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This victory belongs to you

胜利属于你们 - 巴拉克·奥巴马获胜演讲

Barack Obama

翻译:[译言]毛心宇,雷声大雨点大

If there is anyone out there who still doubts that America is a place where all things are possible; who still wonders if the dream of our founders is alive in our time; who still questions the power of our democracy, tonight is your answer.

如果,还有人怀疑美国是一切皆有可能的国度,还有人怀疑国父们的梦想在我们的时代是否还存在,还有人怀疑我们的民主所拥有的力量,那么今晚,你听到了回答。

It's the answer told by lines that stretched around schools and churches in numbers this nation has never seen; by people who waited three hours and four hours, many for the very first time in their lives, because they believed that this time must be different; that their voice could be that difference.

是那些今天在学校和教堂排着长队、数不胜数的选民做出了回答;是那些为了投票等待了三四个小时的人们做出了回答。他们中的很多人,是有生以来第一次投票,因为他们相信,这次真的不同——他们的声音会让这次不同。

It's the answer spoken by young and old, rich and poor, Democrat and Republican, black, white, Latino, Asian, Native American, gay, straight, disabled and not disabled – Americans who sent a message to the world that we have never been a collection of Red States and Blue States: we are, and always will be, the United States of America.

这个回答来自青年、老人、穷人、富人、民主党、共和党人、黑皮肤、白皮肤、拉美人、亚裔、印第安人、同性恋和非同性恋者、残疾人和健全者。美国告诉世界,我们从来就不是一半红、一半蓝^a,我们是——美利坚合众国。

^a译者:分别代表民主党和共和党。

It's the answer that led those who have been told for so long by so many to be cynical, and fearful, and doubtful of what we can achieve to put their hands on the arc of history and bend it once more toward the hope of a better day.

很多人,在长久以往的耳濡目染中愤世嫉俗、担忧、怀疑。但今天他们做出了回答。他们的双手扭转了历史,让历史转向充满希望的新的一天。^a

^a我觉得应该译成:是这个答案让那些在长久以往的耳濡目染中愤世嫉俗、担忧、怀疑的人们伸出双手扭转了历史,让历史转向充满希望的新的一天。

It's been a long time coming, but tonight, because of what we did on this day, in this election, at this defining moment, change has come to America.

我们等待了很久。但今夜,因为我们今天的努力、因为这次选举,在这决定性的时刻,美国终于迎来了转变。

I just received a very gracious call from Senator McCain. He fought long and hard in this campaign, and he's fought even longer and harder for the country he loves. He has endured sacrifices for America that most of us cannot begin to imagine, and we are better off for the service rendered by this brave and selfless leader. I congratulate him and Governor Palin for all they have achieved, and I look forward to working with them to renew this nation's promise in the months ahead.

I want to thank my partner in this journey, a man who campaigned from his heart and spoke for the men and women he grew up with on the streets of Scranton and rode with on that train home to Delaware, the Vice President-elect of the United States, Joe Biden.

I would not be standing here tonight without the unyielding support of my best friend for the last sixteen years, the rock of our family and the love of my life, our nation's next First Lady, Michelle Obama. Sasha and Malia, I love you both so much, and you have earned the new puppy that's coming with us to the White House. And while she's no longer with us, I know my grandmother is watching, along with the family that made me who I am. I miss them tonight, and know that my debt to them is beyond measure.

To my campaign manager David Plouffe, my chief strategist David Axelrod, and the best campaign team ever assembled in the history of politics - you made this happen, and I am forever grateful for what you've sacrificed to get it done.

But above all, I will never forget who this victory truly belongs to - it belongs to you.

I was never the likeliest candidate for this office. We didn't start with much money or many endorsements. Our campaign was not hatched in the halls of Washington - it began in the backyards of Des Moines and the living rooms of Concord and the front porches of Charleston.

我刚刚收到麦凯恩参议员打来的电话，他非常诚挚。在这次漫长的竞选中，他付出了艰苦的努力。而为此他所爱的国家，他付出得更多、时间也更长。他忍受过的牺牲，是我们很多美国人无法想象的。这位勇敢而无私的领袖的付出会让我们的国家更强大。对麦凯恩参议员和佩林州长所取得的成绩，我这里也表示钦佩。我期待在接下来的几个月中，与他们一道重拾美国的承诺。

我要感谢我的竞选伙伴。他发自内心地投入竞选，他的声音代表了那些在他成长的斯克兰顿街生活的人们的声音，代表那些和他一道乘火车上下班的特拉华州人民的声音。现在他将是美国的副总统，他就是乔·拜登。

如果不是我过去十六年间最亲密的朋友、我的家庭的基石和我一生的至爱给予的支持，今晚我不会站在这里。那就是我们国家的下任第一夫人，米歇尔·奥巴马。还有我的女儿，萨沙和玛丽亚。我是如此爱你们。我们会带着你们刚赢得的小狗一起搬进白宫。而我的外祖母，虽然此刻他已经离我们而去，但我知道她在看着呢——和带给我生命、定义了我人生的家人们一道。今夜，我想念他们。我知道我欠他们的难以偿还。

感谢我的竞选经理——大卫·普劳夫(David Plouffe)，我的首席战略官^a大卫·阿克塞罗德(David Axelrod)，以及美国政治史上最棒的竞选团队，是你们造就了今天，对你们的付出和牺牲我永远感谢。

^a有人觉得翻译成“首席策略师”

但最重要的是，我永远不会忘记这一胜利真正属于谁。它属于你们！

我从来都不是总统的最佳人选。刚开始时我们没有太多经费也没有很多要人的支持。我们的竞选不是孵化自华盛顿的会议大厅，而是始于得梅因^a的后院、康科德市普通人家的客厅、以及查尔斯顿的某个前廊。

^a译注：美国衣阿华 Iowa 州的首府

It was built by working men and women who dug into what little savings they had to give five dollars and ten dollars and twenty dollars to this cause. It grew strength from the young people who rejected the myth of their generation's apathy; who left their homes and their families for jobs that offered little pay and less sleep; from the not-so-young people who braved the bitter cold and scorching heat to knock on the doors of perfect strangers; from the millions of Americans who volunteered, and organized, and proved that more than two centuries later, a government of the people, by the people and for the people has not perished from this Earth. This is your victory.

I know you didn't do this just to win an election and I know you didn't do it for me. You did it because you understand the enormity of the task that lies ahead. For even as we celebrate tonight, we know the challenges that tomorrow will bring are the greatest of our lifetime - two wars, a planet in peril, the worst financial crisis in a century. Even as we stand here tonight, we know there are brave Americans waking up in the deserts of Iraq and the mountains of Afghanistan to risk their lives for us. There are mothers and fathers who will lie awake after their children fall asleep and wonder how they'll make the mortgage, or pay their doctor's bills, or save enough for college. There is new energy to harness and new jobs to be created; new schools to build and threats to meet and alliances to repair.

The road ahead will be long. Our climb will be steep. We may not get there in one year or even one term, but America - I have never been more hopeful than I am tonight that we will get there. I promise you - we as a people will get there.

这一胜利来自于普通工薪阶层人民，他们从微薄的积蓄中拿出五元、十元来支持我们的理念。我们的胜利来自于年轻人——那些远离家人承担辛苦但收入微薄的竞选工作的年轻人。他们反驳了关于他们是冷漠的一代的谬论。我们的胜利也来自于那些已不再年轻的人们，他们在严寒或酷暑中走街串巷向完全陌生的选民进行宣传。我们的胜利来自数以百万计的美国人民，他们的志愿参与和组织证明了两个多世纪之后，那个民有、民治、民享的政府仍然长存。这个胜利属于你们！

我知道你们这样做不仅仅是为了这次竞选，不仅仅是为了我。你们这样做是因为你们知道我们面临的任务之艰巨。即便我们今晚在此庆祝，我们也知道明天的挑战是前所未有的——两场战争、一个奄奄一息的星球、和一场百年不遇的经济危机。即便我们今晚在此庆祝，我们也清楚地知道那些勇敢的美国人明早会在伊拉克的沙漠或是阿富汗的山地中醒来——他们在为我们冒生命危险。我们知道父母们在孩子睡下后辗转难眠，不知如何才能偿付按揭、医疗账单、或是为孩子上大学筹款。我们需要去开发新能源、创造新就业机会、建设新学校、面对新挑战、和修复我们的战略联盟。

前路严峻而漫长，我们也许在一年甚至一届总统任期之内都无法解决这些问题。但是美国，我从来没有像今晚这样有信心，相信我们会解决它们。我向你们承诺：我们，美国人民会解决这些问题。

There will be setbacks and false starts. There are many who won't agree with every decision or policy I make as President, and we know that government can't solve every problem. But I will always be honest with you about the challenges we face. I will listen to you, especially when we disagree. And above all, I will ask you join in the work of remaking this nation the only way it's been done in America for two-hundred and twenty-one years - block by block, brick by brick, calloused hand by calloused hand.

What began twenty-one months ago in the depths of winter must not end on this autumn night. This victory alone is not the change we seek - it is only the chance for us to make that change. And that cannot happen if we go back to the way things were. It cannot happen without you.

So let us summon a new spirit of patriotism; of service and responsibility where each of us resolves to pitch in and work harder and look after not only ourselves, but each other. Let us remember that if this financial crisis taught us anything, it's that we cannot have a thriving Wall Street while Main Street suffers - in this country, we rise or fall as one nation; as one people.

前面会有挫折和弯路。很多人不会完全同意我作为总统做出的政策和决定。而且我们知道政府不会解决所有问题。但关于面对的挑战,我会始终对你们坦诚相告。我会倾听你们的声音——特别是当我们意见相左时。而最重要的是,我请你们加入到家园的重建中来,用二百二十一年以来我们唯一的方法,美国的方法——一砖一瓦,水滴石穿。

二十一个月之前那个深冬开始的胜利之路,不会在今天这个秋夜止步。这个胜利本身并不是我们所追求的。这只是给了我们机会,去实现我们期待的转变。而如果我们退回原地则什么也不会发生。没有你们的参与,也不会发生。

让我们呼唤一种全新的爱国主义,一种投入与责任感——我们每个人都更努力地工作,不仅考虑到我们自己,还要考虑到他人。如果这次金融危机有什么教训的话,那就是实体经济受损,华尔街也不可能繁荣。在这个国家,我们荣辱与共。

Let us resist the temptation to fall back on the same partisanship and pettiness and immaturity that has poisoned our politics for so long. Let us remember that it was a man from this state who first carried the banner of the Republican Party to the White House – a party founded on the values of self-reliance, individual liberty, and national unity. Those are values we all share, and while the Democratic Party has won a great victory tonight, we do so with a measure of humility and determination to heal the divides that have held back our progress. As Lincoln said to a nation far more divided than ours, "We are not enemies, but friends...though passion may have strained it must not break our bonds of affection." And to those Americans whose support I have yet to earn – I may not have won your vote, but I hear your voices, I need your help, and I will be your President too.

And to all those watching tonight from beyond our shores, from parliaments and palaces to those who are huddled around radios in the forgotten corners of our world – our stories are singular, but our destiny is shared, and a new dawn of American leadership is at hand. To those who would tear this world down – we will defeat you. To those who seek peace and security – we support you. And to all those who have wondered if America's beacon still burns as bright – tonight we proved once more that the true strength of our nation comes not from our the might of our arms or the scale of our wealth, but from the enduring power of our ideals: democracy, liberty, opportunity, and unyielding hope.

For that is the true genius of America – that America can change. Our union can be perfected. And what we have already achieved gives us hope for what we can and must achieve tomorrow.

让我们一起抵制两党分立所带来的那些长久以来腐蚀我们的政治的幼稚、繁琐、无谓的争端。让我们记住来自这个州的那个第一个将共和党的大旗插上白宫的人——他引领了一个崇尚自力更生、独立自由和国家统一的政党，这是我们都崇尚的价值观。今晚民主党所取得的伟大胜利，将促使我们更加谦虚、更加坚定地弥合曾经阻碍我们前进的分裂。正如林肯总统对那个更加分裂的国家所说的：“我们不是敌人，我们是朋友……尽管目前的情绪有些紧张，但决不能容许它使我们之间的亲密情感纽带破裂。”而对于那些不支持我的美国人——我可能还没有赢得你们的选票，但是我听到了你们的声音，我需要你们的帮助，我也会成为你们的总统。

对于那些身居海外，正在看着这里的美国人，还有在国会、白宫和在世界的某个角落围坐在收音机前的人们——我们可能有不同的经历，但是我们有相同的目标^a，美国的崭新黎明正浮现在我们的面前。对那些想要破坏这个世界的人——我们将会击败你。对那些寻求和平与安宁的人们——我们将会帮助你。对那些怀疑美国的自由之火是否依旧兴旺的人们——今晚我们再次证明了，我们的真正实力不是来自我们的强大力量、也不是来自我们的巨额财富，而是来自我们坚忍不拔的信念：民主、自由、机遇和永不放弃的理想。

^a貌似应该是“但是我们的命运是相通的”

这才是美国真正的精华——美国能够改变。我们的联邦会日臻完善。我们取得的成就为我们将来能够取得的以及必须取得的成就增添了希望。

This election had many firsts and many stories that will be told for generations. But one that's on my mind tonight is about a woman who cast her ballot in Atlanta. She's a lot like the millions of others who stood in line to make their voice heard in this election except for one thing - Ann Nixon Cooper is 106 years old.

She was born just a generation past slavery; a time when there were no cars on the road or planes in the sky; when someone like her couldn't vote for two reasons - because she was a woman and because of the color of her skin.

And tonight, I think about all that she's seen throughout her century in America - the heartache and the hope; the struggle and the progress; the times we were told that we can't, and the people who pressed on with that American creed: Yes we can.

At a time when women's voices were silenced and their hopes dismissed, she lived to see them stand up and speak out and reach for the ballot. Yes we can.

When there was despair in the dust bowl and depression across the land, she saw a nation conquer fear itself with a New Deal, new jobs and a new sense of common purpose. Yes we can.

When the bombs fell on our harbor and tyranny threatened the world, she was there to witness a generation rise to greatness and a democracy was saved. Yes we can.

She was there for the buses in Montgomery, the hoses in Birmingham, a bridge in Selma, and a preacher from Atlanta who told a people that "We Shall Overcome." Yes we can.

A man touched down on the moon, a wall came down in Berlin, a world was connected by our own science and imagination. And this year, in this election, she touched her finger to a screen, and cast her vote, because after 106 years in America, through the best of times and the darkest of hours, she knows how America can change. Yes we can.

这次大选创造了多项“第一”，也诞生了很多将世代流传的故事。但是今天晚上令我难忘的却是在亚特兰大投票的一名妇女：安·尼克松·库波尔 (Ann Nixon Cooper)。她和其他数百万排队等待投票的选民没有什么差别，除了一点：她已是 106 岁的高龄。

她生于黑暗的奴隶时代，那个时候路上没有汽车，天上也没有飞机。当时的她不能投票，只有两个原因——她的性别和她的肤色。

而今晚，我想她一个世纪的经历——心痛与希望；抗争与进步；一次次失败和逆流而上都证明了：我们做得到。

每一次女性的声音被压制，梦想被摧残，她都看到她们再次站起来，行使自己的权利。我们做得到。

当美国人在风沙中绝望，全国陷入萧条，她都看到这个国家克服恐惧，施行新政，创造新的工作岗位，统一目标。我们做得到。

当我们的港口被炸，暴政笼罩着世界，她见证了一代人的崛起，他们捍卫了民主。我们做得到。

她见证了蒙哥马利的公共汽车停运、伯明翰的黑人暴动、塞尔玛的血腥周末和那位来自亚特兰大的传教士对人们高声喊出：“我们一定会胜利。”我们做得到。

我们登上过月球，我们推倒了柏林墙，我们用科学和创想连接了整个世界。^a今年，在这次选举中，她伸出手指在屏幕上按下，她投出了自己的一票，因为经历了 106 年的光明与黑暗，她知道美国应该如何转变。我们做得到。

^a 原文里好像没有“我们”……

America, we have come so far. We have seen so much. But there is so much more to do. So tonight, let us ask ourselves - if our children should live to see the next century; if my daughters should be so lucky to live as long as Ann Nixon Cooper, what change will they see? What progress will we have made?

This is our chance to answer that call. This is our moment. This is our time - to put our people back to work and open doors of opportunity for our kids; to restore prosperity and promote the cause of peace; to reclaim the American Dream and reaffirm that fundamental truth - that out of many, we are one; that while we breathe, we hope, and where we are met with cynicism, and doubt, and those who tell us that we can't, we will respond with that timeless creed that sums up the spirit of a people:

Yes We Can. Thank you, God bless you, and may God Bless the United States of America.

美国,我们已经走了很久,我们已经看了很多,但是还有很多事情等着我们去做。今晚,让我们扪心自问——如果我们的孩子能够看到下个世纪,如果我的女儿们也能幸运地像安·尼克松·库帕那样长寿,他们会看到什么样的转变?我们应该如何完成这些转变?

这是我们完成使命的机会。这是我们的时代。这是我们创造历史的时刻——让我们的人民得到工作,敞开门让我们的孩子得到机会;恢复繁荣并推进和平;让美国梦再次浮现,重申我们的基本信念——团结一心。当我们呼吸、我们畅想、我们面对犬儒主义、我们迟疑、我们面对那些质疑我们的人的时候,我们将铭记那凝聚了我们精神的不灭的信条:

我们一定做得到。

谢谢大家。

上帝保佑你们,愿上帝保佑美利坚合众国。