这些具体方法的基本思想并不是民族主义——狭隘的民族主义。它首先考虑的是坚持美国国内的各方面要素和各地区之间的相互依存关系——即承认美国拓荒者精神的古老而恒久重要的体现。这是通往复兴的道路。这是直接的道路，这是让复兴持续下去的最强有力的保障。

在外交政策方面，我将尽力使我国奉行友好睦邻政策：坚决尊重本国，因为尊重本国必将也尊重别国的权利；珍视本国的义务，也珍视与周边邻国及世界各国的协议中所规定的神圣条约。

如果我正确地理解了我国人民的情绪，我想我们现在已经认识到了以前从未认识的问题：我们是互相依存的，我们不能一味地索取，我们还必须付出；如果我们想要前进，就必须像一支训练有素、忠心耿耿的部队那样，愿意为维护共同纪律而牺牲，因为没有这样的纪律就无法进步，就无法实现有效的领导。

我知道我们已准备好并愿意为这一纪律献出自己的生命和财产，因为只有这样才能实施以更高利益为目标的领导。我愿意提供这样的领导，我发誓这些远大的目标将作为一种神圣的义务，对我们大家都有所约束，从而产生只有战时才出现过的共同责任感。

发下这样的誓言后，我将毫不犹豫地领导起这支由我国人民组成的伟大

军队，致力于向我们共同面对的难题发动有序的进攻。

以此为目的的此类行动在我们从祖先那里继承下来的政体下是可行的。我们的宪法十分简单实用，通常只需通过变换重点和安排就能满足特殊要求，而无需动摇其基本形式。正因为如此，我们的宪法制度已证明了它是当今世界所产生的最持久稳定的政治机制。

它经历过大面积领土扩张、对外战争、激烈的内乱及国际关系等重压之下的考验。但愿正常的行政与立法的分权能够足以应付我们所面临的史无前例的任务。但这一史无前例的要求和即刻行动的需求可能会要求我们暂时背离正常分权的公开程序。

p. 82-83

我准备在宪法赋予我的职责范围内，提出遭受重创的我国在遭受重创的世界里所应该采取的措施。这些措施或是国会根据自身经验和智慧所制定出的其他措施，都是我将运用宪法赋予我的权力力求迅速实施的。

但是如果国会未能采取这两条路线中的一条，如果国内情况仍旧危急，我也不会逃避届时将摆在我面前的明确的责任。我将要求国会采取最后一项应急措施——向紧急情况开战的广泛的行政权力，这种权力就跟我们真的遭到外敌入侵时国会将赋予我的权力一样大。

对于大家给予我的信任，我将用时代所要求的勇气和奉献予以回报。我将尽力而为。

让我们怀着举国团结带给我们的热情和勇气，直面眼前的艰难岁月；我们清楚地认识到要寻求古老而珍贵的道德价值观；我们对于人民不分老幼都对职责的坚决履行感到十分欣慰。我们的目标是保证圆满而永久的国民生活。

我们并不怀疑基本民主制度的未来。美国人民并没有失败。他们在需要的时候已经提出授权，表达了他们要求直接有力的行动的愿望。他们要求的是有领导的纪律和方向。他们现在选择了我作为实现他们愿望的工具。我也是以一种接受馈赠的心情接受了这一任务。

在这一盛典上——在这一全国盛典上，我们谦恭地祈求得到上帝的祝福。愿他保佑我们每一个人。

愿他在未来的日子里指引我。

第5章 就职演说 / 约翰·F. 肯尼迪，1961年1月20日

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约翰逊副总统、发言人先生、首席大法官先生、艾森豪威尔总统、尼克松副总统、杜鲁门总统、尊敬的牧师、各位同胞：

我们今天庆祝的不是一次政党的胜利，而是一次自由的庆典——它象征着一个结束，也象征着一个开始——它既代表着复兴，也代表着变革。因为我已经在这位及万能的上帝面前宣读了我们的祖先在175年前曾拟定的相同的誓言。



如今的世界已是大不相同了。因为凡人的手中已经掌握了消除各种形式的人类贫困和人类生活的力量。但我们祖先所为之奋斗的相同的革命信念仍在全球范围内被争论不休——这一信念就是，人权并非来自国家的慷慨，而是来自上帝之手。

今天，我们不敢忘记自己是第一次革命的后代。让下面这些话从此时此地传到我们的朋友和敌人耳中：火炬已经传递到新一代的美国人手中——他们生于本世纪，经历了战火的考验，受过严酷而艰苦的和平时期的磨炼，并为我们古老的传统而自豪——他们不愿目睹或听任这些人权被慢慢剥夺。我们国家一直致力于维护这些人权，而如今我们也仍在国内外维护着它们。

p. 88-89

要让每一个国家都知道，无论它希望我们繁荣还是衰败，我们都将不计一切代价、不惜承担任何重担、经历任何艰难困苦，支持所有的朋友、反对所有的敌人，以确保自由的延续与成功。

这是我们必须宣读的誓言——而且不仅仅如此。

对于那些与我们拥有同样文化和精神传统的老盟友们，我们发誓会像挚友一样忠于你们。如果联合起来，在那些合作事业中没有什么是我们办不到的。如果分裂开来，我们几乎无可作为——因为在四分五裂的情况下，我们是不敢面对强大挑战的。

对那些我们欢迎其加入自由国家行列的新国家，我们发誓，决不让一种形式的殖民统治结束后，却代之以另一种更强硬的专制统治。我们不会总是希望看到他们支持我们的观点。但是，我们总是希望能看到他们坚决地支持自己的自由——并且谨记，在历史上，那些愚蠢地骑在虎背上谋求权力的人，最终都会被老虎吃掉。对于世界上那些居住在小棚屋和村落里、挣扎着想摆脱物质贫困枷锁束缚的人们，我们发誓将尽最大的努力去帮助他们自救，无论需要多长时间——这并不是因为共产主义者有可能会这么做，也不是因为我们想得到他们的投票支持，而是因为这么做是正确的。

p. 90-91

假如一个自由的社会不能帮助贫穷的多数人，那它就无法保全富有的少数人。对位于我国南方与我们接壤的姊妹共和国，我们做出一项特别的保证——在新的发展联盟中，将我们的美好承诺转变为现实善行——以帮助自由的人们和自由的政府挣脱贫困的枷锁。但这个为实现希望而进行的和平改革不能成为敌对势力的猎物。要让我们所有的邻邦都知道，我们将与他们联合起来反抗美洲任何地区的侵略或颠覆。要让其他势力都知道，这个半球会一直自己当家作主。



主权国家的世界性联合大会——联合国——是我们在这个战争机器的发

展速度远远超过和平机器发展速度的年代里最后的美好寄托。我们重申自己表示支持的誓言——要防止它仅仅成为一个谩骂的场所——要加强它对新兴国家和弱国的保护——还要扩大它的职权范围。

p. 92-93

最后，对那些可能会与我们为敌的国家，我们给予的不是誓言，而是要求：在科学释放出黑暗的毁灭力量、有预谋地或是意外地使全人类陷入自我毁灭的深渊之前，我们双方都要重新开始对和平的追求。

我们不敢用怯懦去引诱他们。因为只有在我们的武力无疑已足够强大时，我们才能胸有成竹地保证永远不使用武力。

可是这两个强有力的国家阵营，谁也不能对当前的趋势放心——双方都不堪现代武器开支的重荷，都对致命的原子弹的持续蔓延而惶恐不安，然而双方却又继续进行军备竞赛以求改变这种恐怖力量的均势，使局势有利于己方，岂知这种均势却是制止人类发动毁灭性战争的仅有手段。

那么，就让我们重新开始——双方都要记住，文明不是软弱的表现，诚意则永远需要验证。我们决不要因为害怕而谈判；但我们决不害怕谈判。

让双方都来探讨那些能让我们团结起来的问题，而不是去反复研究那些会让我们分裂的问题。

让双方第一次提出严肃而确切的军备检查和武器控制提案——并将能摧毁别国的不受任何限制的力量置于所有国家的绝对控制下。

p. 94-95

让双方都试着去唤起科学的奇迹而不是科学造成的恐惧。让我们一起探索星球、征服沙漠、消除疾病、开发深海资源、鼓励艺术与商业的发展。

让双方联合起来，在世界的每一个角落遵循以赛亚的训诫——“卸下轭上沉重的枷锁……让被欺压者得到自由。”

如果建立一个合作的据点能打消大片的疑虑，那就让双方联合起来作出全新的努力。这不是要建立新的势力均势，而是要建立起新的法治世界，让强者公正、弱者安全、和平得以维持。

所有这些也许不会在第一个100天内完成，也许不会在第一个1000天内完成，也许不会在本届政府执政期内完成，甚至也许不会在我们有生之年完成。但是让我们现在就开始吧。

我的同胞们，我们事业的最后成功，与其说掌握在我手中，倒不如说是更多地掌握在你们手中。自从建国以来，每一代美国人都曾被召唤去表明对国家的忠诚。那些响应号召服役的年轻美国人的坟墓遍布全球。

现在，号角声又开始召唤我们了——它不是在召唤我们去拿起武器，尽管我们需要武器——也不是在召唤我们去作战，尽管我们已经严阵以待——它是在召唤我们年复一年肩负起持久和胜败未分的斗争，“在希望中欢欣，在苦难中忍耐”——这场斗争要反对的是人类的公敌：专制、贫穷、疾病和战争本身。

p. 96-97

我们能否结成一个包括南北和东西半球的全球大联盟，来对抗这些敌人，以保证全人类过上更加富足的生活？你们会投身于这一历史性的工作中吗？



在悠久的历史中，只有少数几代人被赋予了在极度危险的时刻捍卫自由的角色。我不会在这一责任面前退缩——我欢迎它的到来。我不相信我们当中的任何人愿意同别人或别的年代的人交换位置。我们在这场努力中付出的精力、信仰和热忱将照亮我们的国家和所有服务于它的人——而这把火的光芒必将真正地照亮这个世界。

因此，我的美国同胞们：不要问你们的国家能为你们做些什么——问问你们能为自己的国家做些什么。

我的全世界的同胞们：不要问美国人能为你们做些什么，而是问问我们联合起来能为人类的自由做些什么。

最后，无论你是美国公民还是世界上其他国家的公民，请以我们向你们提出的有关奉献力量和牺牲的同一高标准来要求我们。以良知作为我们唯一确定的报酬，以历史作为我们行为的最终审判，让我们前去领导我们所热爱的土地，我们祈求上帝的祝福和协助，但我们知道在地球上，上帝的工作实际上就是我们肩负的任务。

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